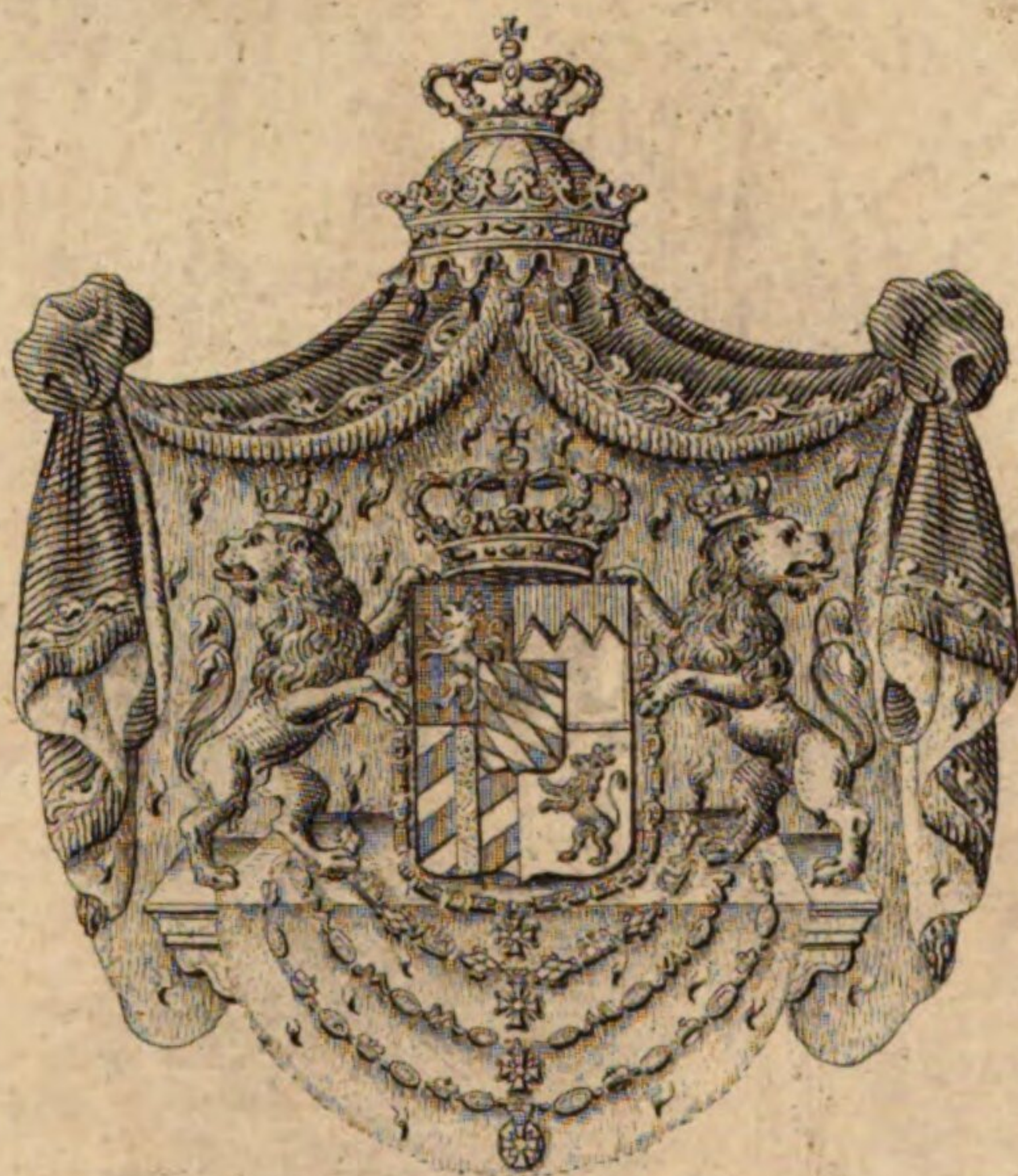


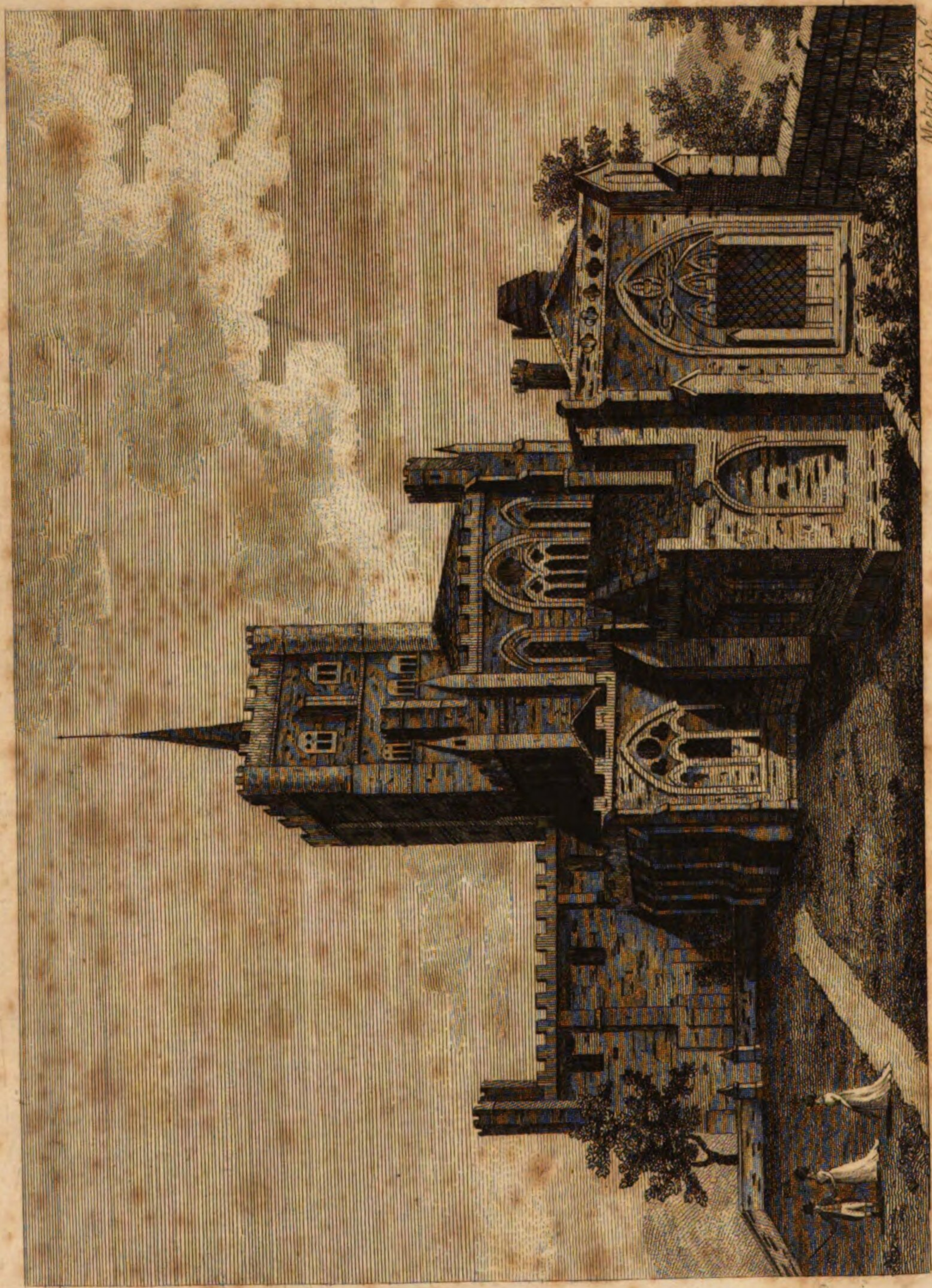
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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
ANCIENT AND ROYAL FOUNDATION,
CALLED
THE ABBEY OF ST. ALBAN,
IN THE
COUNTY OF HERTFORD,
FROM THE FOUNDING THEREOF, IN 793,
TO ITS DISSOLUTION, IN 1539.
EXHIBITING THE LIFE OF EACH ABBOT,
AND THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS RELATING TO
THE MONASTERY,
DURING HIS RULE AND GOVERNMENT.
EXTRACTED FROM THE MOST FAITHFUL AUTHORITIES AND RECORDS,
BOTH PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT.
WITH PLATES; AND A NEW MAP OF THE COUNTY.

BY THE REVEREND PETER NEWCOME,
RECTOR OF SHENLEY, HERTS.

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BY THE REVISED PETER NEWCOMB
OF THE COUNTY OF HERTFORD

LONDON
Printed by J. Newcomb
in the Strand, near St. Dunstons Church
1841

Printed by
J. Newcomb
in the Strand

NAMES OF THE ABBOTS.

	Willegod	:	began in	791.	
	Eadric	.	.	794.	
	Vulfig	.	.	.	in the time of Alfred.
	Vulnoth	.	.	.	
5	Ædfrid	.	.	.	in the time of Edmund the Pious.
	Ulfinus	.	.	948.	
	Ælfric	.	.	.	in the time of Edgar.
	Ealdred	.	.	.	
	Eadmer	.	.	.	
10	Leofric	.	.	.	
	Ælfric	.	.	.	in the time of Canute.
	Leoffstan	.	.	.	in the time of Edw. Conf.
	Frederic	.	.	1064.	
	Paul, the Norman,	.	.	1077.	
15	Richard d'Aubeny or d'Exaquoio	.	.	1097.	
	Geoffry de Gorham	.	.	1119.	
	Ralph de Gobion	.	.	1146.	
	Robt. de Gorham	.	.	1151.	
	Symon	.	.	1168.	
20	Warren, Guarinus,	.	.	1183.	
	John de Cella, or of Studham,	.	.	1195.	
	William de Trumpington,	.	.	1214.	
	John de Hertford		succeeded	1235,	buried in the church.
25	Roger de Norton	.	.	1260,	buried in the choir near the great candlestick, close died 1308. [together.
	John de Berkampsted	.	.	1291,	
	John de Marinis	.	.	1302,	
	Hugo de Evetfden	.	.	1308, 1 Edw. II.	buried near to- gether in the presbytery, on the right of the great altar.
	Richard de Wallingford	.	.	1326	
	Michael de Mentmore	.	.	1335	
30	Thomas de la Mare	.	.	*1349	
	John Moot	.	.	1396,	and died 1401.
	William Heyworth	.	.	1401.	
	John Whethampstead	.	.	1420,	and resigned 1440.
	John Stokes	.	.	elected 1440,	and died 1451.
35	John Whethampstead	.	.	rechosen,	and died 1460.
	William Alban	.	.	chosen 1460,	and died 1476.
	William Wallingford	.	.	chosen 1476,	and died 1484, 1 Rich. III.
	Thomas Ramryge	.	.	elected 1492,	his death uncertain.
	Thomas Woolsey	.	.	appointed 1526,	and died Nov. 2, 1530.
0	Robert Catton	.	.	ruled 8 years,	and died 1538.
4	Richard Boreman, alias Stevenache,			1538,	and surrendered Dec. 5, 1539.

* As appears by his epitaph in Weaver, p. 556.

P R E F A C E.

IT is not expected, that a book, written on so local a subject, should excite any great degree of public and general notice ; nor that a subject so antique and obsolete should raise the curiosity of modern readers. It is not, therefore, a prospect either of fame or profit that has urged the author to this undertaking. But, beholding daily the venerable fabrick of St. Alban's church, the only remains of a large structure, and hearing something like tradition still dwelling in the country, relating to its history, though with much uncertainty and incoherency, the author determined to discover its true history, and, as far as he could collect from authentic records, commit the same to writing, for the information of the country adjoining, and for the subversion of much error and ignorance. He was encouraged farther by this consideration, that there is not extant in our language,

guage, nor to be found, except in the fundamental statutes and rules of the religious, any historical account of the domestic œconomy of those houses, or of their internal usages, customs, and habits of living. The same may be said of the worship which the monks were perpetually celebrating, and of their religious rites and ceremonies. These defects in our ecclesiastic history will be in a great measure supplied by the following narrative, and it will add to our common stock of historic knowledge to present the English reader with a more minute detail of the monastic life: and this work will probably be the more acceptable on this account, that it will leave on record some historic matter, which has been quite forgotten or unknown in these kingdoms for 250 years; and which, from suppressing monasteries abroad, is likely to be forgotten there also.

When the blessed Jesus commanded his disciples to preach to all the world, and baptize men into his name and religion, he seems not to hint at, or to intimate, any other order of men for instructing the world than diligent preachers; yet, in less than 300 years, another order of men arose, who supposed themselves equal in authority with the apostles and their followers, if not to preach the word, yet to give a more perfect example. This order began, indeed, with a few only, who chose to commence hermits, and devote themselves to a quiet contemplative life; but from them it became a more general practice, and these devout men agreed to assemble in numbers, to form a small society, and to live by the culture of a garden and other labours of their hands. This usage spread itself through all the Eastern countries, wherever the church of Christ was established: and, though the history of the Eastern and African churches is little known to us, owing to the utter ruin and devastation which they

they suffered from the hands of the Saracens and the conquests of Mahomet, yet sufficient proof remains that a very great number of monasteries were established, and did flourish, in all those Christian countries; and at this day the Greeks, who compose the remains of the ancient Christians, are found settled and established in these monasteries. All the bishops of the East (and in that name we must comprehend the most learned, ingenious, and pious, men, that ever preached the Gospel) gave countenance and encouragement to this practice, and especially the great Basil, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia (a).

From the example and benefit of them in the East, the bishops in the West recommended the institution; and, by the end of the sixth century, all the Christian countries of Europe had adopted the same, and monasteries for both sexes became reputable foundations, and were viewed with great religious esteem. At first, it is probable, they were the proper attendant of every episcopal see, and had their fixed residence together with the bishop at his cathedral: but, in process of time, they became separate and distinct endowments, subordinate to the bishops; and, by the covenants of the founder, subject to his visitation and liable to his censures. And bishops, having perhaps but few clergy, and many parts of their diocese without any instruction, and not even divided into parishes, and many parishes being quite strangers to a church, could make no objection to any concurring help in the work of the Gospel. In the beginning of Christianity, and in the early days of the church, the number of episcopal clergy was very few, and these monastic foundations were generally made in the most solitary and

(a) Vide Cotelarius in his Monum. Græc. Eccles.

unpeopled places. They were calculated, indeed, at first for the religious improvement, and spiritual benefit of the few who assembled together, and lived in a conventual manner, in meditation, prayer, and devout worship; and they could influence others by their example much more than by any instruction; for, these being confined to their walls, and having no duties abroad, the few episcopal clergy were the only persons intrusted with the labour of reforming mankind. This distinction is proper to be kept in mind, in order to account for the variance and emulation that arose, in after times, between these two branches of the clergy. The seculars, being under the direction of their bishop, were sent out into the world, to preach at large or else to be fixed in one particular place; but, in either case, their subsistence was slender, and made to depend on contributions; for, supposing that tithes were enjoined to be paid throughout the kingdom by Ethelwolp, a Saxon king, yet this provision was very scanty, because the country was not, except in a few places, either cultivated or inclosed: and it is well known, that, until the Conquest, when the king put the church on a better footing, and gave to it more certain as well as more ample provision, the maintenance of the clergy, that is, of the seculars, depended on a distribution from the bishop. But, though the seculars, from that time, were better enabled to live and exercise their functions in a more respectable manner, yet the regular clergy had long ago, and did still, surpass them, in number, dignity, and public esteem. The parish priest was but one in a large district of country, and his labours consisted in preaching the word, in prayer and public worship, and in administering the sacraments to the pious and religious, living himself in a plain and simple manner; whereas the regulars employed themselves in a gaudy and ostentatious

ostentatious worship, enjoying plenty, and oftentimes a luxurious abundance, at their table : while the former were occupied in instructing the living and urging the necessity of an holy life, the latter were entirely busied in praying for the dead. This was their professed employment and occupation : and this circumstance alone procured them the admiration of the vulgar, brought great gifts and endowments from the rich, and many pious legacies from the dying. It is astonishing to behold, that, upon the single foundation of our natural anxiety concerning a future state, these men built their success and consequence : and it is proper to observe, how ill-instructed men were in those days, when they chose rather to trust their future concerns to the efficacious labours of others than to their own pious cares and strict holiness of life. The pretended interest, which the monks were thought to have with Heaven, might be a reason, with even very pious persons, to employ them after their own decease ; but it is probable that they found evil livers, and the perpetrators of great crimes, to be the most copious source of liberality and donation : inasmuch as such persons were fearful and distrustful even of their own repentance, and, therefore, were desirous of hiring others to aid and assist in the work of their salvation. And, as this praying for the dead was the professed occupation of these numerous bodies of clergy, so it will appear in the following sheets with what art and contrivance they framed all the doctrines of futurity, to favour the practice, and promote the pious fears of the anxious offender.

Thus much will suffice to account for their augmentation, and riches, and number ; but, in the course of this work, it will farther appear, with what art and application they succeeded in worldly grandeur, and in what manner they withdrew

withdrew from any subjection to the dioceſan, until, in ſhort, the abbot ſurpaſſed him in external ſplendor, and the abbey became a rival to the cathedral : and this went on, till, at the diſſolution, it was ſeen that the mitred abbots, who had by degrees been labouring for pre-eminence, were more in number, in the Houſe of Lords, than the biſhops. For, in 1514, the abbots were 28 in number, and the biſhops only 18 or 19.

There were many other conſiderations that tended to give the monks increaſe and conſequence ; and abbeyes were found to be ſuch beneficial inſtitutions that they would have ſtood their ground unto this day, if their great poſſeſſions and revenues had not tempted indigent courtiers to plot and combine againſt them. Their utility appeared in theſe reſpects, that they exerciſed great hoſpitality towards the poor, and this was done at one tenth of the expence which the poor now create, by being maintained by a legal proviſion : the monaſteries were in general the houſes of reception for all the ſick, and they were here nurſed and cured : they generally employed maſters to teach the poor children of the neighbourhood : they entertained all perſons who were ingenious in any art or ſcience, and often tranſcribed books, when but a few underſtood the art, or could undertake it ; and there is now extant a chronicle, compoſed and printed here, in the year 1484, under the countenance then given to this particular abbey by Richard III. theſe houſes alſo kept public registers of all great tranſactions ; to them are we indebted for all our Engliſh hiſtorians, down to the time of the diſſolution. They were poſſeſſed, indeed, of all the learning that was in any repute at the time prior to the coming of the friers, and the monaſteries generally furniſhed the men who were fit for embaſſies abroad, or for high em-

employments at home : and, to their honour be it spoken, that all the inferior officers, both in the law-courts, and in the civil departments of government, who are called clerks, owe this appellation to these houses, whence, or from cathedrals, the first officers were taken. Their landed property was so great, at the time of the dissolution, that it was said to be one-third of all the lands of England ; but this account is probably aggravated : yet, whatever were their temporal possessions, they were always found to be good landlords, ever ready at improvements, and doing many great works in inclosing, or draining, or planting, which individuals could not undertake. In truth, they did more to civilize mankind, and to bring them within the comforts of society, than any set of men of any denomination ever have done. And yet the ungrateful world, that was enjoying the fruit of their labours and their riches, now beholding the edifice to be completed, cast down the builders and the scaffold, as if no longer useful.

In spite of all the calumny that was thrown out against them, nothing so well proclaims their utility as this ; that they maintained themselves in repute, some of them 1000 years, and many for the space of 5, 4, and 300 years ; and that, when they were dissolved, Edward VI. and his counsellors found it necessary to endow new hospitals, build new schools, and provide new relief for the poor and helpless.

Yet, notwithstanding the advantages of these houses, the good that arose from them could not prevent their ruin and downfall. And it must be confessed that, on viewing them in a civil and political light, they will appear too much attached to the Roman pontiff, to be good subjects to their natural sovereign : as they owed their origin to the pope,

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so they ever adhered to Him more than to their lawful king ; and were at all times so obedient to their supreme at Rome as to become his instruments and agents in all his exactions, and in all his contests with the kings of England. But not so was it with the bishops and their clergy : for, though it was a perpetual contest who should appoint the bishops, and, if one of these sovereigns ventured to appoint, the other always claimed a right to approve or reject, yet the bishops and their clergy generally testified the most faithful attachment to their own sovereign : and, to the honour of the Episcopal Clergy be it spoken, they have ever shewn themselves the best friends to monarchy and lawful government.

These sheets will exhibit a just picture of these monastic clergy, and the manners of the times most prevalent among the laity and great men, especially the courtiers ; and they will lead us to a comparison of times, such as ought to excite in us a most sincere gratitude to God, that we are allowed to live in an enlightened age, free from superstitious worship, and in which the way to religious truth is open to all inquirers ; and in this comparison also will be seen how superior the public worship of our church now is to any of the ancient forms in this land, for the purpose of edification, and administering all the comforts of that true religion which Christ was sent to establish here on earth.

These religious foundations fell with such undeserved calumny and slander, that it is but common justice to restore their character, and give them their due praises, wherever the same can be done ; and, I trust, if all others were as free from corruption and ill-government as this of St. Alban, it will be seen how unjustly they were accused, and their overthrow will appear to have been effected for other reasons than pretended
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misrule and secret corruption.—As they had ever been the main pillar and support of the Papal power, it was natural and consistent to abolish the members, after the head was rejected. They were bodies so nearly allied to the Popedom, that they must fall with it: and, though a gradual reformation might have been effected in them, yet, in the new plan of church-government, they were deemed unnecessary; and the new head of the church, and his counsellors, wished to have as few subjects, in the church to be governed, as might be: accordingly, by dissolving the regular clergy, and limiting the Church to the episcopal order of seculars, they rejected above 100,000 of the former, and retained about 8000 of the latter.

Whatever was the pretext, the real truth was, that their temporal power and wealth tempted their downfall: and, in spite of all the good and real merit that was to be found in them, they fell a prey and spoil to an extravagant monarch and his necessitous courtiers. In the legislature of those times there were many great and able men; but, whatever cause there may be to charge them with want of piety, there is no room to accuse them of any want of worldly wisdom, or of their embracing that self-denial, and contempt of the world, which they were so ready to condemn in the monks; they made laws and ordinances to support a new religion, when they could enrich themselves by suppressing the old. But the bright example of the bishops and clergy who submitted to the flames at that time will appear more illustrious, when it is seen how just and rational was their opposition to the worship then in use, as well as to the doctrine; the first having in it as little of true piety and devotion as the latter had of reason and revealed truth. It was the blood of those men who could

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die

die for the truth that gave the new establishment a firm and stable foundation; when neither the will of the prince nor the laws of his parliaments could have been able, without that cement, to effect a new construction and edifice.

The study of antiquity is no longer confined to the contemplation of rust, but is now conducted on such principles of real knowledge, that it is become a kind of liberal science; and it hath received so much help and encouragement from the munificent care of our legislature, that every man who deals in researches owes to them abundance of thanks, for facilitating his enquiries. The author of this history hath drawn his materials from the most authentic sources, and advanced nothing but what he finds written and recorded by most indisputable authority. The first part, which comes down to Edward III. is furnished by Matthew Paris and by Walsingham: the first was a monk who lived in this abbey in the reign of Henry III. and whose writings shew (and all subsequent mention concurs), that he was a man of great diligence in collecting his annals, and of a temper too brave and independent, to comply with, or to flatter, the usurping pretensions of either the pope or the king; and, with this disposition, he exhibits a veracity that must gain the credit of all his readers: the other likewise was a monk of this abbey, and lived about the time of Henry IV and V. The second part extends from about 1340 to the dissolution, and until the reign of Edward VI. in which period the same Walsingham, and many other manuscripts little known (consisting of old chartularies, leiger books, and short histories, compiled in this abbey) set forth a continued and regular account of most great and material events. Of these manuscripts some
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are in the Cotton Library, some among the Harleian Collections, and some in other libraries, as will be mentioned when they are quoted. The information that follows the dissolution is drawn chiefly from the papers in the Augmentation-Office: and the steps that preceded and accompanied the dissolution, are verified by many authentic documents, collected by Rymer in the 14th volume of the *Fœdera*.

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CHAPTER I.

Of Ancient Verulam.

THE first and earliest accounts that we have of this island and its inhabitants are from such Romans as were actually present here and bore command; or else from the historians and writers at Rome who thought proper to commit to letters the transactions of those Roman leaders. And these little remains of history give us a very mean opinion of the Britons when the Romans first visited them, under Cæsar, in the year 54, before the Birth of Christ. The first mention of the Britons is from Cæsar himself; who carried his arms from Gaul with a view to make a conquest; or at least to satisfy a learned curiosity: and the following intimations of the Britons come from Tacitus and Cæsar. From their accounts it is certain, that the Britons had no cities, towns, or buildings, of any lasting materials, or any fixed duration (a). *Civitas*, whenever mentioned by Cæsar, means only a confederacy and alliance of men, united for the purposes of government; and he expressly saith, book V. 17, 'that their towns were nothing more than places fortified or made defensible by woods, or bogs and ditches; and that these were made use of as dwellings only in war; for in peace they lived scattered and dispersed.' And the same may be understood of the Britons, which Herodian saith, lib. 7, of the Germans; 'that their habita-

(a) Cæsar says, B. V. cap. 10, *Ædificia Gallicis confimilia, plurima.*

'tions were mean, because they did not understand the way of building with brick or stone.' And, therefore, we may well give credit to Tacitus, when he says of Agricola, that, 'whereas the Britons were dispersed and rude, and thereby the more prone and ready for war, he gave them encouragement to build temples, forums, and houses.' Agric. cap. XXI. And in this respect doth *oppidum* in these writers differ from *civitas*; that, whereas the last meant only a community or kind of civil institution, the first meant a place of security and mutual aid and help, *ab ope*. And the *castella* of these authors signifies such places as the Romans had made strong and defensible, with buildings and works after the manner of their own country.

It is observable that Cæsar names no particular city or town, yet describes the town of Cassivelaunus; and, from the progress of Cæsar and his distance from the Thames, and from that King's being the head or chief of the league, and probably from his name, which signifies the King of the Cassii, his town might be no other than what was then and afterwards called Verulam: and this conjecture receives much strength from this circumstance, that the place and situation of Verulam did exactly answer the description of a British town, *silvis paludibusque munitum*, so long as the great pool and lake remained, which is now turned to dry land. Cæsar adds, that on his arrival before the place, he finds it *egregiè naturâ atque opere munitum*; but incapable of sustaining the assault of his soldiers; who, making their attack on two sides, gained the town; and the enemy after some delay fled out on another side. Cæs. Com. V. 17.

Under Augustus no attempts were made against Britain; nor under the two following Emperors, untill the reign of Claudius. Tacitus says (a) 'that Britain suffered a long oblivion; the Emperor Augustus calling it prudence and good advice to forbear it; Tiberius would have it be looked on as an injunction on him to forbear. The next Emperor, Caligula, from the fickleness and mutability of his temper, and from the seditions and wars among the Germans, turned no thoughts towards this island.' Claudius, on consultation with Vespasian, resumed the conquest of it, and sent over an army under the command of Aulus Plautius; and he was soon after succeeded by Ostorius Scapula. Such was the success of their arms, that the part of Britain next to Gaul was reduced to the form of a province; and a colony of veterans was established at a place called Camalodunum or Maldon (b). Didius Gallus next commanded; and after him Vera-

(a) In Agricola, cap. 13.

(b) Ibidem, cap. 14.

nus, who died within the year; and he was succeeded by Paulinus Suetonius. This general, anno 61, carried his arms to the western side of the island, and was preparing to assault and vanquish the isle of Anglesey (Mona); from whence he found the enemy received great succours, and which was the principal seat of the Druids, who were the rulers and counsellors of the land. His conquest of this place had scarce succeeded, when news was brought that the Britons in the province, viz. the Iceni and the Trinobantes, under the conduct of Boadicia, had taken arms; and assaulted the colony, and slain all the Romans therein; and then, marching away to meet Petilius Cerialis, a lieutenant coming to the aid of the colony with the ninth legion, had routed the legion, and slain all the foot; the horse having escaped.

This was the first colony planted by the Romans in Britain, and is an argument of the safe footing (as they thought) they had got there, and of the submission of its inhabitants. But the total overthrow of the colony, and the immense slaughter made of the Romans through the province, amounting to 70,000, according to Tacitus (a), shews too the fierce resentments of the ancient Britons, and the weak state in truth of their new masters. Suetonius quitted Mona, and marched back to London (and this is the first mention in ancient history of this place), which says the historian was *Cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatumum maximè celebre*: this shews that London was then very considerable as a port, and much frequented by merchants and traders. And by the hesitation of Suetonius, whether he should save London and abandon the rest, or preserve the rest at the loss of this place only, and by his chusing the latter, it appears that London was then a very considerable place in the province, and most convenient for communication with the continent; but still not a place chosen for a colony. Tacitus says also (b), that Verulamium, a free town, was involved in the same destruction; and hints that this was a rich and opulent town, and therefore was a greater temptation to a plundering foe than mere castles and military posts; all which the enemy passed by, in order to make a good booty at Verulam: *Omissis castellis, praesidiisque militum, quod uberrimum spoliunt, et defensoribus intutum; læti prædâ, et aliorum segnes petebant.*

Suetonius having determined to abandon London, notwithstanding the tears and intreaties of the people there who had escaped the massacre, fought the enemy, under the command of Boadicia; and, though attended with only ten thousand men, attacked and defeated the Bri-

(a) Ann. L. XIV. cap. 33.

(b) Eod. cap.

tons; and slew in the battle and pursuit near 80,000, as Tacitus reports; and with the loss of 400 Romans slain, and as many wounded. The place of this signal defeat is described by the historian as being very narrow and confined; *Deligitque locum arctis faucibus, & a tergo sylva clausum, & in fronte apertam planitiem*. But it is uncertain where to fix it among the Iceni and Trinobantes; as it is a description that may suit a thousand places, even at this time; and therefore probably was suitable to many more, when the country was in its wild and natural state. But thus much may be said, that, having but a small army, he chose a place between two hills or eminences, *angustias loci pro munimento*; which being immoveable, and having undergone no such change as the wood in the rear, and the plain in front, possibly may, this circumstance may lead the curious antiquary to form good conjectures as to the spot where this memorable battle was fought (a).

Tacitus says, that as many as 70,000 Roman citizens and their allies perished in that insurrection of the Britons, at the three places which he has mentioned; namely, the Colony, London, and Verulam. Which great number proves how numerous and how well settled the Romans were in the province, and especially in these three towns or cities. At the colony they had built a temple in honour of the Emperor Claudius, set up an image of victory, and instituted a priesthood for the solemnities of religion. But they had not enclosed the seat of their colony (Camalodunum) with any fortification; *dum amœnitati prius quam usui consulitur* (b). And thus, in the midst of apparent peace, they were on a sudden surrounded by the enemy, and cut off; and even the ninth legion, coming to their relief, shared the same fate. London seems at this time to have received no augmentation of honours, or any advantage whatever, from the Romans; but to have been considered as a great port and place of merchandize; whereas Camalodunum being converted into a colony (for certainly it was before a British town), and thereby settled with a number of veterans, *in coloniam Camalodunum recens deducti* (c), now became a place of arms, the seat of justice (for Catus Decianus was there as Procurator, and not far from the place, with 200 men, when the Britons made the assault), and the capital also of the new province. These first improvements make this probable, and also its middle situation between the Iceni on the East and the Trinobantes on the West; whereas London was too near one extremity; and perhaps Verulam was on the limits of the pro-

(a) Tac. An. XIV. 37. (b) Ann. XIV. 31. (c) Tac. Agric. XIV. 31.
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vince westward, and thought ill situated for the capital of their new conquest, but well adapted for its boundary and barrier. But as Tacitus calls Verulam a Municipium, this denotes its augmentation and advancement since it had been subject to the Romans; who would scarce have given the old inhabitants the privilege of bearing offices, and of participating in a corporation or local government, unless there had been a coalition between them, and a friendly understanding. Or, more properly speaking, the distinction between the Colonia and the Municipium was this, that, whereas in the first the kind of government instituted therein was purely Roman, and none but the Roman soldiers or citizens brought thither could be chosen magistrates, or have a vote in the choice; in the Municipium the old inhabitants were allowed these privileges, and enjoyed a participation of the same rights of office and government, of law and property, as the Romans themselves; and this was esteemed the most prudent, as well as most honourable way of treating their vanquished foes. In this state was Verulam when the Britons destroyed it and its people, in 61 years after Christ; and to this pre-eminence had it risen since Aulus Plautius first invaded Britain, in the year of Christ 42, and second of Claudius. Dio saith that Claudius passed into Britain in person, and, having joined Plautius, took the command of the army, and conducted the enterprize against Cunobelin, whose chief city was Camalodunum; and, having defeated him, thus got possession of that place. Vespasian and Titus, afterwards emperors, served in these wars under Plautius, and signalized themselves by their successes in the Isle of Wight, and in fighting the enemy 30 times. Vespasian commanded the 2d legion. Plautius commanded only three years, and then returned to Rome; and Ostorius came in the 10th of Claudius, or about the 50th of the Christian æra, and died about four years after in the command; during whose time the colony was established at Camalodunum; the famous King of the Ordovices, Caractacus, defeated and taken prisoner; and the Roman authority acknowledged by the Iceni and the Trinobantes; that is, by the people who inhabit the present counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the counties of Essex and Middlesex.

The flourishing state of Camalodunum before its overthrow in 61, and likewise of Verulam, may be well conceived from this circumstance, viz. that there are now extant coins with both names on them, probably struck by the Romans in memory of their successes, and the establishment made at the former by Claudius (a).

Nero, then Emperor, sent reinforcements to Suetonius, out of Germany; being a supply of 2000 legionary soldiers, 8 cohorts of

(a) See Camden.

auxiliaries, and 1000 horse. By which means the 9th legion was re-instituted and compleated; but Suetonius was hindered from prosecuting the war by some dissensions that arose between him and the new Procurator, Julius Classicianus, who had been sent in the place of Catus, on which Suetonius delivered up his commission to Petronius Turpilianus. This commander, and others who succeeded him, were content to act on the defensive, and nothing of enterprize was attempted untill Vespasian (now Emperor, and whose fame and exploits were well remembered in Britain) sent over Julius Agricola to command the 20th legion, Vectius Bolanus being lieutenant, or chief commander; but his commission expiring this year, Petilius Cerealis succeeded, and the next year (after Christ 72) Agricola had the command. And in that summer he made a conquest of the Isle of Mona, or Anglesey. In the second year of his command Vespasian died; but he was continued in his employ under Titus, and then under Domitian; and, through envy only, recalled by him in the year 92. The chief exploits of his arms had appeared in the north of this island; and, therefore, nothing was done by him towards a re-establishment of the colony at Camalodunum, or of the municipium at Verulam. Nevertheless, all the southern part of the island was in subjection to the Romans; and these places recovered by virtue of peace and quiet, and under the command of such inferior officers, both civil and military, as were posted in them. And nothing so much demonstrates the diligence and attention of the Romans in improving their new conquests, as the great number of cities or towns which they had built and augmented, and the military ways which they had established, by the time when Antoninus caused his survey or itinerary to be framed, about 155 after Christ.

For, beside Camalodunum, they had Canonium, which is well conjectured by Bishop Gibson to be Writtle, and not, as Camden supposed, Chelmsford; also Cæsaromagus, or Dunmow, and Colonia, or Colchester, all in the neighbourhood of Camalodunum. This last place (Colonia) has been mistaken by some for the colony which Claudius established; but by Tacitus that colony is expressly named Camalodunum; and Colonia was a military station, on a place whose name was easily latinized, perhaps, from some British word; and if a conjecture be allowed, as we find many places called from the trees most prevalent in them, as Berkshire from the birch-trees, Oakley from the Oaks, Bucks from the beech-trees, just as Chenies from the Norman *les chênes* (oaks), why may not Colonia have come from the British *côllen*, which signifies hazels; but certain it is that the said town, called Colonia, had some origin of that nature and likeness, because the name
of

of the river is Coln, and several villages adjoining therto; as, Coln Engaine, Earls Coln, and White Coln, are so named from the river. All which were either derived from one common and general root, or else were places within the limits and jurisdiction of Colonia (a).

As for Verulam, it is quite uncertain whence it derived its name; for, though the British tongue hath Ffêr for strong, and although there was a town in Italy, not far from Rome, among the Hernici, called Verulæ, I will not affirm either of these to be the origin of Verulam.

The towns in the vicinity of Verulam, we find by the Itinerary, (and probably there were no other towns beside those that stood on the highway, though there might be Stations) were Sullomacæ; which Camden would place at Blochley Hill. Which latter place agrees with the distances both from London and from Verulam with the Itinerary. And on the other side is Durocibrivæ, which he would place at Flamstead, 7 miles from Verulam. But there is still visible, beside the Watling Street way, or road from London to Verulam, another original Roman road, through the forest of Enfield Chase, called at this day Camlet Way; and which seems to have been the road from Verulam to Camalodunum, or Canonium. Magiovinium also, in the Itinerary, must probably be Dunstable, which has at this day the ruined aspect of something once great, regular, and considerable. It stands at the point where the Ikenild Way crosses the Watling Street Way; and, though no mention is made of it earlier than its being much improved, and augmented with a royal house, and a monastery, by Henry I. yet it is probable that it was in the Romans time a considerable and handsome town.

Cæsar says (a) 'that the maritime parts of Britain were chiefly inhabited by people from Gaul and the Belgæ; who called their new towns and habitations by the names of those places which they had left.' We cannot discern any marks of this in Verulam, nor find any name in Gaul that bears a resemblance to it. And therefore it is probably of British origin; and, as that language has in it the word bêrff, signifying a spear, and llan denoting a place for such particular uses, it is possible that the first British name might signify something military, a place of arms; especially if Cassivelaunus, the King and General against Cæsar, had here his palace and residence.

(a) And that Colchester had its name from being seated on the Coln, and that this river was so called from the trees there most abounding, may be thought farther probable from this circumstance; that in the county of Gloucester there is a river of this name; and near it, a village or parish called Hazleton; and a few miles further off, another village called Nutgrove. And there are many rivers in England called Coln.

(a) Com. L. V. cap. 10.

The Romans made a compleat conquest of the whole island south of the rampart, which Hadrian drew from Carlisle to Newcastle, and which was repaired and much improved by the Emperor Severus. And in the vicinity of that wall or barrier, they had more posts and stations, and of course there are now more remains of Roman antiquity, than any where else in the kingdom. The south and west parts of Britain being in a more quiet and submissive state, fewer garrisons were kept there, and consequently fewer Roman towns or antiquities of any sort are there to be found or discovered. The sovereignty of the Romans lasted until the middle of the 5th century (a), though not without frequent rebellions and insurrections; and the constant guard or army for keeping the conquest had been at least three legions of veterans, and great numbers of auxiliaries, levied in other countries, and quartered in different parts of Britain. In the time of Severus the standing army of the empire was 29 legions, of 6000 men each; of which three were assigned for the custody of Britain, besides perhaps as many more in Dalmatian horse, and other foreign auxiliaries. One legion, viz. the 2d, and afterward the 20th, was stationed a long time at Chester; the 6th was fixed at York; and perhaps the other, which probably was the 9th, might be stationed at the wall or frontier. In order to keep the country quiet, the Romans employed vast numbers of the country people, together with their soldiers, in constructing the military ways or roads, remaining to this day, and in many places visible. Our ancient historians mention only four, and in the laws of Edward the Confessor there is mention made, *De pace quatuor Cheminorum*; but there were many more, according to the Itinerary, though perhaps only four might be kept up and supported by the Saxons and the Saxon kings.

Now, when we survey this island as the place where once the Romans, the most potent and polished people on the earth, bore sway, and held all in subjection, we are apt to imagine that they should form great cities, construct vast bridges, or aqueducts, erect stately temples, and build places like those at Rome for the public baths; or, as amphitheatres, for the pleasure and amusement of the people. But no vestiges of that sort are to be found; no great bridge that should stand for ages; no remains or even the column of a temple; no forum; no public baths; no ruined palace, or even town; no great pier for the better convenience of an harbour; no marks, in short, of their grandeur and magnificence, and scarce of their power or con-

(a) The last Roman legion quitted Britain in 420, being called away to oppose the Goths and Barbarians, who were then laying waste the empire on the continent.

venience,

venience; although Bede, (lib 1.) says they had built 28 cities, beside many villages and country seats: and nothing of their constructing now remains, except an old gateway, supposed to be Roman, at Canterbury; and another at Leicester; and the ruins of Severus's Wall. From which circumstance it may be concluded, that they looked on Britain scarce as a part of the empire, but as unworthy of their improving or adorning; and that they thought it only a conquered land, that would yield a tribute, and send a large revenue to the Imperial Treasury. And, indeed, on comparing this country with most others which they subdued, and held only a few years, instead of near 400, it is amazing to find so few remains of improvement; either in building or opening ports; or cultivating the land; or in establishing any method of employing their new subjects; or in contriving new ways of enriching those people, whom they meant to spoil and plunder. They exhausted, but they did not supply. And perhaps this low idea of Britain was taken up from its insular situation, and its distance from the seat of empire; and what is more, from their making no such use of the ocean and a naval power, as future nations and later statesmen have done; who, to their honour be it said, have contrived to enrich the subject, as the best way of adding to the strength of the sovereign power.

When the Romans quitted Britain, in the year 420, and withdrew the last of their armed force for the defence of Gaul and Italy, Britain was soon after invaded by the Picts, and Scots; and the Saxons, who were accustomed to the sea, made descents and invasions on the coasts towards the North Sea. And in the course of this century, and indeed about the middle of it, all the nations of the north, as if by public consent, broke loose from their cold inhospitable regions; and came down in vast armies to the warm and plentiful regions of the south. Such national migrations were not wholly new, but these in this age far surpassed all former examples. The Scythians, in the early ages of the Persian Empire, had come down from the present Russia, and ravaged all Asia Minor, and held it in subjection for 28 years; but were afterwards vanquished. The Gauls had marched under Brennus about the year 300 of Rome, and seized, plundered, and burnt, that capital. The Cimbri and Teutones had quitted their own country (now called Denmark), and had over-run the greatest part of Gaul; but were defeated with great slaughter by Marius, in the year 102 before Christ. The Helvetians also, a few years after, marched out of Switzerland, in order to seek a more comfortable place of abode; but were stopped and vanquished by Cæsar. And many instances of such

like partial emigrations may be produced; but the multitudes that poured forth from all parts of the north at this time, quite from Tary in the east to Norway in the west, were too numerous and too potent to be checked by any opposition; and, though often defeated, yet settled themselves in almost every country in the south; and on the ruins of the Roman Empire erected ten distinct sovereignties.

Britain shared in the common calamity, being oppressed by the Picts and Scots as soon as quitted by the Romans: Vortigern, a prince of the west part of Britain, was chosen commander; and he, finding himself and his countrymen unable to repel the foe from the north, proposed an alliance with the Saxons for their aid and assistance. The Saxon leaders agreed; and it was stipulated, as the price of their service, that they should settle themselves without molestation in the corner of the country afterwards called Kent; than which no part of England could be chosen more convenient and suitable for them, considering them as a naval people, and standing in need of every convenience of life on their first settling. Hengist and Horfa landed in Thanet in 449, and the covenant was ratified by Vortigern's taking in marriage Rowina the daughter of Hengist. They assisted him in repelling the Picts and Scots; and, having sent for more troops from Saxony, they became so powerful, that they forgot their first condition of allies and mercenaries; and in 454 erected *Kent* into a kingdom. And thus by degrees, their countrymen coming over in great numbers, they next, under Ella, in 491, founded the kingdom of *South Saxons*; that is, over the next counties to Kent, viz. Suffex, and Surrey. Then, spreading farther along the south and west coast, they mastered all the country from the last kingdom to the Land's end, and round northward to the Severn; and bounded these acquisitions by the river Avon and the Thames, and by a line from Bristol to Lechlade. And this *Third* settlement in the year 519, under Cerdic, was denominated the kingdom of the West Saxons. Eight years after, these people got possession of the country adjoining to the Thames northward, and occupied those tracts which were afterwards called East Seax and Middle Seax: and here was erected the *Fourth* kingdom by Erchenwin, in 527.

These people, with a prudent degree of policy, had hitherto settled close to each other; and doubtless for the purpose of mutual aid. And they had settled as far as possible from that vexatious foe, whom they had beaten out of Britain; and who would have fallen on the Saxons out of ancient grudge, had the Saxons attempted to settle near them while the enmity was fresh. But now, after 100 years, the Saxons got possession of the country to the north of the Humber; and occupied

pied all that tract which reached to Caledonia and the Piets Wall; and which was bounded on the south by the Humber, and then by the Dunn and cross the land to the Mersey. And here was erected the *Fifth* kingdom under Ida in 547. Another tribe of Saxons, called Angles, seated themselves in the tract contiguous to the East Saxons, on the northward; and in 575, under the conduct of Uffa, established a *Sixth* kingdom, where Suffolk and Norfolk are now situated; and extended it westward over Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.

Thus all the coasts of the island were occupied by these invaders, except what was afterwards the county of Lincoln; and all the inland parts remained in the possession of the Britons. But this country, extending from the Humber to the Thames, and bordering on the limits of the other Saxon settlements, was conquered by Crida in 582; and the Britons driven back beyond the Severn: where they ever after defended themselves against any further assaults from these fierce invaders. And this tract was called the Kingdom of Mercia, or, as it were, the Kingdom of the Boundaries, being limited by the bounds of all the other six, and occupying all the vacant ground between them and their enemies the Britons; for *Mars*, in the language of the Britons, signifies the marches or borders of a country; and *mark*, or *merc*, is the same also in the Saxon. This kingdom was the largest, if not the most powerful, of the whole Heptarchy; comprehending all the middle counties of England: but, under the conduct of Peada it acquired great strength and renown. This warlike Prince, during a reign of 50 years, was engaged in continual hostilities with his neighbours; and slew in battle three kings of the East Angles, and two of the greatest princes who had filled the throne of Northumberland; but was himself defeated and slain by Oswy, king of Northumberland, in 655.

Now during these conflicts no mention is made of Verulam, nor of any transaction there, although it had been a capital city of the Romans; except this, that Uter Pendragon, a British prince, had fought the Saxons in a great battle at this place, and received a dangerous wound: and lay a long time confined to his bed (a): and that he was cured at length by resorting to a well or spring not far distant from the city, at that time reputed salubrious; and for that reason, and for the cures thereby performed, esteemed holy; and blessed in a peculiar manner with the favour of Heaven. Brompton, who lived in the time of Richard II. says this. But no earlier historian mentions any other transaction at Verulam, during the contest between the Britons and the Saxons.

(a) In lecto detentus. *M. Paris.*

The Mercians were in continual conflicts with some of the other kingdoms; and, when Offa ascended the throne, in 755, he found them warlike and enterprising. He waged war with the King of Kent, and defeating him, in 774, in a great battle at Otford, near the river Darent in that county, compelled him to be tributary. He gained also a great victory over Kenulph, the King of Wessex, in 778, at Bensington in Oxfordshire, and secured that part of his dominion from any further incursions from that quarter. His successes raised in his breast a temptation of getting the Kingdom of the East Angles; but not by the glory of war, or the achievements of valour; nor by any conduct that could reflect honour on a regal character. He treacherously slew the young King Ethelbert, while he was making suit to his daughter Elfrida; and had been invited to Hereford with all his nobles, in order to celebrate the nuptials. Ethelbert being the last of the royal family, Offa seized the kingdom, and subdued the people by violence. He sought to retrieve his character, and perhaps appease the remorse of his conscience, by paying court to the clergy, by practising all the monkish devotions which in that age of ignorance and superstition were in the greatest esteem. He gave a tenth of all his goods to the Church; presented rich donations to the Cathedral of Hereford; and even made a pilgrimage to Rome. In this place he thought his riches and power would procure him absolution; and he offered the Pope to maintain a college of English youths at Rome, out of his revenues; and to that purpose imposed a tax on every house possessing *Thirty* pence a year, of one penny. Which imposition was levied and sent to Rome, and called *Peter's pence*; and continued to be sent, though afterwards claimed as a right of the Papal See, until the same was abolished, in 1534, by an act of Parliament which abolished all *procurations, delegations, bulls, and dispensations*, from the bishop of Rome. Rapin attributes the tax of Peter's pence (then called *Romescot*) to Ina, the great and illustrious King of Wessex, for the maintenance of a college at Rome which he had founded for English youth; and that Offa only extended this tax over his own kingdom. His journey to Rome was made in 791; and here, in further expiation of his sins, he undertook to build a stately church and monastery to the memory of *St. Alban* and *Honorius*. The same year he set about this work; and died in 794.

Such are the general outlines of the character of Offa. But there are many particulars to be gathered that cast a light on his virtues and vices. And as he became famous for his piety at last, and was the founder of that religious endowment which gives rise to this history, it is necessary to take a nearer view of his qualities and his character.

That

That wicked contrivance of seizing the kingdom of Ethelbert, and putting him to death, in violation not only of all rights of hospitality, but of all laws human and divine, was suggested (says *M. Paris*) by his wife and consort Drida; whom, in abhorrence of her crime, he caused to be thrown headlong into a well, because that was the punishment she had devised against the virtuous Ethelbert. This woman, says the same historian (in the Additions to his great work) had been a near relation to the King of France, and for some heinous crime had been condemned to die; but in compassion to her sex, she was put out to sea in an open boat, without sails or rudder, to live or perish at the mercy of the waves; when at length she was taken up by some English seamen, brought to land, and saved from her horrid doom of perishing in the sea: that Offa was struck with her adventure, contracted a passion, and married her; and that she was henceforth stiled Quendrida, or Queen Drida. But she called herself Petronilla or Parnel; and within the two first years bore sons; the eldest of which was called Egfrid, who succeeded to the throne; and then she bore three daughters, the eldest of which the King gave to Brithric, the King of the West Saxons; the next to Ethelbert, King of the Northumbrians; and the third was solicited by Ethelbert, King of the East Angles, when he was treacherously murdered.

This potent monarch was so formidable to his neighbours in the beginning of his reign, that they confederated together for mutual defence, and intreated the King of France to accede to this alliance, and assist them, if attacked; and *M. Paris* has a letter written by them to that purpose. These were the kings of Kent, of the West Saxons, of the Northumbrians, of the South Saxons, and of the East Angles. In the letter they complain of his pride, and insolence, and crafty devices; and accompany the letter with 1000 pieces of gold. Charles the King of France accepted the present, and sent for answer a letter to Offa, 'commanding him to desist from disturbing Britain; and 'forbear to subjugate, by any sort of means, the kings who bordered 'upon him, and who had lately united themselves to him; that on 'such an attempt, he would feel Charles, who was formidable to 'every mortal, hostile to him.'

Offa assembled his nobles and captains; and in a speech accused the kings and Charles of a conspiracy to ruin them and overturn the kingdom of Mercia; 'but now is the time,' saith he, 'when Charles is 'employed in foreign wars; let us fall on our enemies, and cast them 'down, never to rise more:' and instantly marched with his army to
attack

attack the King of the East Angles. A bloody fight ensued, at a place called Feldhurd, and Offa gained the victory.

Charles, or Carloman, at this time died, in Saxony; and his brother, called afterwards Charlemagne, succeeded to his dominions. The British kings renewed their alliance with him, and he answered with high threats to Offa. The consequence was that Offa marched against the King of Kent, and gained the great victory at Otford, wherein the Kentish monarch was slain: and Offa took possession of that kingdom. He then turned his arms against Kenulph, King of the West Saxons, who was securing himself and confederate princes in a great castle at Benfington. In this they defended themselves, and had also a great army in the field. The latter was completely vanquished, and the former in a few days after surrendered; the kings having escaped by favour of the night. They fled with all possible haste to Marmod or Merfyn, the King of Powis, in Wales; and were there sheltered and protected. Offa wrote to this prince, charging the kings with plots, and conspiracies and rebellion, against him their true and legal sovereign (because some of them had before been vanquished by Offa or his ancestors): concluding that Marmod would involve himself in the same calamities, by affording them assistance. The King (Marmod) and his nobles assembled, and having read the letter, they concluded the consultation with this resolution, 'that the powerful King of Wales ought by no means to fear that little king, Offa, who was silly, mad, and possessed by the devil.' *Marmodium potentem, Offam Regulum desipientem et arreptitium minime debere formidare.* And Marmod charged the Ambassadors of Offa with this answer: 'that it would be an act of dishonour and timidity to desert those who were worsted, when he had taken them under his protection, and shewn them compassion; and that, if Offa should presume to attack them, he would arm the whole force of Wales in their defence.'

Offa, in consequence of this, sent troops to take possession of Kent; and by securing the strong posts, preclude all hopes of the King's return. In the mean time he marched against the Potentate of Wales, and the fugitive princes; and having engaged, gave them a cruel and bloody defeat. This happened a few days before the feast of our Lord's nativity; when Marmod proposed the following stratagem to his chiefs and allies: that they should offer a truce to Offa during the succeeding solemnity; when, if the Saxons should be rendered careless, and be put off their guard, he would fall on them by night, and exterminate the whole army of Offa. This treachery was approved: the truce being proposed to Offa, it had his consent; yet neither army made any retreat.

treat. The King then, for the better caution of each army, and by the consent of both parties, caused a long and deep trench to be dug, with a very high bank thrown up on the side of England, to prevent any sudden incursion of the Britons. And, for the more safe and quiet celebration of divine offices in such a season of solemnity, he built a small church. All which transactions were compleated in 12 days, and those of the shortest; and the trench was named Offa's Dyke, and the church called Offkirke, even to this day, saith *M. Paris*.

The place of these transactions is not mentioned; but it is probable, nay certain, that it was near the present dyke, and towards the southern end thereof; and it is very likely to be at Lantwardine in the north of Herefordshire, where two camps are very distinct, with the river Teme between them. Here are marks also of the dyke(a). And this conjecture is favoured by this circumstance, that Offa had a palace at Sutton, north of Hereford, and some remains are there to be seen; and here it was that he contrived the death of Ethelbert. Indeed, no such place as Off-Kirke is here to be found; yet I cannot think that Warwick or Off-church near it was the place of these memorable exploits: though it must be confessed that Warwick was founded by Warmand, the father of the first Offa. And probably Off-church might be of his founding and building. And Camden says, that here was a palace of Offa; and it was the place where Fremund, a son of Offa, was basely murdered.

The stratagem of Marmod received every preparation that he thought requisite; and, on the night following Christmas Day, when Offa and his army were resigned to sleep and security, these combined kings made a fierce attack. They had employed the men of the country to level the ditch, and thus make an easy passage. The conflict was fatal to the Saxons; they underwent a severe and bloody defeat, were slain in great numbers, and Offa retreated; having suffered a loss not to be recovered in a short time. The next year he took post at the same place, and faced the enemy with new and well appointed numbers. The Britons assembled on the same spot, thinking it lucky and

(a) It is visible on Brachy-hill, near Lantwardine; and from Knighton it is continued over part of Shropshire into Montgomeryshire; passes over the long mountain of Kefn Digott, crosses the Severn to Llandrinio Common. Then it passes the Vyrnwy into Shropshire, and going near Oswestry enters Denbighshire; and may be plainly seen from Rhuabou to Plas Power, near Wrexham, and thence to Basingweek, near Holywell, in Flintshire; and was a work of many years; and compleated from the pattern of the rampart which Offa begun near Lantwardine; and intended to check and repress the incursions of the Britons,

propitious to them; and engaged Offa with great fierceness and numerous bodies of men. A very bloody contest followed; the Britons were routed; the very plain was dyed with blood; and the victor gave orders to slay all the men and infants; and scarcely to shew mercy to the women: an order which, because given by the king in his rage and fury, was executed, with most unheard-of slaughter. Those who had been slain in fight he caused to be buried, together with his own men, in the ditch which the enemy had leveled; and caused all holy offices, and the mass also, to be solemnized over them.

This last exploit happened in the year 775; and he had spent about ten years in these several military expeditions, in which he had at length defeated and worn down all his adversaries. In this year he is said, by *William of Malmesbury*, to have founded a monastery at Bath; which being afterwards demolished by the ravaging Danes, was rebuilt by Elphage, who became bishop of Bath, and then archbishop of Canterbury, about 980.

The King of France, who had written in such menacing terms to Offa, on his entering into alliance with the petty kings of Britain, is called Charles by *M. Paris*; but it is probable that it was Carloman, the brother of Pepin, or else Pepin himself; because the Great Charles, who afterwards became Emperor, was not even King of France, until the year 771. But whoever was that king, he took no steps to aid and assist his allies. But on the succession of Charles, who was at that time employed in Italy, and had vanquished the Lombards and made captive their King Desiderius, in 774, Offa sent him ambassadors in form, bearing presents of great (a) value and letters requesting his friendship. To these Charles gave answer in terms of civility, and of piety; but without the least mention of the affairs of Britain. And in a few days after, he sent another letter to Offa; saying that Desiderius, the Pagan King of the Lombards, and the generals and chiefs of the vanquished Saxons, with many of their followers, had taken on them the vow of Baptism: styling himself the most potent of the Christian kings in the East; and Offa the most potent of those in the West. And these letters were accompanied with presents and gifts; among which were some statutes made in the provincial synods,

(a) Alcuin, a Benedictine monk, and abbot of Canterbury, was sent to Charlemagne, to settle terms of peace, &c. He was detained by the Emperor, and was in such favour as to be admitted to give him instruction as a preceptor; and he persuaded Charlemagne to found the university of Paris, and that of Pavia; and died abbot of St. Martyn at Tours, in 790.

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which Charles recommended as containing the rudiments of the Christian faith ; but yet as very proper for the instruction of the British bishops, whom he believed to be *rudēs et incompositos*.

These intimations, aided and encouraged by the general tranquillity of the kingdom, raised thoughts in Offa of making some regulations and alterations in episcopal matters ; particularly the places of the respective sees. Lambert, the archbishop of Canterbury, was thought to have his see too near the dominions of foreign powers ; and it was charged on him in the presence of the King, that he had promised Charles, before the late confederacy of the kings, that, if he would enter Britain with hostility, and come to their aid, he should find free admission into his archbishoprick, with all possible favour and assistance. And another motive with Offa was, an opinion that, where he had triumphed with glory over his enemies, there or near that place would the primacy and archiepiscopal seat be most properly set up, and most devoutly revered. He sent therefore to Pope Adrian proper messengers and presents, requesting that his holiness would appoint (though contrary to the ancient and approved usage) the Bishop of Litchfield, named Ealdulph, to be an archbishop ; and that all the provinces of the Mercians might be subject to this prelate. The Pope consented ; and Ealdulph received the pall from Rome : but by this division we are not to understand, that the whole power of the archbishop of Canterbury was abolished, and the see removed to Litchfield ; but that a third province was made, and archiepiscopal authority established, at a new place, over a great part of the former province of Canterbury ; for there remained to Lambert, and to his successors, the bishopricks of London, Rochester, Winton, and Shirburn. And, on the death of Ealdulph, Humbert was appointed to succeed him ; who was chaplain to the King and Confessor, was privy to all his counsels and secrets, and was also the *Informator Morum*, or Regulator of his morals. This Archbishop of Lichfield begged the body of the young Prince Ethelbert, and deposited the same with great solemnity in the cathedral of Lichfield ; but it was afterwards carried to Hereford, and there buried, with a church built over it dedicated to his memory.

The King had now attained to old age, and had associated his son as regent with him, and was passing his days in great tranquillity, when he conceived an intention of founding a monastery ; and, in endowing the same, of giving to it the manor of Winslow, where he was then dwelling. It seems as if he had many places of residence, for something of his name appears in many villages and lands, as if
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they had been once belonging to him, if not the places of his abode; such as Offley in Herts, Offington in Berkshire, Oston in Warwickshire, Oston in Suffolk, and High Ofley in Staffordshire.

The monastic life had begun in Ægypt; where, about the year 210, a severe persecution raged against all Christians, under the reign of Decius, the Roman Emperor; and where certain pious men, the chief of whom were Paul and Anthony, retired into the deserts, not only for safety, but to enjoy a more quiet life of contemplation and devotion. This example was followed; and great numbers assembled together, even after the persecution had ceased, for the same purposes of religion. And indeed in a hot climate, and a plentiful luxuriant soil, there was something inviting to this kind of peaceful repose beside motives of religion. This kind of life grew into repute, and the fame of its sanctity reached other countries. Athanasius, the Bishop of Alexandria, is said to have carried it into the Greek Church: and there it soon spread; and great institutions were founded and endowed. It passed thence into the Western or Latin Church; and Martin carried it into France.

From France it had passed into Britain: though only two monasteries are mentioned to have been founded there before Augustin was sent over from the Pope, with 40 monks, to the King of Kent, about 596, to instruct him and his people in the Doctrine of Christianity: so unnecessary had it seemed to the Britons to teach and propagate that religion by those means; for the whole nation of Britons had in general received Christianity and established some bishops, and built churches, before Austin's coming, and that by the assiduity of the clergy more than by the labours of the monkish bodies: for the monasteries, though very considerable, being only two (a) in number, could never have been able to spread the Christian doctrine so far as it seems to have gone when the Saxons first invaded and began to make conquests. These two monasteries were *Glastonbury*, and *Banchor* in Cheshire on the river Dee, the foundation and beginning of which last is very early; but it is celebrated for its numbers and magnitude, and its fatal ruin and catastrophe (b).

Banchor contained in it above 2000 monks, and occupied a large city, when Ædelfred, the king of the East Angles, fighting against the

(a) Beside Shirborn in Dorset, founded about 370.

(b) Banchor was founded by Congellus, a Briton by birth, and who became the first abbat about 530, saith Hanmer in his Chron. of Ireland, p. 52. Bale says, it was founded by Lucius for Christian philosophers, and continued for 350 years; until Congellus changed it into a convent of monks. It is probable that Lucius founded

the Britons, put to death 1200 monks, for assisting their brethren and countrymen. This happened probably about 613; though some authors place it a few years earlier, and consider Austin as having instigated the king to execute such a degree of cruelty upon them. But he seems to have died some years before. Nothing else is said of this famous place; but, from its situation and dignity, it seems to have been the university as it were, and place of general education for the Britons of those parts; both before the Saxons came, and until its decay and ruin, which followed by degrees from the victory of Ædelfred, and the cruel revenge he had taken.

The other monastery, *Glastonbury*, was founded about 300 years after Christ, and had grown great and famous; was much augmented and its church rebuilt by King Ina in 725, and maintained a high credit in the time of Alfred, and the same through all succeeding ages until its final downfall and dissolution; at which time it was found to have the largest revenue of any religious foundation in England; the same being 3311l. 7s. 4d. per annum, and therefore was thought the more fit to be dissolved.

At the time of the Saxon invasion, the land was in general obedient to the religion of Christ; and most parts had received the instruction of bishops and priests, settled in a regular method, though not so numerous as in these times. But it is very remarkable how soon and sudden the Saxons became converts to the religion of the conquered. This was generally effected by the persuasion and arguments of the queens, whom the Saxon kings and chiefs married. And when Ethelbert, the king of Kent, received Austin and his retinue as messengers from the Pope, we find he was persuaded to become a Christian by the advice and instruction of his Queen, Bertha, who was the daughter of Lothaire, king of France, and had been instructed in the religion of Christ. And, as the best proof of their sincerity, or as the most meritorious work they could perform, they generally founded monasteries; of which foundations we find about sixteen or seventeen to have been

founded it; and placed it here, in opposition to the Druids, and to spread the doctrine of Christ in that country, where the Druids had held their principal seat. This place had the honour of training up David, the great saint and patron of Wales, and founder of the archi-episcopal see called now by his name; Dubritius also, the founder of Llandaff Cathedral; and Illutus, the reputed Bishop of Caerleon. Other eminent Britons were educated here long before the Saxons invaded England, as Afaph, Petroe, and Patern; which is the reason why we discover the foundation of the great churches in Wales, to be more ancient than any in England. Warrington's Hist. of Wales.

erected and endowed before the time of Offa's foundation ; and these some of the most considerable ; such as,

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| 1. Rochester, founded in | - - - - - | 600 |
| 2. Canterbury (both at the persuasion of Austin) | - - - - - | 605 |
| 3. Tewkesbury, by Odo and Dudo, Earls of Gloucester, | - - - - - | 615 |
| 4. St. Swithin in Winchester by Kenewulch, King of the West Saxons, who also built the cathedral, | - - - - - | 634 |
| 5. Dorchester in Oxfordshire, with an episcopal see by Cinigilse, King of the West Saxons ; and Oswald, King of the Northumbrians, | - - - - - | 635 |
| 6. Boston by Botolphus, | - - - - - | 654 |
| 7. Peterborough, by Peada, when the Mercians received Christianity, | - - - - - | 655 |
| 8. and 9. Barking and Chertsey, by Erkenwald, Bishop of London, | - - - - - | 680 |
| 10. Malmesbury, by Eleutherius and Aldhelm, Bishops of Winchester, | - - - - - | 670 |
| 11. Gloucester, by Ofric, King of the Northumbrians, | - - - - - | 680 |
| 12. Evesham, by Egwine, Bishop of Worcester ; and Kenred, son of Wolphus, King of Mercia, | - - - - - | 700 |
| 13. Bardney in Lincolnshire, by King Oswald, | - - - - - | 712 |
| 14. Croyland by Ethelbald, King of Mercia, | - - - - - | 716 |
| 15. Abingdon, by Cissa, King of the West Saxons, | - - - - - | 720 |
| 16. Minchelney, in Somerset, by a King of the West Saxons, | - - - - - | 740 |
| 17. Winchcomb, in Gloucestershire, by Kenulph, King of the West Saxons, whom Offa vanquished and dethroned, | - - - - - | 787 |
| 18. Glastonbury, <i>refounded</i> by Ina, | - - - - - | 725 |

Now, from this list it appears that monastic foundations had their rise chiefly from the time of Austin ; and though we read of the monasteries of Banchor, and of Glastonbury, and Shirburn, prior to his time ; yet they must be considered in a different light from those that followed ; being places indeed of education and Christian instruction ; and containing persons who taught all the sciences and arts then in repute ; and sending forth preachers into places where the inhabitants wanted them : though without any authority from bishops, which at many of these places we do not find any certain traces of. Whereas when Austin came, to convert, as he professed, the Pagan Saxons to Christ, he came to introduce the Christianity of Rome ; with not only its doctrines of Papal supremacy, and many other assumed privileges, and high pretensions ; but also with all the Romish artifices of bearing rule and sway over the people whom they would convert : he

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came with 40 monks, accompanied with the gaudy vestments and all the external apparatus of the Romish worship: but he came, also, furnished with all the learning, and improved science, which Rome afforded; with a knowledge of the civil laws, and of all the arts which could contribute to civilize men, and teach them more conveniences of living; and with this view he recommended the founding of monasteries, as being places that contained all useful arts and science, as well as setting forth a most exemplary worship and devotion.

It is remarkable that, in the very year in which Gregory the Pope sent Austin and his monks into England, a great monastery of Benedictines was destroyed by the Lombards; and this is asserted by the Saxon Chronicle in the year 595 (a). Though the letters of Pope Gregory himself (b) place this catastrophe a few years earlier, yet they say it was the monastery of Monte Cassino in Campania, founded by St. Benedict 60 years before, and enriched with great donations; and that it was pillaged by Zotto, the first Lombard Duke of Benevento, in Samnium (c). It is farther to be noted, that Gregory the Great was himself a Benedictine monk, and had belonged to the monastery of St. Andrew at Rome.

It is then very probable, that the monastery of Banchor was found by Austin and his monks to be adverse to their plan and institution; since it is plain that Austin made pretensions to an authority unknown to the British clergy; and that the latter had never acknowledged a dependence on any foreign pontiff as head. And the advice given by Gregory, as may be seen in his epistle, tends to encourage him to subdue all adversaries and contradiction, till he could firmly settle the Roman power in Britain. And this enmity against the British clergy instigated the King of the East Angles, by the persuasion of Austin, to extirpate Banchor.

(a) This Chron. was compiled at the end of King Stephen's reign. But this event of Cassino is so foreign to English history, that the author by inserting it here means to be understood, that it was connected with the English Church. And the compiler of the Chronicle thought so, when he mentioned it in the course of *English* events, &c. See Gibson's Edit. of the Sax. Chron.

(b) See the Dial. of Greg. Mag. l. 2. c. 17.

(c) That Mount Cassino had been founded for monks by Benedict, consult the following authors, viz. *Herempert's Chronicle*, written in the 9th century; and *Peter the Library-keeper's Treatise of illustrious Personages of Mount Cassino*, written in the 12th century; and a *Chronicle of Mount Cassino*, by *Leo*, Bishop of Ostia, written also in the 12th century.

However, the destruction of Cassino happened but a few years before the monks were sent into England. And as this monastery seems to have been the only one in Italy, it is probable that the monks might wish to be placed in a land of more security and safety; or at least be employed where was a richer and more plentiful harvest. And, when they were allowed to settle in England, it is plain that their monastic institutions were blended with episcopacy; that is, that, wherever Austin procured a bishop's see to be erected, there was founded also at the same time a monastery contiguous; where the monks were considered as a standing council, to aid and assist the Bishop in the discharge of his duties, and to provide preachers, and a succession of them, for instructing the villages and country. And it had not yet come to pass that monasteries were founded without a bishop, and independent of his authority: and, in a manner, under the government of an abbot, to set up a separate and distinct interest, and to be labouring for the service of a different master. All which did come to pass in succeeding ages, when the monkish bodies became very numerous, rich, and powerful, and always took part with the Pope as their lawful and only sovereign; and when the clergy, or ministering priesthood, though numerous, were borne down by the monks, and a constant enmity and opposition was maintained between the regulars and seculars; as we shall see in the 9th and 10th centuries.

That the first bishops were Romans is very evident from their names; and that, wherever Austin appointed a bishop, he there established a monastery, appears in the history of every cathedral: or, if the Metropolitan did not establish a monastery together with the bishop, it appears that the new bishops founded one or more monasteries very soon after their appointment.

By the time of Offa, then, about twenty great monasteries had been founded; and about the same number of episcopal sees established: some of the former unconnected with any see; and some of the latter not conjoined or united with any of the former; the general design of both, being to civilize and instruct mankind, and teach the doctrines of divine truth and salvation; but in ways that differed much in future ages, and laid the foundation of great enmity, not only between the different bodies, but also between the superiors to whom they respectively adhered. Offa's zeal prompted him to do what many of his crowned brethren had done before him; and he probably felt such compunctions of mind concerning the death of Elthelbert as made him seek for peace and reconciliation with Heaven: for, though he might not contrive the murder of that prince, and might justly abhor his wife,
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who was the contriver; yet he shewed no small approbation of the deed when he seized his kingdom. And no doubt his great ecclesiastics, Humbert the Arch-bishop of Litchfield, and Unwona the Bishop of Leicester, would not fail to admonish him of repentance, and encourage him to that work, which was then considered as the most meritorious of all others: and though such was the doctrine of the Church in those ages, and so contrary to what would now be preached to a dying monarch; yet it was a work that certainly comprehended in it a very great store of charity: and if doing good to posterity can avail to procure the pardon of crimes, and reinstate the penitent in the favour of God, this work seemed to be of that kind.

But what made monastic endowments a part of a dying man's charity was the provision therein made for his own particular safety. Here was an institution in which the dying man is interested, and from which he hopes for some private benefit; and that, when his own prayers shall have ceased, the devotion of others may be hired and employed on his behalf: a doctrine this, too flattering to the dying man to be overlooked and neglected; and too gainfull to the monks to be omitted. And, in order to support this business of being intercessors and factors in the way of salvation, the Romish Church had invented purgatory, and all the terrors of the intermediate state.

Such was the doctrine of the times; and such the practice directed to the great, and advised to the devout. And such was the resolution of Offa, when he intended to finish a life of great glory and prosperity; but which had contracted perhaps many pollutions, beside that of murder. To whom then should he dedicate his religious foundation? For the patron of the work was considered as interested in the protection and success of the same. The name of Christ had been used in the dedication of Austin's Monastery at Canterbury; St. Peter's had been applied to the foundation of the cathedral at York; and the pious Ethelbert, king of Kent, had dedicated the cathedral of London to St. Paul; and Sebert, who founded the church and abbey at Westminster, had there dedicated the same to St. Peter.

Offa seems to have been as much perplexed about the place; but in this perplexity he was relieved (says *M. Paris*) by a kind of miraculous intelligence; for, being then at Winslow, and in deep meditation on this subject, he prayed with great earnestness to God, that, 'as he had often delivered him from the dangers and assaults of his enemies, and from the traps and snares of his wife; so he would vouchsafe to grant him further light and information, to enable him to compleat his vow of founding a monastery.' Concluding with an earnest address to his relations and brethren, 'that they would

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‘unanimously and devoutly beseech God, to enable him to bring his intent to effect.’ The history says, that all present retired into the chapel to pray, among whom were Humbert and Unwona, who are called, the *Special Counsellors* of the King; and that the congregation having prayed longer than ordinary, and with the same wishes as the king had expressed, a sudden light from Heaven filled the place with uncommon splendor. This was considered as a token of God’s favour; and the king determined to grant the royal manor of Winslow, where this miracle had happened, to endow his new foundation.

After some time he was at Bath, where, in the rest and silence of night, he seemed to be accosted by an angel, who admonished him to raise out of the earth the body of the first British martyr, Alban, and place his remains in a shrine, with more suitable ornament. This event, now reckoned most propitious, is communicated to Humbert, then at Litchfield; who, taking unto him Unwona Bishop of Leicester, and Ceolwolf Bishop of Lindsey, his suffragans, proceeds immediately, with a great crowd of followers of both sexes, and of all ages, to meet the king, on a certain day by him appointed, at Verulam.

The History saith, that as the king was journeying towards this city, there appeared to him a light shining over the place, and resembling a large torch; that the same was seen by all present at Verulam, and was interpreted as a most favourable omen. And fasting and prayer were used by the prelates and people, beseeching the martyr himself to aid and assist them in the discovery. For the place and memory of Alban had been quite lost, since Germanus, bishop of Auxerre in France, had preached here against the Pelagian Heresy, about 340 years before; and Alban was remembered only in the books of history, and the relations of the aged. So great had been the devastation committed by the Saxons at their coming; when they leveled the churches to the ground, beheaded the prelates and ministers, and reduced the lands and country to a mere desert.

During which overthrow, the church of Alban had been demolished and overturned from the foundations, with the other churches of the country. For a church had been early erected to the memory of the blessed protomartyr of England, and which *Bede* says had been constructed with admirable art, though of timber and plank: and of consequence the sepulchre of Alban, from the time of St. Germanus, and indeed from Alban’s passion, until the general desolation made by the Saxons, had been in good repute, not only for the piety of Alban, but for the miracles there shewn; and had been worshiped by the religious

religious of those times, and honoured by all; when it was discovered to this invincible monarch by the ministry of an angel. But the exact place of the sepulchre was quite forgotten and unknown. When the king, the clergy, and the people, were assembled, they entered on this search with prayer, fasting, and alms; and struck the earth every where, with intent to hit the spot of burial; but the search was not continued long, when a light from Heaven was vouchsafed, to assist the discovery, and a ray of fire stood over the place, like the star that conducted the magi to find the Holy Jesus at Bethlem. The ground was opened; and in the presence of Offa the body of Alban found, deposited together with some relicks in a coffin of wood, just as Germanus had placed them 344 years before.

If every circumstance here mentioned be true, we need not wonder at that which followed; which was, as the history says, that all present directly shed tears of holiness and reverential awe; and, having raised the body from the earth, they conveyed it in a solemn procession to a little chapel, without the walls of Verulam, built formerly by the new converts in honour of this blessed martyr; and situate on the very spot where the martyr had suffered, and shed his blood in profession of Christ; and which chapel, by reason of its being small, had escaped the devastation committed by his persecutors.

The king is said to have placed a circle of gold round the bare skull of the deceased, with an inscription to signify his name and title; and caused the chapel and repository to be enriched with plates of gold and silver; and to be decorated with pictures, tapestry, and other ornaments; until a more noble edifice could be erected. This transaction happened 507 years after the suffering of Alban, 344 after the invasion of the Saxons, and on the first day of August, in the 36th year of Offa's reign, that is, 791 of Christ.

It is very probably that, although this church had been demolished by the invaders near 300 years before, yet the fame of Alban had not totally perished; since this chapel, called afterward St. German's chapel, would tend in some degree to preserve a remembrance of him. And the name of his master and instructor, Amphibalus, had been held in such high estimation, that the founders of the episcopal and monastic church at Winchester, viz. Constantine the Bishop, and Deodatus the Abbot, had dedicated the same to the honour and memory of Amphibalus in 309: yet, as the following ages of the Christian Church experienced woeful changes, and overthrows, and desolations; it is likely that the memory of Alban (a) lived only in Offa's time, in the report and tradition of old people.

(a) At Cambodunum, in Yorkshire, Paulinus had dedicated a church to Alban.

The discovery of the martyr's body, and the solemnity that followed, is said by *M. Paris* to have been accompanied with numberless miracles; such, he describes, as were once performed by the Saviour of the World. And the historian speaks in a way that shews he thought the simple age of Offa to have been as credulous and as full of craft as that of himself 500 years after: for he speaks of miracles as if they were the common occurrences of every day; and not as the extraordinary operations of the Almighty, wrought on great occasions, and for great purposes.

The king thought proper to call together his nobles, prelates, and chief personages, to take counsel on the further execution of his pious design. And it was then determined, that the King should in person go to Rome, to solicit leave of the Pope, and procure the desired privileges to his foundation. The king proceeded; and went in full intention to make his endowment as far transcend all other monasteries as St. Alban had surpassed all other martyrs. The Pope, with great commendations of the king's zeal and piety, grants all his requests; and Offa, in return, granted, for the use of the English school at Rome, that Peter-pence, or one penny per family, should be collected throughout his dominions. And having made confession to the Pope of all his crimes, and received a conditional absolution, he departed with a devout benediction.

And, indeed, whatever invectives may be thrown out against the Church of Rome, and the incroachments of its pontiffs, it must be confessed to have been a benefit to mankind in general, that there was a power on earth that could controul the power of kings, and restrain their frequent enormities. And it might be said, in apology for Popery, that, however false may be some of its doctrines, and inconsistent with the revealed word of God; yet that they were contrived and calculated, especially those that relate to futurity, to terrify and reclaim the great and mighty of this world. They argue that this rank of men were in those times profligate and violent, and above all human laws; and seem to evince, that as mankind in general stood in need of miracles to alarm and awaken their attention, so did the high and mighty need the terrors of Hell, rather than the persuasive voice of reason or religion, to restrain their impieties. And, amongst those men, who were the sole possessors of all learning and ingenuity, and whose duty it was to rule others by instruction and counsel, it cannot be wondered, that they should borrow aid and help from every circumstance that seemed to favour their plan.

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The king, on his return, assembled the nobles and prelates at Verulam; and took further steps towards accomplishing his design: resolving to bestow on Alban very ample possessions; in consideration that it was a work intended for alms and hospitality, and that the situation being on the great road called Watling-street, it would be resorted to by many passengers, both going from the north and from London; and deeming it an act of piety to relieve and accommodate all travellers. Having made a selection of persons out of other religious houses, and especially from that of Bec in Normandy, proper for monks, he placed over them as abbot and superior, one *Willegod*; a man who had been present at the finding of the body, and had been witness of the miraculous flame; and who had devoted himself to a religious life: he was also related to the king, and born of a noble family. Having made choice also of a proper place, he began the building; in great solemnity laying with his own hand the first stone, and recommending, in the most devout prayer, the protection of this house 'to thee, O Jesus! and to thee, O Martyr Alban! and to thee, O Willegod! with maledictions on all who should disturb it, and eternal blessings on those who should be its benefactors.' He proceeded in the work, furnishing Willegod with money, and making him the director and ruler; yet he continued to live here the rest of his life, and conducted the building at his own expence, performing the part of surveyor and guardian of the whole; saving only, that he procured leave to use and apply toward this work all the Peter-pence due and collected in the then province of Hertford.

Willegod the
1st abbot.

Let us now take a view of Verulam down to the period we treat of. During the time of the Britons, Verulam, like all their other towns, was a naked defenceless place, without any works for its protection beside the woods and the great pool, the head of which, or the bank which was raised across the valley in order to stop the waters, was the only work now visible of British industry or skill. And as they dwelt together in towns only during the winter, this was reduced almost to a desert in the summer months. When the Romans became settled here, and had recovered, under Suetonius, Paulinus, or Agricola, they inclosed this place with walls, and built gates, and laid out the ground plot in regular streets; and, by the remains of those walls which are still visible, the work is manifestly Roman, and constructed in that sort or fashion, which their writers describe by the *Isodrome*, that is, in equal or even courses, to distinguish it from the more rude and hasty works, where courses were not observed. And the materials, being the Roman tile made on the

Willegod the
1st abbot.

spot, and the flints all faced and laid with great art and skill, and the nature of the cement, being made of quick lime and sharp gravel or very coarse sand, is a sure argument that the builders were no other than the Romans, who constructed works of this sort in other places.

The town was probably built throughout of the same materials, and was bounded on the east and west, and these extremities joined on the south, by a strong wall and a deep ditch; and on the north the boundary and defence was the great lake. The compass of land included could not be less than 100 acres. And the great lake or pool occupied at least 20 more. The entrance on the south-east was at a corner of the city, but was secured with a double ditch and rampart, and probably two gates. The place of the streets is very uncertain at this day, except that the way from St. Michael's bridge, to the ruins on the south-side, was a main street; and but a few years since the foundations of that south gate were dug up. Another street passed along the whole length of the city, from the south-east corner to the site where now stands the church, and thence to Gorham-block. For the ancient and most frequented road from this new town (when it rose up) to Redburne, was on the north side of the river.

Verulam was, no doubt, a handsome and convenient town, so long as the Romans bore sway in this country; but when they quitted, about 450, and withdrew their military force, the Romans who remained, though very numerous, were not able, because untaught, to defend the country from the Picts and Scots, and then from the invading Saxons. And it is highly probable that the Scots and Picts, if they came so far into England, or some of the Saxons, gave an utter overthrow to this city; for, being allured by the hopes of plunder, they would not overlook a large and well-frequented city. No memorials of such an event do remain; but, if Brumpton's account be true, that Uter Pendragon had a great battle with the Saxons at this place, it may well be conjectured, that, whatever was the event of that day, they who conquered in other places, and finally subdued all their British adversaries, did succeed here also, and vanquish, spoil, and lay waste this city: and in this conflict the inhabitants were either massacred, or with other Britons fled into Wales. And this must have happened between 450 and 700 after Christ (a).

And here it will not be amiss to note the extent of Offa's dominions, and the state of episcopacy therein at this time. He reigned then over as many provinces, as made afterwards (when Alfred divided the kingdom) twenty three shires; viz. that of Hereford, where the

(a) See Matt. Westminster, p. 138.

bishop held his see and place of residence; those of Worcester and Gloucester, the bishop of which had his see in Worcester; the provinces of Warwick, Chester, Stafford, Salop, and Derby, the bishop of which had his see at Lichfield; the province of Lincoln, whose bishop had his see at Lindesey; the provinces of Northampton, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and the western half of Hertfordshire, the bishop of which had his see at Dorchester; over the province of Essex and Middlesex, and the other half of Hertfordshire, the bishop of which had his see in London; also in Norfolk and Suffolk, whose bishops were, one at Helmham, and the other at Dunwich: he reigned also over Nottingham, which was subject to the archbishop of York; and over Leicester, whose bishop had his see in that city. Most of which bishopricks, it is probable, had been instituted by Theodore, the learned archbishop, who came to Canterbury in 668, and who had bred up Bede, John of Beverley, Alcuin, and Tobias Bishop of Rochester.

Willegod the
1st abbot.

Orator

When Offa, of immortal memory, had nearly compleated all the offices and necessary buildings, which within the 4th year he had effected, and having placed therein about 100 monks of the regular orders, he retired to his palace at Offley, and there closed the scene of his life. His body was carried to Bedford, and deposited in a royal manner in some chapel without the town, on the banks of the Ouse. But in the time of *M. Paris* there were no remains of monument, sepulchre, or chapel; and the tradition was, the violence of the floods had washed all away. No care had ever been taken by the monks or abbot to preserve the remains of so great a king, and so liberal a benefactor. And posterity have been left to bemoan the fate of royal remains; to charge the monks with great ingratitude, neglect, and folly; and to blame his family and relations for not giving him more honourable interment, and for paying no suitable regard to his piety and zeal.

how does this appear

most strangely

The endowment made by Offa was his manor and palace of Winflow, about twenty miles distant from the monastery, and as many miles in circumference; saith my author, as the 'writings of the king now preserved in this church can testify:' and for which estate he had procured this privilege, that while all other lands and families were subject to the tax of Peter-pence, this alone was ever exempt.

At the death of Offa, which happened in 794, Willegod was in compleat possession of his new government and dignity, and had established the rule of his house. The monks had been elected out of several other houses; and were now under the vow and obligation of

St.

Eadric the 2d
abbot.

St. Benedict's order; which had been the order introduced by Austin, and was that which Benedict himself had established at Cassinam. The vow of the order was this: to live in the observance of the most rigid chastity, to have no possessions of their own, and to pay obedience to their superior or abbot. And their dress was a long black tunic or close gown, reaching to their heels, loose and ungirded; beneath they wore a white close waistcoat of woollen, and a hair shirt; for a covering of the head, which was shaved on the greatest part of the crown, so as to exhibit an outer circle of hair, there was a cowl hanging back on the shoulders; and their feet and legs covered with a boot. And in their diet they were compelled to abstain from all flesh, except when they began to grow sick.

Willegod ruled this abbey no longer than two months after the death of Offa his beloved master; for, though the son of Offa, named Egfrid, succeeded, and had given in the first year of his reign no less than five manors to the abbey; yet he refused the request of Willegod and the monks, to have his father interred in this place of royal foundation: and this disappointment, and seeming ingratitude in the young monarch, caused such an affliction in Willegod as to hasten his death.

If it be asked who this Alban was, to whose memory a royal and ample foundation should be erected, it is to be lamented that no account has been left of him, more than that he was an eminent martyr for the Christian faith in the persecution set on foot about 303, and called the Diocletian persecution, near 500 years before Offa founded the monastery. His name imports him to have been a Roman; but we know not whether a man in high military command, or a great civil ruler, or in what rank of life he sustained so high a character of piety, &c. But as he was a Roman, and was put to death by Imperial authority from Rome, it may be doubted whether his adherence to the Christian faith was the only crime laid to his charge; and whether there might not be some civil offence urged against him (a); though certainly his piety only was the virtue which excited the veneration of Germanus, and afterwards of Offa. 'This persecution,' says Eusebius (b), 'raged for ten years with merciless fury throughout Britain; and many other illustrious persons fell in testimony of the faith; such as Aaron of Exeter, and others, named by the above author (c).'

The second abbot was *Eadric*, chosen out of the body of monks, as Offa had strictly charged in the rules he had given; and a relation of the royal family.

(a) For sheltering and protecting the persecuted, says *Gildas*.

(b) *Eccl. Hist.* 8. 13.

(c) See *Lactantius*, *Instit.* Div. 5. 13.

The *third* abbot was *Vulfig*, or *Ulf*, related also to the royal family of Offa; though Alfred was now the general monarch, not of Mercia, but of all England. This abbot departed far from the strict sobriety of his rank and office; and, though chosen out of the body, soon became highly elevated with worldly pride; for he changed not only the form and shape, but the colour also of his garments; used vestments of silk, and walked with a long train. Instead of serious study at home, he pursued the sports of the field, and went out a hunting; grew dainty in his meat and drink, and courted the favour of the great and powerful more than the silent favour of God. Another great enormity he practised, which was to invite crowds of noble ladies to his table; and thereby he injured not only his own fame, but the sobriety also of his brethren. He alienated and wasted the substance of their treasury, and disposed of the choice vessels which Offa had left them, and the rich cloaks or palls, with the valuable collars and chains. And his female relations he united in marriage to the nobles and great men; enriching them at the expence of the abbey. *M. Paris* says, this carnal abbot, having satiated himself with the fat of the public wealth, excited not only the vengeance of God, but the hatred and curse of the whole convent. And, having died in a fit of intemperate drinking, the grave men of the abbey rose in arms against those who had acquired their riches, and obtained a restitution of a great part; and left the possessors in indigence and misery.

*Vulfig the 3d
abbot.*

The *fourth* abbot was *Vulnoth*. He strove with great diligence for three or four years to correct the errors of his predecessor; but at length became a worse man. A certain number of nuns, almost approaching to secular, who lived in *Vulfig's* time too nigh the church, he removed further, and fixed in one dwelling; setting bounds to their walks; and limiting the hours and place of their meals, their devotions, and sleep; and of their silence, which was intended for private prayer. Their business was to collect the alms, and attend the early morning prayer in the great church. And, for the better preservation of their health, they were ordered to abstain from all diet of flesh.

*Vulnoth the
4th abbot.*

But, in process of time, these good beginnings of reform were polluted with a most shameful end; for he again altered the original shape and colour of the monkish frock and the cowl, quitted the monastic habit, kept dogs and birds for the purposes of hunting, and put on the manners and dress of a hunter. And by this licentious course he wasted the treasures of the church, and disgraced the fame of religion.

This abbot, *Vulnoth*, having governed his church 11 years, was struck with a palsy; and turning this temporal punishment to a spiritual

tual

Ædfrid the 5th abbot. tual amendment, he gave proofs of a sincere repentance. Seeming to himself as chastized by the scourge of Heaven, he changed his life to such a degree of sanctity as to reform many others by his example, and to finish his life in felicity.

In the time of this abbot, and in the reign of Ethelstan, about 930, the Danes were committing great excesses over all England: and a party of them hearing the fame of Alban, the first martyr of Britain, they came to this abbey, broke open the tomb, seized his bones, and carried some of them off into their own country, and there deposited them in a costly shrine, built for that purpose in a house of the black monks; hoping they would be worshipped and adored with the like veneration in Denmark as they had been in England.

The *fifth* abbot was *Ædfrid*. This man was descended from some of the Saxon nobles; and though respectable for the elegance and deportment of his person, he was in his conduct and actions exceeding vain and despicable. On his election from being prior of the abbey to the rank of abbot, he threw aside all the severe behaviour of the cloister, and wasted the days of his life in useless ease and idle festivity. Attentive to the business of the treasury, he seldom appeared in the cloister, and never condescended to shew himself in the choir. In the defence of the church's possessions he was warm and earnest; but in new acquisitions very pusillanimous; and was noted only for obtaining a cup, much to be admired for its workmanship and the matter; and dedicated the same to St. Alban, for holding the wafer, which, when consecrated, they called the *Lord's Body*.

In this abbot's time, which was in the reign of Edmund the good, and by permission of the abbot, but without any assistance from him, a chapel was built in honour of St. German, by Ulpho the prior of this abbey, and a man of admired sanctity. For it is to be understood, that Germanus, after he had raised from the earth the bones of Alban, had made some abode at this place, and had dwelt in a small habitation behind the wall of Verulam, and contiguous to the pool; in which place his buildings now lay in utter ruin, scarcely exhibiting any marks of their former master. Ulpho then constructed this chapel on the same spot to the memory of Germanus, and here lived a solitary life, cultivating a small garden, and living by the herbs and plants. And this same abbot, after the death of Ulpho, retired to the same place, and having laid down his pastoral care, and resigned his honour and dignity, passed the rest of his days in a pious solitude. Some remains of this chapel are to be seen in Dr. Stukeley's View of Verulam; but the same has been utterly demolished within the last sixty years.

The

g. how

Blasphemy

The *sixth* abbot was *Ulsinus*. This man, being of a pious and orderly life, became conspicuous in all spiritual and temporal concerns. By this time something of a village was gathered about the new church and abbey; and the abbot invited and encouraged the inhabitants of the adjacent parts to build and settle there; and for that purpose gave them materials and money; and moreover laid out and embellished a place for a market. He also constructed a church at each entrance into this future town; and dedicated that on the north to St. Peter, that on the south to St. Stephen, and another on the west to St. Michael; each of them at the confluence of the roads and ways; and intended not so much for the *ornament* as for the *utility* of the village, and the edification of the people. This was in the reign of Edred, and about 948.

Ulsinus the 6th abbot.

This abbot testified great regard to the memory of his predecessor, and caused his funeral obsequies to be solemnized with great splendor. The house also, in which he had lived and died, *Ulsin* treated with great reverence; insomuch that he often caused mass to be celebrated there. And not far from it he caused a chapel or oratory to be built to the honour of the Holy Mary Magdalene.

He was succeeded by *Ælfric* the 1st of that name. This abbot purchased, at the price of the cup abovementioned, from the King, probably Edgar, the great fishpool; for it was a fishery belonging to the king, whose house or palace was that now called Kingsbury: and this pool, by reason of its vicinity to the abbey, and the pride of the royal servants, had been hurtful and troublesome to the religious body. *Ælfric*, therefore, in order to prevent the like inconvenience, cut a passage through the head which banked up the waters, and, draining them off, turned it all into dry land; preserving only a small pool for the use of the abbey. And *M. Paris*, who wrote about 1240, says, 'to this day are to be seen the banks and shores of the great lake, adjoining to the way which leads westward, and is called fishpool street. The rest of the drained land was turned into gardens.'

Ælfric the 7th abbot.

This *Ælfric* was in great repute for his learning; was the author of a Saxon grammar; and of many epistles and sermons, some books of which are still extant in the libraries belonging to the cathedrals of Worcester and of Exeter. That at Exeter is written in Latin and in Saxon; the other wholly in Saxon, and seems a translation from the Latin. And these epistles and sermons were used by the bishops in their cathedrals.

Ælfric had been bred up, as he says himself, in the schools of Ethelwold, the bishop of Winchester; the same who, in conjunction with

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Dunstan,

^{Ealdred the}
^{8th abbot.} Dunstan the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Oswald Bishop of Worcester, expelled from all the cathedrals the married priests, and encouraged monks to supply their places. Ælfric was abbot also of Malmſbury in Edgar's time: and what is remarkable is this, that in his epistles, and in one of his sermons for Easter Day, his doctrine concerning the Eucharist is wholly such as the Reformers took up in the Church of England under Elizabeth and Edward; that is, against the bodily presence and transubstantiation; and perfectly the same as Berengarius taught in the time of William the Conqueror, and Pope Gregory VII. called Hildebrand; making the sacraments a memorial only, and to be taken spiritually and typically. 'Certainly,' he says, 'this housel (host), which we do now hallow at God's altar, is a remembrance of Christ's body, which he offered for us, and of his blood, which he shed for us. Once suffered Christ by himself: yet his suffering is daily renewed at the mass, through mystery of the holy housel.' And in his Epistle to Wulfstan, Bishop of Shirburn, are these words, as may be seen in the original still preserved in Exeter cathedral: "and yet that living bread is not so bodily: not the self same body that Christ suffered in; nor is the holy wine the Saviour's blood which was shed for us in bodily reality, but in ghostly understanding." In the Latin copy of this epistle at Worcester, sent to Oswald the bishop, those words are erased.

Alfric, or, as he is generally written, Ælfric, translated also the Bible, or many books of it, as may be learned from his tracts; which were printed by that great lover of antiquity *William L'Isle*, Esq. of Wilburgham, in 1623. And some books of the said Bible Translation were printed by *Dr. Hickes*, at Oxford, in 1698. Ælfric was abbot in 950; and brother to Leofric, who was elected to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.

Ælfric was succeeded by *Ealdred* the eighth abbot: This man was wholly intent on searching the remains of the ancient city, in digging out the old foundations and arches, and levelling the uneven places; with a view not only to clear that place of thieves and robbers, who lived there in concealment; but also to provide all kind of materials for building; having determined to pull down the present fabrick, which had served for a church, and in due time build it quite new. His workmen, in digging deep into the earth, were said to find planks of oak with nails, and smeared over with pitch; to have found also very ancient anchors, marine shells, and shell fish. And from these discoveries they gave names to places about the ancient pool,

as

as Oysterhill, Shelford, Anchorpool, and Fishpool. And this abbot ^{Eadmer the 9th abbot.} departed without any other deed worthy to be recorded of him.

The next in succession was *Eadmer*, a man of great piety, gentleness, and learning. He was employed also in further providing, not in wasting the materials designed for the new church: and amassed a vast quantity of the Roman tile, stone, and timber. His workmen, in searching the ruins of the old city, overturned the foundations of a large palace, and found concealed in a wall a parcel of books and rolls: one among the rest with an inscription and title that glistened with letters of gold. It was encompassed or bound with boards of oak, and silken bands; which still preserved their strength and their beauty. But, alas! they found themselves quite unable to read this book: and though the curiosity of all persons was great to be informed of its contents, yet no person could be found able to read it; until, after a long search, they found a poor decrepit old man, a priest, who was versed in languages, and who reported it to be written in the language that had used to be spoken by the ancient inhabitants of Werlamceastre; for so the Saxons called Verulam. Having committed the other books to the flames, because they treated of the idols and worship of Heathens; this, which contained a history of the life and sufferings of Alban, was laid up, and used to be read in the monastery with great devotion, says *M. Paris*, even to this day. Eadmer caused it to be translated into Latin, in order to make the subject more known and understood; and as soon as the Latin translation was finished, the original in the British tongue fell to dust and ashes.

Now, this story hath so much the air of a monkish imposture, and of that affected reverence which they would draw to their founders, that I have written it at length, as a just specimen of that art which monks used, to sanctify falsehood or novelty; and often downright fraud and deception. For it is probable that *Ælfric* the 2d composed this little history in Latin; because in Bishop Osmund's Breviary, or Mass Book, there is an office composed by *Ælfric*, in honour of Alban.

Eadmer discovered, among the ruins of Verulam, several slabs of stone, beside tiles and columns, and other materials proper for building. They dug up sundry vessels of earth and of glass, used formerly as pitchers and cups: they found vessels of glass containing the ashes of the dead: temples also half ruined were discovered, with altars and idols, and divers sorts of coins and money formerly in use. All of which this pious abbot, having more zeal than love of antiquity, caused to be stamped to dust and destroyed. He was succeeded by

*a Book containing
the life of St Alban
in Saxon found -*

MS

Leofric the
10th abbot.

See ante **Leofric the tenth** abbot. This man was son of the Earl of Kent, and of great personal beauty; but still more excellent for his faith and his morals. His merits and fame were so great and conspicuous, that he was elected by the monks of Canterbury to be the archbishop and head of the church. But he consented not, and refused this dignity; alledging his brother Ælfric, whom he had persuaded to write the short history of St. Alban, to be more worthy of it. A great famine prevailed in his time over all parts of England; and, to alleviate the distresses of the poor during this exigence, he spent all the treasure which had been collecting for the future building. And, to raise more money for this charitable purpose, he sold the materials which had been gathered, with all the columns or pillars, and stone pavements preserved out of the old city; and also disposed of all the gold and silver vessels; as well those that had been destined to the use and ornament of his table, as for that of the church service: reserving only certain precious stones, for which he could find no purchaser, and several curious engraved stones, called even at that day Cameo's. All which were intended for the embellishment of the shrine, when the new church should be built.

*a truly pious
Christian Abbot* In excuse for this waste, or, as some called it, extravagance, he said, 'that the faithful in Christ, especially if they were poor, constituted the church and temple of God; and was indeed that real and true church, which it was his duty to build up and preserve. And that it was the best instance of pure and undefiled religion to visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction.' However, this liberality caused great dissensions in the monastery, which were at length composed and moderated, not so much by the intreaties of this charitable man, as by the fears of the civil power. For the abbot being of high descent, and related to many of the nobles, found himself well supported in his contests concerning the property and rights of his abbey: and his notions of high birth were such, that he never would admit into the profession of a monk any person, unless of famous descent, or at least legitimate: saying, 'that the ignoble and the illegitimate, especially if without any fame, or given to change, were ever prone to all enormities.' This man at length consented to be exalted to the see of Canterbury, and, in Godwin's catalogue, is mentioned by the name of Alaricius by the Latin authors, and died in 1006, in the reign of Ethelred, having sat there 13 years.

He was succeeded in the abbacy by his own brother Ælfric, the 2d of that name; who possessed the same generosity, and the like accomplishments

plishments both of body and mind; and was elegantly skilled in sacred learning. When he entered on his office of abbot, a brother of the house, named Leoffstan, paid him the following compliment, which is a specimen of their learning, and of their mechanical poetry, rather than of their ingenuity and real good taste:

Ælfric the 11th
abbot.

Fac superes tu qui super es successor honoris.
Degener es, si degeneres a laude prioris.

Now this Ælfric, saith *M. Paris* expressly, was the composer of a life of Alban, written while he was Chantor of the abbey, and set to music; and, by the authority of his brother the archbishop, the same was published in many parts of England, and a day appointed every week, viz. Thursday, for the celebration of the martyr. This man, being of high birth and good education, was advanced, while a secular, to be chancellor to King Ethelred. And when in this high station he purchased of the king (and, when abbot, obtained a confirmation of the said deed from Ethelred) certain lands called Kingsbury; containing the royal mansion, together with the stews, warrens, and woods belonging to the same. Which mansion, because it had often given offence and trouble to the monastery, Alfric caused to be demolished, and levelled with the ground; except one small tower nearer to the monastery, which the King, at this time Canute, would not permit to be thrown down; in order that some footsteps of royalty might appear; 'and which endures,' says *M. Paris*, 'to this day, and bears his name;' and probably is the old tower which stands at this time by the side of the market, and is a sort of clockhouse.

This abbot lived through the reigns of Canute, Harold, and Hardicanute; and when King Edward, called afterward the Confessor, succeeded in 1041. In this reign the Danes renewed their invasions, and made dreadful havock in many parts where they marched, or where they chose to settle and establish themselves. Alfric, therefore, fearing their ravages and robberies, caused the most valuable effects of the monastery, and, what was more esteemed than all other goods, the bones of St. Alban, and the shrine enclosing the same, to be concealed in a secret wall, viz. close under the altar of St. Nicholas; with the privy of some few only of the brothers. But he sent an open message to the abbot and monks of Ely, requesting, that, as their place was well secured by waters and marshes from the incursions and dangers of robbers, they would be pleased to receive into the convent of Ely the relicks of St. Alban; and

See pa 32

Leofstan the
12th abbot.

and keep them safe untill the same should be demanded, when peace and quiet should be re-established. The monks of Ely consented; and Ælfric sent them the remains or relicks of some ordinary monk, inclosed in a very rich chest. He sent also many ornaments of his church; and, to give it a better appearance of truth, he added a very rough shagged old coat; with an insinuation and caution that this was the very coat that was usually worn by Amphibalus (a) the master of Alban.

The Danes were disappointed in this projected invasion, by the loss of their king, who, in going on board, fell into the sea and was drowned; and in less than a year the alarm was over, and England returned to peace and security. The Albanians then demanded the relicks: the Elyeians refused; and, sending back a saucy answer, determined to keep them: the true owners pleaded the sanctity of the engagement; and threatened to inform not only the king, but the Pope also, of their breach both of faith and of religion. The Elyeians then began to entertain a fear; and, disagreeing, a great schism happened among them. The major part, however, thought the bones of Alban to be valuable; and as much so to them as to their old masters; and resolved to keep them. And, to save appearances, they contrived to open the bottom of the chest, drew out the bones there contained, and placed others of an ordinary sort in their room; and thus sent back the chest and its sacred contents. The Albanians deposited the same in a wooden chest, which was over the altar of St. Oswin (b), in which, corporeal remains used to be reserved: and in which very chest the martyr Alban had laid untill he was immured.

Alfric now drew the authentic relicks out of the wall, and placed them with the shrine in the midst of the church. Edward the Confessor being informed of this fraud committed by the monks of Ely, expressed great anger; but left them in possession of their imaginary relicks.

Alfric was succeeded by *Leofstan*, who had composed the distich above recited. He had been a familiar friend with Edward the King; confessor and counsellor to him and his Queen Editha, who was the daughter of Earl Goodwin. The surname of this abbot was Plumstan: and his chief attention was employed in rendering the ways leading to this town safe and commodious for merchants and travellers. The way to London, called Watling Street and the Royal Way, as well as all

(a) See farther in the life of Symond the 19th abbot.

(b) See its place in the plate. Oswin was in 644 a pious king of Northumberland, and basely murdered. But his piety raised churches and altars to his memory in the north; and from thence his fame reached this place.

of the ordinary monk -
see sup.

a curious story

parts of the Chiltern, being covered with thick woods and groves, was become the refuge of divers sorts of wild beasts, such as wolves, wild boars, stags, and wild bulls; and was also a harbour for thieves and robbers, outlaws and fugitives; to the great annoyance and dangers of all passangers. On which Leofstan granted the manor of Flamstead to a very valiant knight named Thurnot, and to his two fellow soldiers; for which Thurnot gave privately to the abbot five ounces of gold, a very beautifull palfrey or nag, for his own riding, and a very choice greyhound; on condition that Thurnot should guard and defend by himself and his retinue all the said highway, and all the western parts of the Chiltern (a), and that he should be answerable for any losses that might happen therein by his neglect; and in case any general war should arise in the kingdom, that Thurnot should strenuously guard and protect the church of St. Alban.

Leofstan, the
12th abbot.

These conditions were punctually complied with and fulfilled by Thurnot and his companions, until the time of the Conqueror, when that manor was taken from them because they disdained being subject to the Normans. And frequent skirmishes happened between these defenders and the invaders, and several houses were burnt, and many on both sides slain; when at length, the Normans gaining strength, and their conquest being established, the said manor was given to a follower of William, named Roger de Thoni, who wished to deprive the monastery of their right; but fulfilled with great diligence the above service and engagement.

This abbot conferred some ornaments on his church; and left his monastery very affluent and abundant. But, as a great revolution is soon to be experienced, it is proper to look back and shew what acquisitions the monks possessed, and from whose benevolent and pious endowments the same had arisen.

Beside the palace, buildings, lands, and manor of Winslow, the original gift of the founder; his son Ægfrid, in the first year of his reign, 795, conferred on the abbey five manors, in a place called Pynesfeld; that is, the manor so called, and situate in Rickmansworth, and other manors in the same parish.

In the reign of Edmund Ironside, and Edward the Confessor, Ælfric purchased of the king, for 5 marks, an estate called Oxonage and Adulfinton: and for fifty pounds he bought Norton, Upton, and Becces Wortham, in perpetual right and inheritance. At what time they became possessed of Flamstead I cannot find; but the present

(a) The chalkey country near this town was so called.

Leoffstan the
12th abbot.

Leoffstan the abbot, Leoffstan, by means of his connection and interest at court with the king and queen, obtained Studham, Redburn, Langley, Grenebury, and Thwangton. The first was probably by grant or legacy from one Oswulph, and his wife Adilitha; and the other four were from Egelwin and his wife Winefred; and probably by legacy; because they were accompanied with other rents, gifts, and ornaments.

At the time when the great survey was made and entered in the book called Domesday (a) the possessions of the abbey in this county there *recorded* are these following, where we may note what their estates were at this period, and in the time of Paul, the 14th abbot, when the survey was taken.

THE LAND OF ST. ALBAN, IN THE HUNDRED OF ALBANESTON (b).

In Henamested (Hempsted) were 20 hides; the abbot was rated for so much: two mills of 20s. each rent; pasture, or common for cattle; wood for 1400 hogs: The whole value 22l. 10s.; and in the time of Edward the Confessor, 25l. This manor lies in the lordship of the church of St. Alban.

The abbot holds in Scenlai, (Shenley), and is taxed for 6 hides; pasture or common for cattle; and wood for 400 hogs: the value in the whole is 12l. and in time of Edward 6l. This manor lies in the lordship of the church of St. Alban.

The abbot holds Walden, and is assessed for 10 hides. The land is 14 carucates; in domain three hides, 2 mills of 15s. rent; meadow, half a carucate; pasture for cattle; a grove or wood for hedges and for houses: the value 18l. 10s. and in time of Edward, 20l. 10s.

The abbot holds Sandridge for 10 hides. The land is 13 carucates. In domain 3 hides; 1 mill of 10s. rent; pasture for cattle; a wood for 300 hogs: value 18l.

The town of St. Alban is assessed at 10 hides. The land is 16 carucates; in domain 3 hides. Here are 46 householders. From the toll and other rents, 11l. 13s. is raised; 3 mills of 40s. rent: value 20l. a year; a wood for 1000 hogs. In this town are 12 cottagers; 1 inclosure (c), or park, for beasts of the forest; and one fish-pool. The said householders possess half an hide of land.

(a) Domesday book is a survey of all the lands and possessions granted by the Conqueror, and then held by his Norman chiefs; and by no means a survey of *all* the lands comprehended in his new kingdom. The first case was necessary for William, in order to enable him to establish his knights fees, institute his feudal system, and guard his new acquisition. See Ingulphus.

(b) Hundreds were formed in the time of King Alfred. But how and when Hempsted came into Dacorum is not known.

(c) Round Kingsbury.

IN BRODEWATER HUNDRED.

Leofstan the
12th abbot.

Codicote and Oxewiche. These two manors were separate and distinct in the time of Edward; but now make one, and contain 8 hides; with pasture for cattle, and a wood for 200 hogs: the value 6l. and in time of Edward 12l. a year. Here did Alwin hold of the abbot 13 hides, not separable from the church.

The abbot holds Norton, for 4 hides: 2 mills, of 16s. rent; pasture; and meadow $\frac{1}{2}$ a carucate: value 17l.

In Escepehale (Shephall) 3 hides; pasture; wood for 10 hogs: and value 4l. a year.

IN DANAIS HUNDRED. (DACORUM.)

In Langley the abbot holds 5 hides; 2 mills of 20s.; pasture and wood for 300 hogs.

In Redborne, 7 hides and 1 virgate; 2 mills of 26s. value: pasture and wood for 300 hogs; whole value 30l. a year.

The abbot holds Absa (Napsbury) for three hides; and 1 mill of 10s. rent; meadow, $\frac{1}{2}$ a carucate; pasture, and wood for 300 hogs: value 3l. and in Edward's time 4l.

In Winrige, Goisfric de Bech held one hide and a half of the abbot; pasture, and wood for 300 hogs: worth 40s. and in Edward's time 50s.

In Titebersth the same Goisfric held of the abbot half a hide, value 6s.

In Redborne one Amelger held of the abbot 3 virgates and a half, with wood for 200 hogs: and worth 30s. per annum.

The abbot holds in Richemareworde 5 hides. The land is 20 carucates; 1 mill of 5s.; pasture for cattle, and wood for 1200 hogs: value 20l. 10s. but when received 12l.

The abbot holds the manor of Caiffou for 20 hides; of these the abbot possesses 19. The land is 22 carucates; 4 mills of 26s. 8d. rent; meadow 22 carucates; pasture; wood for 1000 hogs: value 28l. and in time of Edward 30l.

In Eldeham (Aldenham) Goisfric holds of the abbot 1 hide, with wood for 100 hogs; now worth 12s. and in time of Edward 20s.

IN ODESIE HUNDRED.

The abbot holds Newham, for three hides and three virgates. The land is 8 carucates, value 9l. and in Edward's time 10l.

G

IN

Leofstan the
12th abbot.

IN THE HALF HUNDRED OF HIZ.

In Hegæstaneſtone (Hexton) the abbot holds 8 hides and 3 virgates ; 2 mills of 7s. 4d. rent ; meadow, $\frac{1}{2}$ a carucate ; paſture : value 17l.

In Bennington the abbot holds 1 hide. The land is 2 carucates ; paſture and a grove for hedgewood : value 50s.

Beſide the above poſſeſſions, recorded in Doomsday book, the abbey held the following eſtates : Æthelgive gave by will Gateſden and 30 oxen. Wulph gave Eſtun, or Eaſton, and Oxawic, or Oxeys. King Ethelred, in the time of Leofric the abbot, had given 6 houſes in Flamſtead and Verulam. Egfrid, the ſon of Offa, had given, beſide Pynefeld, land in Therfield (Turville in Bucks), (*terram decem manenſium*)(a).

But after all we are quite at a loſs in any enquiry about the real yearly value of theſe eſtates : the body muſt probably have been always poor, or ſtood in need of a good revenue, from the conſtant expence that attended the bare maintenance of their houſe ; wherein at leaſt 100 perſons were daily reſident, fed, and cloathed ; beſide the charge of travellers and viſitors, and of the poor relieved at their gates.

Frederic the
13th abbot.

Leofſtan died, and *Frederic* was elected in his place before the death of King Edward : and he ſaw the ſhort and bloody reign of King Harold.

The change wrought by the Norman Conqueſt was not merely a diſpoſſeſſing of perſons from their eſtates and houſes, but it went alſo to a perfect alteration of manners and cuſtoms ; for, the conquerors not only employed the utmoſt deriſion on the nobles and gentry, but compelled them and others to praſtiſe a more poliſhed mode of dreſs(b) and civility ; which was conſidered as ſo ſhocking an inſult, and ſo wanton a mark of foreign dominion, that many of them quitted their houſes and ſought ſhelter in the woods ; where, with, their families, they would conſtruct a kind of houſe, and endeavour to ſubſiſt. And it grew to be cuſtomary with this unfortunate race, whether remaining at home or ſeeking ſhelter in the woods, to barricade their doors every night, and at the ſame time invoke the protection of the Almighty in prayer, as uncertain of ever ſeeing the next day : “ A praſtice this” ſays *M. Paris*, “ which continues even to this day (1252) “ though the dangers are paſt.” The conquerors introduced alſo numberleſs vices and immoralities before unknown to the Saxons. They praſtiſed rapine and perjury, as being ſupported therein by their ſuperi-

(a) Mon. App. 37, 39.

(b) To ſhawe their beards and trim their hair.

ors; and they indulged themselves in extreme uncleanness and debauchery, in late hours and gaming, and in uttering most dreadful oaths and imprecations with impunity: vices which were shocking from their novelty as much as from their atrocious nature.

Frederic the
13th abbot.

This abbot (Frederic) perceiving the road to London, which was by the Watling-street, to be much infested with thieves and robbers, who sheltered themselves in the thick woods adjoining, demised the manor of Aldenham to the abbot of Westminster for a term of 20 years; he engaging to defend and guard the road, and protect all travellers; paying the yearly rent of one hundred shillings, and four fat oxen. This abbot of Westminster was Theobald, who in right of that abbey had in possession the adjacent manor of Titburst and Kendals. But being a familiar friend of the Conqueror, and having good interest in the Court, he not only did not fulfil his engagement, but thirsted after more; and desired to be possessed of a fine wood or grove not far distant from Aldenham, called, for its beauty and pleasantness, Prudeitti (a); alleging that the same was within the manor, and ought to be considered as part thereof: at the end of the 20 years, he refused to give up the manor, pretending losses and injuries from being denied in his claim to that wood; and, being supported by his Norman friends, kept possession, and gave all possible trouble and vexation to the abbot and monks of St. Alban.

Frederic died about 10 years after his election, which was in 1066; but he began to rule the abbey and transact the business relating to it, two years before, though not solemnly installed and invested with all the rights of abbot until the end of Edward's reign, in the beginning of 1066. He was one of those Englishmen who could not submit to a foreign master, even had he ruled with justice, or with humanity: for, the new king had come in by that right which subsists only among men of the sword, but is no right amongst patriots, and men of civil prudence. William had from the beginning ruled with such severity, and tyrannical authority, as to alienate the minds of all his new subjects: and he found it necessary to hold that sword always drawn, which had gained him the possession at first. His administration, though sworn to observe the laws and customs of the realm, was conducted in many respects quite opposite, and in others with much political craft and severity. For, in order to separate the English nobles when he feared a confederacy, he would rob one of his estate in Eng-

(a) From the British word *Pruddau*, mournful, pensive, decent, comely. Perhaps the wood now called Bury Grove, of fir-trees, and situate west of the church.

Frederic the land, and give him another in Normandy; and unite the Normans, such as were in military rank and fame but unprovided, to the rich heiresses in England, and to the utter disherison of her male kindred.

13th abbot.

The discontented and oppressed nobles began to unite for a public defence: those of the north put themselves under the advice and conduct of Alfred the archbishop of York; and those of the south considered the abbot of St. Albans at the head of their confederacy: they had also with them the bishop of Worcester, named Walstan, and Walter bishop of Hereford, and many other of the nobles: and their plan was to bring their new king to better terms if possible, or to take arms and set on the throne Edgar Etheling, who in those days was called *Engelondes Dereling*; and was in truth the right and lawful heir to the crown, being descended from the Saxon family that had last sat on the throne: he had fled into Hungary, and was now returned to this country.

The king, perceiving the discontent to become formidable, caused Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, to be thrown into prison (where he confined him for four years, until he died), under a charge that Stigand had usurped the archi-episcopal chair; which, though true, might be a just cause for trial, &c. but not for perpetual imprisonment. The king sent for Lanfranc, who was abbot of Caen in Normandy, and placed him in Stigand's room at Canterbury, and made him his privy counsellor and chief minister during the rest of his reign. And here I must note, that, when Lanfranc went to Rome for his pall and investiture, and came afterward into England, he had in his train a near relation and brother monk of Caen, named Paul, whom we shall see advanced to the place of abbot of St. Albans.

But this confederation had such an effect on William, that, by the advice of Lanfranc, he submitted to the terms required by the nobles and bishops, and consented to meet them at Berkhamstede; where, in the presence of Lanfranc, he swore upon all the reliques of the church of St. Alban, and Frederic administered to him an oath, 'that he would keep and observe inviolably all the ancient laws of the realm, which his pious predecessors, and especially the holy Edward, had established.' Yet was his government so oppressive that no trust could be put in him; and Edgar thought fit to fly into Scotland, and other nobles into Denmark and Norway: Walter, the bishop of Hereford, lay concealed in Wales; and Frederic took refuge in Ely with the abbot and monks of that place, where he soon after died, of mortification and grief.

The king kept the abbacy vacant near the space of one year, committing great mischief and devastation on the manors, estates, and tenants

tenants of the same : and, had not Lanfranc restrained him, he would have destroyed the monastery itself, beyond all possibility of recovery. In the year 1077, Lanfranc procured of the king this preferment for *Paul* his kinsman; and, as some conjectured, his son. And Paul was the first abbot of this church after England had been subdued to the Norman Yoke.

Paul the 14th
abbot.

This abbot within the first eleven years of his government rebuilt the church, and all the adjacent buildings of the monastery, except the bakehouse and millhouse : and in these immense charges of building he was much assisted by Lanfranc, who gave him for that purpose 1000 marks, of 13s. 4d. each. But when it is said by my author, *M. Paris*, that he rebuilt the church, this must be understood only of so much of the present building as comprehends the choir or body, the tower or steeple, and the east end called the saints' chapel, where stood afterward the shrine of Alban ; with the transept north and south, and part of the nave, as far only as the screen. All this is of one uniform style, and in the plainest and rudest form of the Gothic ; being much inferior in beauty to many buildings which had been erected some years earlier.

This construction is said to be intirely built of *brick*, that is, of the Roman tile ; which seems to intimate that the former church had been built of stone, which having been taken out of the ruins of Verulam, and being originally brought from the Totternhoe quarries, was found by Paul to be utterly decayed ; which decay might have happened not only from old age and length of time, from the days of Offa to Abbot Paul's ; but most probably from its being laid and fixed in the new work by Willegod, in an unskilful manner ; that is, in some way different from its natural position in the quarry. And one principal cause of the plain and rude style of Paul's building was this, that his materials, namely, the Roman tile, would not admit of so many shapes and forms, and elegant curve lines, as stone would ; being too hard to be cut, but yet extremely proper where nothing was aimed at, or thought requisite, but mere strength and solidity. And, if we reflect on this circumstance, we shall see a reason why the arches are semicircular, with a coarse pillar between two ; why the inner surface of the walls would not admit of even courses ; and why the edges of the great arches under the tower are all void of the least degree of embellishment, or even variation.

And that the rudeness of this work is intirely owing to the rude and untractable nature of the materials, which are wholly of the Roman tile, without any stone, even in those parts where stone only ought

Paul the 14th
abbot.

ought to have been used, seems highly probable from there being at this time no want of good artists and skilful builders; since it is manifest, that, at the very time when Paul was building here, at York the new archbishop, Thomas, (brought from Normandy) was constructing that most exquisite and perfect of all Norman edifices, the present cathedral. Thomas came to York in 1070, and died in 1101, and in that space re-edified not only the church, which is the most admired pattern of this kind and order of building in the kingdom, but he also rebuilt a great part of the city, after the Danes had burnt the whole a few years before. This cathedral church is $161\frac{1}{2}$ yards in length, and $35\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, and probably the largest in England; but, beside its magnitude, it is a specimen of the most beautiful in this style; and shews that the art and the taste of the artist did not improve in later ages; but endeavoured to excel by new ornaments and more profuse decorations only (a).

And Paul would have built in a better style, had he not confined himself to such improper materials. And we see how the work did improve, when the Roman tile was all used, and recourse was had to stone: for, from the screen before mentioned to the great west door was built in the later years of Paul, or the beginning of Richard's time, by different undertakers and companies of builders; and the whole was complete when dedicated in 1115.

Paul was moreover a very prudent and religious man, and by degrees worked such a reform in the conduct and behaviour of the body under his care, by virtue of the rules and statutes which he had received from Lanfranc (b), and which had been approved by the pope, that the monastery of St. Alban was called the school of religion: and this good fame drew towards him the inclination and affections of many of the bishops and principal persons of the land. By his zeal and prudence he obtained a restitution of Eiwood (which was a very

(a) Lincoln cathedral was built in the time of Henry II. by Bishop Hugh, who came out of Burgundy.

(b) The Norman Conquest had caused many innovations in the civil and ecclesiastic affairs of the kingdom; but in nothing more than in encouraging learning, and improving all places of religious discipline. William introduced many very learned and religious men, and among them this Lanfranc, who had been born of honourable parents at Pavia, bred up in that famous university, was admitted a monk of St. Bec in Normandy, and chosen by Duke William to go to the pope twice as his ambassador, was made his privy counsellor, and at his appointment to the see of Canterbury was made the king's prime minister and regent in his absence. His works still extant shew him to be a man of great learning and sound judgement: and the statutes of reform, which he either made or collected from others, shew him to be zealous for the monastic institutions.

pleasant

pleasant wood, situate between the present ruins of Sopwell and St. ^{Paul the 14th abbot.} Julian) and of three farms called Tiwa, (Tewin) Apfa, (or Napsbury), and Wycumb; all which, in the time of King Edward, had been of ancient right possessed by this church; but afterwards, in times of trouble and distress, being granted as a pledge for money borrowed, they were retained, and in a manner alienated; but the usurpers, Odo Bishop of Bayeux, and Remigius Bishop of Lincoln, were now induced by the intreaties of Paul, and the influence of a little money, and through a dreadful fear of the martyr (says *M. Paris*), to restore them to the Church: and Jeffry de Anesi became tenant of the Vill of Wycumb under Abbot Paul. He recovered also the village and manor of Redburn, and that of Childwic, which had both been unjustly withheld from the church: and this withholding was very common with tenants, who thought they could by fraud or force defend their usurpations and new claims.

In Paul's time many new benefactions were made to this church; viz. two hides of land in Shephal; three yard-lands in Potton; and one carucate at Leting; some land at Talinton; three mansions, or tenements with gardens, at Glaiston in Rutland; in Cambridge the church of St. Bennet, and that of All Saints; and in London many more churches, one of which the abbot exchanged with the abbot of Westminster for one that had been the chapel (a) of Offa the founder and was contiguous to his palace (b): but this latter by neglect and ruin was sunk into a small tenement. Beside these, there was given one church in Stamford, and eleven acres of land without the town; the church also of Glaiston, with the tithes thereof, which were afterward assigned by this abbey for the maintenance of a cell at St. Mary's at Belvoir. There were given also the tithes of Cundell, Rington, Royns, Bretham, Herlay, Thamesford, and Clifton; also part of the tithes of Esendon, and Bayford, and Hertingfordbury; the church also of the Holy Trinity at Wallingford, and half a hide of land without that town: unto which church he sent some monks to form a cell, and live under rules prescribed by this church.

At this time also, Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, caused certain monks of this church to dwell in the church of St. Mary, at Tinmouth, where had been interred the body of Oswin, King of Northumberland, and Martyr, and there to constitute a cell, subordinate to this church. The cell at Belvoir was founded and constructed by Robert de Totheni. Another cell was founded at Hertford by

(a) Now St. Alban's, Wood-street.

(b) This had likewise been the Palace of *Athelstane* the Saxon King, and thence comes the name of *Adel*, or, as it is now written, *Addle-street*.

Paul the 14th abbot. Robert de Limisi(a), and an ancient cell at Binham was conferred on this church.

But, among other things, one Robert, a very stout soldier, who lived at Hatfield, and being one of the Norman leaders had received that vill and manor in the distribution, gave two tenths of the tithes of his demesne; assigning it for the purpose of purchasing and providing books for the monks: for, this Robert was a man of letters, and a diligent hearer and lover of the Scriptures. The tithes of Redburn were assigned to the same purpose. And the best writers and copyists were sought for far and near for transcribing books; and their diet so provided for them, that they might never be taken off or hindered in this employment. The abbot, in return for these favours, gave to Robert, for the use of his chapel in his court or palace at Hatfield, two suits of pontific vestments (which in those days consisted of many garments, and those highly enriched with gold and silver), one silver cup, a mass book, and other necessaries. Having thus furnished Robert's chapel, a particular room in the abbey was set apart for these copyists, called the *Scriptorium*: and by their means twenty-eight volumes of the choicest books were procured, Lanfranc furnishing the originals: beside these, they prepared eight psalteries, a collection of the collects, another of the epistles, and a book containing the chapters of the Gospel, to be read throughout the year; and also two texts (probably of the Vulgate Bible) much ornamented with gold and silver and precious stones: beside ordinals, or a sort of rubrick missals; troparia, or books of sequences or responses; consuetudinaries, and several other books in daily use.

This may give one some idea how manifold and perplexed the divine service was in those days; how little calculated for the instruction and edification of the congregation, being all performed in the Latin tongue; and how perplexing to the clergy, unless they were daily exercised in it.

The women, who lived in the monastery as servants and attendants, he obliged to appear at the holy offices in the church, allotting for them a place called the Almonry. He directed also that they should be cloathed in one uniform dress, called a black mantle, and observe certain times for rest and for silence, for the offices of the house and for going abroad: and these henceforth began to be called nuns or holy women.

(a) Ralph de Limisi held lands at Caldicot, value 40s.; in Pirton, value 20l.; in Amwell, value 14l. 10s.; in Hainstone (Ansley), value 10s. *Doomsday*.

After

Scriptorium

ancient library

Institute of Mary

After he had rebuilt the offices, he made many regulations in the diet of the monks: restraining them from immoderate use of flesh meat, and causing them to live on pickled herrings (a). As a punishment to any offending monk, he compelled him to bear a lantern about the choir, during the service in the night time; as well to distinguish him, as to keep the rest from drowsiness and indolence: and, for a greater offence, or while any one was doing penance, he was compelled to carry the lantern very high: and, for the correction of the more obstinate and incorrigible, he built a strong but horrid jail, which remains to this day with very little alteration, and serves for offenders committed by the civil power; to whom is descended all that high authority, which great lords possessed in their manors, and the great abbots over all their estates. He enjoined a strict silence in the church, in the cloister, in the refectory, or hall, and especially in the dormitory. In the infirmary also a dead silence was ever to be observed, and no meat to be eaten, unless the sick were beginning to recover; and they were strictly forbidden to go beyond the door of this place, which opened into the cloister, unless to the bath or for some allowed cause. He furnished the tower with bells; and to these were added two more of a large size, by Litholf, a man of great rank, who lived in the woody part of this country. Paul also gave to the church a large silver bason, in which wax might burn at all times without being extinguished; also three candlesticks richly adorned with gold and silver, to be placed on the great altar; and two more of curious work, and gilt only, to be borne on special festivals, with their wax lights, before the martyr in procession. He also adorned with stately painting all the rooms behind the great altar, called *Concameratio*, in which was afterwards placed the saints shrine.

Paul the 14th
abbot.

Lanfranc, who had restored the church at Canterbury, and that at Rochester, to their ancient splendor, and laid out great sums in buildings for the monks, and by his industrious care had recovered to the cathedral at Canterbury twenty five manors (b) that had been torn from it, departed this life in 1089; having been under the displeasure (c) of the young King William II. for two years, and forced to fly into Normandy. In his room was Anselm placed by the King: but the latter

(a) Called by the Normans *Harenpie*.

(b) Offa had been a great benefactor to the church at Canterbury, having given many estates in 790; and in 791 he gave to it the manor of Otford, and 12 plowlands at Tenham. *Dug. Mon. I.* 19. And to Rochester he had given the manor of Frendsbury.

(c) He had been preceptor to William and reproved him now for his enormities.

Paul the 14th abbot. refused to make restitution of the temporalities, and kept them for two years; to the great injury of the prelate and impoverishment of the estates. Anselm had been abbot of Bec, and was an intimate friend of Lanfranc and of Paul; and during his distress from the King's persecution, he was greatly assisted by the liberality of Paul. But in the year 1093 Paul also died, on his return from Tiimouth, where he had been visiting the cell and directing the future government of that body.

I can't understand this
M. Paris cannot conclude his account of Paul's improvements and benefactions without accusing him of great neglect in some other matters. He was charged with losing the manor of Barton (probably in Bedfordshire) which had been held by some simple Englishman; but which, together with the body of the deceased owner, was snatched up and kept by the abbot of Ramsey, who was another simple Englishman. He lost also many other estates by letting them to farm. Another great and inexcusable neglect was, that, like his predecessors, he had never brought the body of their illustrious founder (with his tomb) to be deposited in this church. But, what was the greatest crime, he demolished the tombs of all the former abbots and great men, who had been interred in this place; although they were descended from the royal family, or of high birth and rank; and whom, Paul, being himself of low descent, used to call *rude and ignorant* men, merely because they were English. Paul also granted to Peter de Valoinges, a Norman chief who lived at Hertingfordbury, the wood of Northaw to farm, on condition that Peter paid the yearly rent of 25s. and two hawks, to hold the same during his natural life, and no longer: but Paul had taken a fine of 100s. to be induced to grant it on these terms: and this laid the foundation of a great dispute, as will be related; although the said Peter, and his two sons, William and Roger, declared in the chapter, that they held not the said estate in fee, nor any longer than the father's life, unless the abbot should consent. There was also one Robert, the mason or master-builder, a man of great fame and excellence in his profession; to whom and his heirs Paul granted lands in Syret (Sarret) and in Wanthony; and one house in the town of St. Alban, free of rent and taxes: which lands in Syret had been before held by Derlewin for a rent of 60s. But Robert in his last illness, knowing his title to be bad, made a resignation in form, and prevented a loss to the church. Paul had also granted to one Humbald, at the request of Lanfranc, the lands called Westwic, to hold during his life; and other grants and provision did he also make to many other relations and friends from Normandy, who were mean illiterate persons; unadvisedly and secretly wasting the goods of the church.

C H A P T E R II.

AFTER the death of the venerable Paul, the church suffered a vacancy for the space of four years; during which time Rufus received all the profits, and impoverished the estates by cutting down the timber, and extorting money from the tenants, and from the inhabitants of the town of St. Alban. And in this time also a great diffension arose, in the abbey, between the old interest and the new; that is, between the English and the Normans. This was happily ended in 1097, when *Richard* undertook the pastoral charge. This man was descended of a good family in Normandy, and being an intimate friend of the King's, and also of Henry the first, was enabled to gain great acquisitions to his church, and as strenuously to defend them. In his time there was given to this church, the church of St. Mary, of Wymundham in Norfolk, with all its appurtenances, to be converted into a cell. The church of Hatfield Peverel also, with the church of Melbrook in Bedfordshire, was given for the same purpose. There was given also a manor called Tinghurst in Berkshire, with its church; and a village, called Wilstead; with land to the value of 30s. per annum, at Wallingford; and also the manor of Eastwell in Kent.

Many other benefactions of less note, and of obscure places, were made in Richard's time; for, it was a practice in those days to place their younger sons in these religious communities, when men of small estates could not provide for them, and to grant in frank-pledge a portion of land or tithes for their maintenance. And this was one great benefit of these institutions, and what kept up their credit for so many ages, that they were not only the schools of religion when well governed,

Richard the 15th abbot. and the source of instruction for the neighbouring parishes, to whom the abbey sent out preachers every Sunday; but they received and sustained many old servants, and younger sons and relations who had no portion from the paternal inheritance, and in whose time there was no other profession, trade, or employment, to occupy them. And their liberalities to the poor and the destitute, the sick and the diseased, were great beyond the example of the present times in any place, except in established hospitals; most of which, it is to be noted, had their rise and beginning when these monasteries were suppressed.

The cell at Tinmouth, founded as above by Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, had received many endowments and benefactions, and was in so reputable and prosperous a state, that Richard obliged them to pay to the mother-church of St. Alban a yearly sum of thirty shillings; besides the abbot's expences for himself and twenty followers, whenever he should choose to make a visitation to that place (a).

The principal events of his time were the consecration of this church, which never had received this solemn dedication since it had been rebuilt; and, as this was thought necessary, it must be concluded that Paul made a perfect new structure from the ground, and not a repair of the old church. And accordingly, at the time of Christmas, in 1115, a great assembly of bishops and nobles was gathered by invitation; such as, Geoffry, Archbishop of Rouen; Richard, Bishop of London; Ralph of Durham; Robert of Lincoln; and Roger of Sarum; with many abbots. There were present also King Henry I. and his good Queen Matilda; with many earls, barons, and nobles, both of England and of Normandy; and a great body of inferior clergy. These were all lodged and entertained in the monastery and town, from the 27th of December till the 6th of January, at the expence of the abbey; and assisted at the solemnity of the consecration. And the king gave to the church, and confirmed by grant, the manor of Bishopscote.

Another event was this; that, during the Abbot Richard's visit at Tinmouth, he received a wonderful cure of a withered arm, with which

(a) We may here discern how much the interest and character of Paul had contributed to procure donations and grants to his church: and especially from his countrymen the Norman captains; who, in all the new grants made to them, built where wanted a small cell, and furnished the same with monks, and thereby connected the cell with some great abbey; an institution this, and custom, very beneficial to the great lord of the manor and his tenants; as not only administering to them all spiritual aids, but also promoting civilization and all temporal arts. Of this sort was the cell at Belvoir, founded by Totheni; that at Hertford by Limisi, and most of the rest.

he

he had been afflicted many years. It is related, that, being present at Richard the Durham, when the monks were removing the corpse of St. Cuthbert (a), ^{15th abbot.} the founder of Durham Cathedral and the apostle of the North, he assisted to lift and support the shrine, and received from that instant a cure of his malady, and found his arm restored to health. Now, whether this was a miracle, or performed by the intervention of second causes, as was probably the case (for, it is more likely, that by some sudden and uncommon exertion he might stretch the contracted sinews, and cause the humours to flow again and nourish the part, than that the Almighty should work a miracle, when there was no just occasion), yet, in compliance with the credulity of the times, he would consider it, not as a blessing from God and worthy of grateful thanks, but as a miracle wrought on him by the intercession of Cuthbert. And accordingly, on his return, he built a wall, or screen, across the nave of the church, about 50 feet below the choir; and, adjoining to the wall, a chapel, dedicated to St. Cuthbert. This chapel stood on the west side of the said screen, and had service performed in it and an altar; but has been long since pulled down, though the screen remains to this day.

After he had ruled this church and abbey 21 years he died, in the year 1119. He is called Richard de Albany, or D'Aubeny, (*de Exaquo*), being of Norman extraction. And the faults or neglects laid to his charge are, that he lost to the church some of their lands and estates, by enriching his relations and countrymen with beneficial leases, &c. For, he granted the vill of Stanmore for 60s. annual rent; and the land of Sopwell to Robert the builder for 8s. And the lands of Syret, after Robert had surrendered the same, he gave to Peter, the butler, or cupbearer, of William Earl Moreton.

Richard was succeeded by the Prior of the abbey named Geoffrey de Gorham: from a place of that name in Normandy; he being descended of an illustrious family which dwelt at Caen. While a secular, he had been invited by Richard to come over, and take the charge and government of a school belonging to this abbey; but, he delaying, the school was conferred on some other, and Geoffrey went to Dunstable (b) and

Geoffrey de
Gorham
16th abbot.

(a) From Lindisfarne to Durham. Cuthbert died in 688.

(b) Henry I. had established here in 1107 a number of the canons regular of St. Augustine, in a priory now erected and endowed. These canons were supposed to be more pure and uncorrupt than the common monks, and approached near to the seculars; but were confined to a conventual life. They were first instituted by Ivo, Bishop of Chartres,

Geoffrey de
Gorham
16th abbot.

and read lectures, &c. in the school of St. Catharine(a); and, for the greater dignity of his appearance, he borrowed of the sacrist of the abbey the choral copes; but soon after his house was by accident burnt down; and all his books, together with the copes, consumed to ashes. On this, he gave himself, as a whole burnt offering, unto God, saith my author, and assumed the religious habit in the monastery.

One of the principal deeds of this abbot was to regulate and amend the œconomy of the house, and to make a more just and proper assignment of its revenues. And in this work he began with adding 5s. a week to the expence of the kitchen, to augment the commons of the monks. The allowance and distribution of their income was thus; they had, in all their manors, fifty-three farms, that is, of 46s. each on an average. And this sum of 46s. was allowed every week: the steward of the abbot's household had 13 of that sum, and the steward of the monks the remaining 33. Of which 33, three shillings were allowed for maintaining 9 pack-horses, to fetch their provisions from London or elsewhere; and the remaining thirty were for the purchase of the provisions. So that, at this stinted allowance, they were to live, in number 60 at least; and the abbot to enjoy near half as much for his own splendor and dignity. And they had an overplus of rent, of only 46s. or one farm more, for all extraordinary charges and repairs. But he was enabled to make this addition to their former allowance by getting a rent of 12l. a year (now perhaps beginning to make some returns) for the manor of Eastwell: and 12s. more for the land of Robert of Eiwood; and 8s. more for the land of Wimund of Barnet. All which makes 13l. or 5s. per week through the year.

Chartres, in the 10th century; and came into great repute for their sanctity and good order: were brought into England by Edelwald, confessor to Henry I. and placed first in a priory at Rostel in Yorkshire. Queen Maud gave them the priory of the Holy Trinity in London, now called Duke's place. And in 1117 a noble earl of Norman extraction, named Gilbert, gave them a great priory at Merton in Surrey; refounded in 1274 by Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester. And in the time of Edward I. these regular canons of St. Augustine were found to be possessed of 51 priories, and at the dissolution of 57 in England. Most of them had been founded by Henry I. or by others in his reign; and none exceeded that of Merton in revenue, which was near 1000l. per annum.

(a) This school was probably in the priory now founded by Henry. Catharine was reckoned, in the opinions of the Romish church, to be the patroness of learned men. But it is quite unknown who this Catharine was. She is thought to have been introduced from the Greek Church; and the name imported hither, together with sundry relics and other superstitions, by some of the Crusaders. *Mossb. Ecc. Hist. 9 Cent.*
But,

But, beside this, they had every week two seams or quarters of wheat for the kitchen ; and every year 60s. from Aspa, or Napsbury, for the purchase of milk. And Geoffrey assigned also all the cheese which came yearly from their demesne, in Langley, Sandridge, and Walden. Moreover, there were yearly presents, *Xenia*, from some of the manors ; to be divided between the two stewards, after a third was reserved for the entertainment of the guests and their retinue. These presents came from Norton and Newnham, at three special seasons, at Christmas, at Easter, and on St. Alban's day, to the amount of 15s. yearly : from Hexton came 6s. in like manner. From Caislow, or Cassio, came at Christmas 2s. and 24 hens ; at Easter, 2s. and 600 eggs ; and on St. Alban's day 2s. and 24 cheeses, after a form and manner prescribed. From Rickmersworth, at Christmas, 48 hens and 1 hog ; at Easter, 1000 eggs, and 1 hog. From Cuddicote and Walden, at Christmas, 50 hens and 1 hog ; at Easter, 1000 eggs, and one hog. All which were to be distributed between the stewards. They had also four mills ; one at Sopwell, another at Stanekfield, and two called Park Mills : which, together, were bound to furnish, for the use of the monks one thousand of good eels every year. Beside these, the abbot was bound to provide yearly 4 seams or quarters of good bread corn, 4 of the finest flour, and 6 of oats.

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Geoffrey also appointed the church of Rickmersworth, and all its appurtenances, to the secretary of the monastery, to be by him applied in providing the ornaments of the church, and repairing the decays thereof. The tithes and profits of this church used to go to the common stock ; but this was a new and special appointment of the same : and it is probable that at this time the said parish-church was turned into a vicarage, and some small articles of tithe allotted by the writ of endowment for the resident vicar ; who being unmarried, and perhaps a monk sent to the church on a Sunday, was thought well maintained if he could get milk, eggs, wool, and garden-herbs. The secretary was bound to give an account, on the day of the abbot's accession, what charges he had made, and what was proper to be made : and on this occasion his duty was to dress up the monastery as splendidly as possible : and the whole convent attended divine service, and passed the day with great solemnity and pomp.

He made a donation also of the church of St. Peter, and all the appurtenances thereof, to the perpetual use of the infirmary : and enjoined one of the monks to act as master and provider (a) of the infirmary ; to buy all

(a) Infirmarium.

necessary

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necessary medicine and refreshments for the sick and aged ; and to provide the wine or mead for the use of the refectory, every Sunday, or on one holyday instead of a Sunday, which had usually before been provided at the expence of the abbot. And this donation was confirmed on the great altar every year ; with threats of excommunication to all violators and impugnors thereof. His predecessor Richard had set apart the alms, which had used to be given to the poor, for the maintenance of the copyists. But Geoffrey restored the alms to the poor, and assigned a certain portion of dinner from the monks table for the company of writers, that they might not be hindered in procuring their victuals.

But, beside these improvements in the œconomy of the convent, he built a church and hospital near the way that leads to London, for the use of lepers : and endowed the same with sundry portions of tithe : as two parts in ten of the corn tithes of St. Stephen's and St. Michael's parishes ; but with the whole tithe of St. Alban's parish, value 60s. and the whole corn tithe of the lordship of Hamstude, and of the lordship of Kingsbury. This was built and endowed with the advice and consent of the convent, and dedicated to the honour of God and of St. Julian.

3
The leprosy seems to have been as common and as filthy a disease at this time as it was in the days of Moses, and in Judæa at all times ; but whether it arose from the same causes may be doubted. It did not arise, in either of those periods, from excess of gross food and animal flesh ; for, the Jews were accustomed to eat very little flesh, and the monks were allowed to eat none ; but probably from the use of woollen garments next the skin, which are thought to render it unfit for perspiration, and of course to breed obstructions in the pores, and cause cutaneous disorders : to this may perhaps be added want of personal cleanliness. The method of cure, if there was any in those days, we know not ; nor ever find any persons cured of this malady but by the miraculous word of the Son of God. But, as these afflicted persons were shunned and avoided by all others, it became a matter of great beneficence to provide a separate house, &c. for them. And so universally did this charity prevail, that a larger hospital for lepers was founded at Burton Lazars, in the county of Leicester, with which all others were in some degree connected, and did hold an intercourse.

3
Geoffrey confirmed the grants made to St. Julian's, and procured a confirmation thereof from Pope Gregory, in the 2d year of his pontificate. He procured also a charter of confirmation from Henry I. and a grant of one penny a day out of his treasury for the use of this hospital. Abbot Roger confirmed the same with all its bene-

benefactions in the year 1287: and then abbot Richard II. (Wal-
 lingford) confirmed the recovery of the 60s. which had been un-
 justly withheld from this hospital; and dates his confirmation on the
 day of the 7 holy sleepers, in the year 1329(a). The abbot Michael,
 in the year 1344, thought proper to revise and amend their statutes, as
 if it were like to be a large body of brethren; but, by his own confession,
 the house never had more than three at once, sometimes but two, and
 often one. Yet he framed 39 statutes for the government of this
 house: which statutes direct the number not to exceed six, who shall
 be elected a brother leper, and their dress and diet; with others that
 concern the priests, their dress, duty, and appearance: for, beside
 the leprous brethren, there were five priests always resident; one of
 which was a kind of superior, and called *Rector Capellæ Juliani*.

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 16th abbot.

Another cell, founded by abbot Geoffrey in 1140, was that of Sop-
 well; where, having observed two pious women to have erected a hut
 for their dwelling, he constructed a house for their better accommoda-
 tion, and ordered that thirteen sisters should inhabit the same, under
 certain rules and orders, together with a chaplain. They were al-
 lowed a place of worship and a cemetery; and he allotted them certain
 rents and possessions: and, because the two first women used to dip
 their dry bread in the water of the spring, the place was called
 Sopwell.

This abbot built some additions to the abbey: he made a handsome
 apartment with a double roof, it is said, (which means only that it had
 a cieling also), for the entertainment of strangers; and near this he
 built a very handsome chamber, called afterwards the Queen's cham-
 ber: and towards the east he built a small house and chapel for the use
 of an infirmary; into which any sick brother was sent the third day
 after he complained; where he generally was restored to health by being
 allowed flesh meat; and on a perfect recovery he returned to the clois-
 ter, and was again, as before, obliged to abstain from the use of flesh.
 He built also a large hall at Westwick, for the use of a certain friend
 and kinsman, who had shewn great beneficence to the abbey. Geoffrey
 was preparing a very sumptuous shrine for the body of St. Alban,
 and had expended thereon no less than sixty pounds: but, a year
 of great scarcity happening, he converted the gold and silver into
 money, for the relief of the poor: a quarter of wheat at this time rose
 to twenty shillings value; whereas the usual price was four shillings:
 and in the reign of king John, who made an assize of bread in 1203,

(a) These grants and confirmations may be seen in the *Auct. Addit. of M. Paris.*

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the price was calculated for *six shillings*, and down to *eighteen pence*. The year following being plentiful, he collected money, and pursued his intentions with regard to the shrine; and, by the art of a monk named Anketill, he brought the same to great perfection of ornament and show. This Anketill had been bred to the business of a goldsmith, and had passed seven years in the kingdom of Denmark, in constructing curious works for the king, and in superintending his mint: then, coming into England, he chose to fix himself in this abbey, and to assume the habit of a religious. The materials of this shrine were silver gilded, but the upper part of the canopy, called *the crest*, was not finished; though intended to be adorned and enriched with gold and precious stones, whenever they could collect a quantity sufficient. The shrine being erected in the space behind the great altar (a) as built by abbot Paul, a day was appointed for the translation, or removal, of the saint. On this day attended Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, whom the abbot owned as diocesan; Walter, abbot of Ensham, formerly prior of this abbey; Robert of Thorney; and other abbots; together with the whole convent: and in their presence the antient tomb of Alban was opened. But, because a certain college in Denmark, and the monks of Ely also, had asserted and still pretended, that they respectively were possessed of the whole body, or a great part of this saint, the bones were numbered, taken out, and shewed singly; the head was lifted up, for the inspection of all present, by the hands of the venerable Ralph, archdeacon of the church: on the forepart was a scroll of parchment, pendent from a thread of silk, with this inscription, *Sanctus Albanus*; and a circle of gold inclosed the skull, fixed by the order of Offa, engraved with these words, *Hoc est caput Sancti Albani protomartyris Angliæ*. But, in reviewing the bones, the left *scapula*, or shoulder bone, was missing. However, the translation was effected; and some years after, saith the historian, came two monks with letters credential from the church and monastery of Naumburg, in Germany, saying that they were possessed of this valuable relick, viz. the *scapula*; and that the same had been brought to them, many years since, by King Canute. This translation was a day of great festivity: the abbot ordered three hundred poor persons to be relieved at the gate of the monastery; that the priests should sing four masses (or solemn services); and the rest of the brethren should sing, instead of a mass, fifty psalms. The day of this solemnity was the 4th of the nones of August, in the 29th year of the reign of Henry I. or 1129: and the anniversary was solemnized with great devotion and festivity; with a remission to all

(a) Called the *Presbytery*: and behind the present wall, or screen.

penitents,

penitents, who should attend, of one day's duty of their penance in every week through the year.

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He ordained also certain days to be kept with peculiar holiness, viz. the feast of the Ascension; that of St. Matthew and St. John; of the blessed St. Giles; the Conception of the blessed Virgin; and of the blessed Catharine. These days were to be celebrated in copes, and he caused seven to be made for the purpose: one was uncommonly rich with gold and precious stones; another with tassels of great value, and ornamented with gold and pearls; four were enriched with the best and most costly gold fringe; the 7th was of purple, and only decently adorned. He provided five other habits, called chasubles (a), one of which was wholly covered with gold, to the value of six marks and a half, beside a costly gold fringe, very broad, and ornamented with rich tassels and precious stones, all laid upon a bright crimson cloth. But this rich vestment was burnt in the time of his successor Ralph, in order to melt out the gold, with which it was too much loaded. He caused to be prepared many other rich garbs for the particular services or solemnities in which the abbot was to appear; for, they all seem intended to augment his splendor and personal dignity rather than to promote the glory of God and edification of man. He provided also a large cup and patin; which he afterward sent as a present to the pope, Celestine, to assuage the thirst of his avarice, when he was trying to appropriate the rule and election of this abbey, and perhaps the revenues, to himself: this succeeded, and the pope gave up his exorbitant claims for the present. He made a large table, or plate, of gold and silver and choice gems, to be laid on the great altar: but this, on a very urgent occasion, was melted, and given to earl Warren and others, when, in the time of king Stephen, they were preparing to burn down the town. He made also several vessels for burning frankincense; and rich candlesticks; and a vessel for the reception of certain relicks in their possession, viz. of St. Bartholomew, Ignatius, Laurence, and Nicasius, martyrs.

He provided books of all sorts, necessary for the service of the church; one missale, inclosed in a binding of gold; another, in two volumes, incomparably illumined with gold, and written in an open and legible manner, that is, fair, correct, and without abbreviations; a psalter also of great value, illumined; one book containing the benedictions pronounced by bishops, and the sacraments or religious oaths and obligations; one book containing exorcisms, or forms of praying out the devil; and one book of collects. He gave also one large *dorsale* (b), on which was represented the finding the body of

(a) These were garments that covered the whole person.

(b) Cortina ad dorsum altaris pendens.

Geoffrey de St. Alban ; and another of less size, where was shewn the history of the wounded who fell among thieves ; and a third, shewing the history of the prodigal son.

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These splendid gifts did Geoffrey make to his church : but my author cannot dismiss his character without making mention of some things that argued negligence or imprudence. A bad bargain, that Richard had made with Gospatrick, Geoffrey kept and observed ; and granted the same lands to the son of Gospatrick by a new charter, though he raised the rent : this had been sixty shillings ; but now the lessee was to pay twenty shillings more, and in deficiency of money (viz. the 20s.) to pay seven oxen, worth three shillings each. This rent had been settled on the church of Oswin, or, which is the same, the cell of Tinmouth : and it was agreed that, if there was a deficiency of oxen, he should pay three shillings for each to the church of St. Alban. He rebuilt the church, and other buildings of the Holy Trinity of the Wood (*de Bosco*) (a) twice from the ground, after the same had been consumed with fire, and endowed this cell with portions of tithe from Cassio and Watford ; but without the consent of the convent, and, as it were, by force. He granted also the wood of Northaw to Roger, the son of Peter de Valoinges. And all the lands of Westwick, which had been granted to Humbald for his life, and which had been set apart at first for the use of the monks table, he granted to the son of Humbald, who had married a sister of Geoffrey. He granted also some lands, near Westwick, to a familiar friend and client, who had been born of obscure origin, at a small hamlet in Normandy, called Gorham : and this he confirmed by charter, against the consent of the convent, and to their great loss and grievance. He had formed a design of completing the canopy of the shrine in a very costly manner ; but he was cut off by death, in the month of February, 1146, after he had ruled this abbey 26 years, and some months.

As we have thus seen Geoffrey ruling the conventual body with great order, and regulating the œconomy of the monks, and improving the institution, beyond the example and practice of any predecessor ; so to this man was made the first grant of the liberty, by Henry I. (b) ; that is, the great civil power of holding pleas, and of taking cognizance of all less crimes and offences, which had been punishable only in the leets, the hundred, and the county-courts ; with a power of appointing a *seneschallus*, or steward of the hundred ; and of receiving, for the use of the abbey, all fines and amercements. This was a grant to the abbot of a portion of the royal authority, and of the profits which

(a) The cell at Merkyate-street.

(b) Henry granted a similar charter to the priory which he had founded at Dunstable. usually

usually went into the king's exchequer: but the powers were no other than what were granted to many other lords, and great men, in several other hundreds; and who, from presiding in the court, and taking the fines, were called *hundreders*. But, though there was an hundred-court here, before; yet the powers now granted were, the privilege of resembling the county-courts, and holding the same pleas with them. This original grant was reserved in the abbey, in the time of Henry VI. and by him was renewed, in 1440; it mentions the offences there cognizable: and, in 1448, Henry grants to the abbot, by a new charter, power to take cognizance of all pleas of lands and tenements, within the hundred of Caysho, and in the presence of his seneschal; a power, also, to make justices of the peace within the said liberty; and that the seneschal shall execute the same powers, with regard to all transgressions of felony, as any sheriff of our kingdom.

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16th abbot.

This may be seen in the following History of John Wheathamstead's time, soon after he was re-elected. And here is such proof of the origin of the liberty, that one cannot forbear to wonder at the mistake of Chauncy, when he says, that it was first erected in the time of Edward IV; but this mistake shall be accounted for, when we come to treat of the new power granted to the abbot, in the early part of that king's reign. The privileges granted to the abbot, on creating this liberty, were the usual ancient privileges derived from the Saxon times, and given in some degree to every lord or great tenant in capite; viz. *Sac*, *Soc*, *Toll*, *Theam*, *Infangentheof*, and *Outfangentheof*.

By *Sac* was meant, a power to sue a man in his own court.

By *Soc* was meant, a power to implead and punish any offender, or transgressor, in the court of his lord.

By *Toll* was meant, an exemption for the lord or abbot, and all his men, from paying toll in any market.

By *Theam* was meant, the power of having for your property all the children and generations of your villains.

By *Infangentheof* was meant a power of trying any thief or robber in your court, if taken in your fee, wherever the fact was committed. And

By *Outfangentheof* was meant, a power of bringing back and trying your villains in your own court, though the fact might be committed, and the thief taken, elsewhere.

In Geoffrey's time was the abbey of Croyland in a very low and and ruined condition; and, in order to restore things to their former splendor, it was necessary to have a new supply of monks: on

Geoffrey de application to Geoffrey, he sent to Croyland ten men of established
 Gorham character; and capable to amend the rule and government of that
 16th abbot. abbey. He sent them also another monk named Godfrey; whom at
 Croyland they elected prior; and this prior, after the example of
 Geoffrey, set up a very costly shrine, in the year 1143 (a).

Ralph the Geoffrey was succeeded by *Ralph*, the seventeenth abbot, who had
 17th abbot. been one of the confidential domestic officers of the bishop of Lincoln;
 and, though a layman at that time, he had the care of the bishop's
 chapel, and was keeper of his treasury; or, as called in these days,
 receiver of his revenue. By the bishop's procuring, he was admitted
 into this abbey as a monk; but remained in the service of the bishop
 for some time after; on a promise, that the bishop should procure for
 him the abbey of St. Alban, if the bishop survived Geoffrey. "For
 the power and influence of bishops," saith *M. Paris*, "hath at
 times been sufficient to dispose and direct all things in this church,
 even against its advantage." While he served the bishop of Lincoln,
 which was Alexander, the martial bishop, he attended the lectures of
 one Wodon, an Italian, who explained the Scriptures. And from that
 time he became a lover of books, and furnished this church with many
 volumes. When abbot, he shewed himself a zealous defender of its
 rights and estates; and managed the revenue so well, that at his death
 the convent was clear of all demands, and under pecuniary obliga-
 tions to no person. He built some chambers adjoining to the church,
 for the use of the abbot, of very strong work, and caused the house
 to be covered with shingles of oak; which shews that tiles of the
 modern sort were not then used, and probably not invented.

He went into France, and met the pope, Eugenius, at Auxerre, and
 obtained from him the privilege (b) which had been granted before by
 pope Celestine; and, on his return, purchased, for the use of this
 church, two large palls, of ten marks value each. Geoffrey had
 granted the manor of Shephall to Adam, the steward, for 4l. 12s.
 and Ralph confirmed the same in chapter, and applied the rent to the
 use of the monks table.

Having some suspicions of ill conduct in Alquine, the prior, about
 some table-plate, he caused him to be deposed; and Robert de Gor-
 ham to be elected in his place. Alquine fled to his old friend, Lau-
 rence, the abbot of Westminster; and, they having been familiar
 friends in this abbey before, he was by him received, and chosen for
 a monk.

(a) 2 Cont. Mon. p. 370.

(b) This privilege seems to have been only peaceable possession, and a temporary
 security against the avaricious and overbearing claims of the papal court.

Of the faults of Ralph, it is mentioned by *M. Paris*, that he caused one of the rich chafubles, which Geoffrey had provided, to be burnt for the sake of the gold: and the shrine was stripped of all the plates and solid gold, in order to purchase the vill of Brentfield (a) for twenty-four marks: the jewels also, and precious stones, he caused to be sold; when he might have furnished the sum, from selling the gold and silver cups which were used at his table. The rent of the new purchase was applied to repair the buildings, and restore the shrine.

Ralph the 17th
abbot.

Ralph was abbot no longer than five years; and, finding himself decaying, he resigned, and procured the prior, Robert de Gorham, to be elected in his place. He died in July 1151, in the fourteenth year of king Stephen: he was surnamed Gobion, and was of English extraction.

Robert was descended of a good family at Caen in Normandy, and born of a sister of the late venerable abbot Geoffrey. Having heard of the good fortune of his relations in England, he came over from the monastery in which he had been educated; and, bringing with him a testimonial, was readily admitted a monk and brother of the church of St. Alban. Some time after, he took on him the office of secretary, which had under its function the care and repairs of the building: in this employment he rebuilt the chapter-house from the ground, whitened the inside and outside of the church, and covered the greatest part of it, in a very becoming manner, with lead; for, probably, the covering before this time had been of shingles (*scindulis*). In the time of abbot Ralph he had been created prior, which was a sort of sub-abbot, or representative of the abbot; and, on the resignation of Ralph, he was elected abbot by unanimous consent. On his being installed, he gave a pall to this church worth ten marks; which he afterwards presented, by leave of the convent, to the church of St. Oswin at Tinmouth. He was very diligent in all matters that related to the Church's property; and gave great assistance and relief to Lawrence, the new abbot of Westminster; but which Lawrence requited very ill; for, he strove, in a very fraudulent manner, to regain the manor of Aldenham. One of the monks, named Germanus, and made prior of Tinmouth, was thence elected, by the monks of Selby, to be their abbot: and another, named Godfrey, was chosen to be abbot of Croyland; where, by the help of Adam his nephew, and other monks of St. Alban, whom he took with him, when sent thither by Geoffrey, he caused religion and good order again to flourish. King Stephen, having cause to pass through the town, was honourably entertained by the monastery: and one day, while the king was hearing mass, the abbot fell

Robert the
18th abbot.

(a) So named, perhaps, as signifying that it was purchased with *Burnt*, or *Brent*, goods.

Robert ^{the} _{18th abbot.} at his feet, with some relicks of St. Stephen, the first martyr, in his hand; and besought the king, that he would cause the remains of his royal manse, called Kingsbury(a), to be demolished; for, it harboured persons, who, under pretence of the king's authority to keep the peace and guard the town, were the cause of great disturbance, injuries, and extortions: on which the king gave the said castle or remains (situate, it is said, very near to this abbey) to the abbot, who caused the building to be demolished. King Henry II. soon after his accession, being at Clarendon, abbot Robert went thither, and petitioned him for a grant of the church of Luton and of Hoston: to which the king consented, and confirmed the same by a charter; ordaining that the profits thereof should be set apart for the entertainment of strangers.

About this time, pope Anastatius being dead, his place was supplied by Adrian IV. better known in England by his former and family name, of Nicholas Brekespear; who, being born at Langley, and brought to this monastery to assume the habit of a monk, was refused as insufficient in learning; but came, in after-times, to such pre-eminence as to be chosen pope. The chief events of his history are these: on his being rejected (which was by Richard), he went into Provence, and became a canon in the house of Saint Rufus, and soon after was elected to be their abbot: hence he went to Rome, to expedite some business relative to his abbey, and so far recommended himself to the pope, that he was made bishop of Alba, and then chosen by the cardinals to be pope. His father had been admitted a monk (probably after his son had left him, and his wife was dead) and lived fifty years in the monastery: and, in consideration of his own and his son's merits, he was interred in the chapter-house, not far from the grave of abbot Richard, which was afterwards covered with the tiles of the pavement. On receiving intelligence of the exaltation of his countryman, Robert thought it necessary to make a journey to Rome, on purpose to pay his congratulations: the king, also, encouraging and commanding this compliment, as having some duty to pay on his part. Robert, accordingly, made great preparations; and collected presents, &c. to the value of twenty-seven marks; beside five cups of great value, and three very costly mitres, and sandals, or slippers, and other delectable things; but, in passing the channel, he narrowly escaped shipwreck; yet, having great interest with the Virgin Mary and the martyr, (St. Alban) he escaped and landed safe. When he met the pope, which

(a) Though my author has already said, that Alfric II. demolished this palace in the time of Canute, yet it is probable, that the principal mansion only was thereby meant, and that some of the offices, &c. might still remain, and be the subject of Robert's complaint, and of the king's grant.

was at Beneventum, he presented the mitres, and the sandals ; which last had been worked by the Lady Christina, prioress of Merkyate(a), where Geoffrey, the 16th abbot, had founded a cell for nuns.

Robert the
18th abbot.

After much familiar discourse, the abbot was encouraged to ask a great favour, to which the pope assented. The abbot then requested, that, in consideration of the ' troubles and vexations which their ' bishop (of Lincoln) gave his monastery, the pope would be pleased ' to give them an exemption from all other authority than that of the ' pope himself.' This was granted by Adrian, with many other privileges, which were allowed to no other abbey in England. Soon after, a synod was held at London, under Theobald the archbishop : where the bishop of Lincoln, named Robert de Querceto, that is, of *Cheynies*, having heard that his authority at the abbey of St. Alban's was set aside, refused to appear, but sent a messenger to plead excuse, by reason of weakness and ill health. This privilege was the cause of great dissension between the bishop and the abbot ; and in the eighth year of Henry II. it was determined, in the presence of the king and by his mediation, in a great assembly of bishops and nobles ; wherein, after much argument, it was proved, that the church of St. Alban was *ingenua*, or free-born ; that the bishops of Lincoln had gradually exercised authority therein, by the negligence of the abbot ; that such authority, so long uncontroverted, had become almost legal ; but, as its legality was founded on prescription, and not on any statute, some recompence should be given, for the redemption of its liberties. It was therefore agreed that the abbey should give to the bishop some farm of ten pounds value : and, this being the value of Tynkurste(b), that farm was conveyed and confirmed to the bishop, and his claims hereby annulled.

From the time of Adrian's granting exemption to this abbey, the abbot and his successors assumed the mitre ; and twice a year afterwards he assembled his clergy, and formed a synod, and prescribed rules and laws for the convent and cells, habited in the mitre ; but left to the bishops, as before, all celebration of sacraments, as ordination of priests, &c. consecration of oil and unctions, dedication of churches and altars, and the blessing the abbot, &c. And the next year the venerable bishop of St. Asaph, named Godfrey, consecrated a quantity of oil in the Eucharist at the great altar, and in the presence of the whole convent, to be distributed as formerly to all the churches belonging to this abbey ; the said bishop acting in no respect as the bishop of Lincoln. The same Godfrey also held a general ordination in the chapel of

(a) This cell was so named from *Merk*, a boundary ; and *Yate*, or *Gate*, a way : it is situated on the border of Hertfordshire, in the high road to Dunstable.

(b) Or Fingest, in Bucks.

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the infirmary; and in the great church dedicated the altar of the Holy Cross; and in the church of St. Peter he dedicated another altar, to the honour of St. Nicolas. So that the honour of the mitre, when conferred on any abbot, was not understood to set him on a parity with the episcopal order, except that the king always called such to a seat among the barons of the realm; but it exempted the abbot and monastery from episcopal visitation and diocesan jurisdiction: the abbots then taking on them to rule and govern the seculars under their care, and leaving the bishop to exercise and perform certain ministerial functions in the abbeys, and to govern the other parochial clergy, though without any authority, or jurisdiction, over the vicars, or officiating clergy, of churches that did belong to the abbeys; because such clergy were always members of the monastic body, and sent out to do and perform the sacred offices in such churches. And this probably was the usage and practice, even after vicarages were endowed and made a separate estate, unless, in the instrument of endowment (which always required consent of the bishop and king), the subordination and obedience of the vicar was therein transferred to the bishop, and which was probably the case very often.

This elevation of the abbot to the mitre happened in the year 1161, and the 7th of Henry II. (a). But the contest with the bishop was so much agitated and laboured by the contending parties, that the decision could not be made but by the king in person; who, together with most of the bishops, many of the great abbots, some arch-deacons, and several of the earls and nobles, sat during several days to hear their claims, and adjust their differences; and, at length, these persuaded the parties to agree to the compromise above-mentioned, by which the abbot gained an high honour and place of pre-eminence, but by which the body lost an estate of 10l. a year, and suffered a charge, in entertainments and lawyers expences, of 140 marks. This transaction took place in 1162, in the first year of Becket's advancement to the see of Canterbury.

The abbot of Westminster, named Lawrence, had given much trouble to Robert; for, though Robert had assisted him with two hundred marks during the late time of famine and want, yet Lawrence and his people made encroachments on the lands and tenants of the abbey; in particular on those of Sandrugge (or Sandridge), and

(a) About this time Lawrence, the abbot of Westminster, who had been bred in this monastery, compiled, by order of Henry II. a history of the holy martyr and confessor, King Edward. *M. Paris*, p. 1029.

such

such as lay near the river Marford, which is still a part of Wheat-hampstead, then belonging to Westminster. Lawrence, also, made new claims of the manor of Aldenham, and sued the abbey, and Robert Tailleboys, their lessee, before the barons of the Exchequer. But Lawrence, fearing the judgement of the court, and being rejected in his offer of twenty-three marks to Tailleboys if he would relinquish his right, a compromise took place; and the abbey confirmed Tailleboys in the quiet possession of his right to pannage for twenty hogs every year in the wood of Aldenham.

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But another and more severe trial harrassed the patience and fortitude of Robert; and that was, concerning the wood of Northaw (a) and the danger of losing it. It is proper to remember that Abbot Paul had granted this wood to Peter de Valoinges, a great Norman baron, who dwelt at Hertingfordbury, and to whom the Conqueror had given divers manors and possessions in this county. By the grant he was constituted tenant, or usufructuary, for his life. Abbot Geoffrey had granted it to his son Roger on the like condition; and the grandson Peter had the like grant from Abbot Ralph: but, this Peter being on his death bed, Robert the abbot sent to him two of the brethren, to solicit him to make restitution of the wood of Northaw, according to the terms of the grant. The dying man, in the presence of his soldiers and armed attendants, promised to do so, saying, 'that he held it by no hereditary right; but by the mere grace and favour of the convent, and would surrender the next day.' In the night, this grantee died; and instantly messengers are dispatched by the abbot, to take possession of the wood. But immediately Robert de Valoinges, brother and heir to Peter, (who died without children), makes earnest application to Robert, that he would renew the grant to him; though without success, for Robert would not comply. On this, Robert, the baron, hastens to the King, who was then in France and engaged in the siege of Thoulouse: he there obtained the subject of his petition, and returned with letters written to this effect; 'That he forbade any person to deprive Robert unjustly of any possession, which his predecessors had held by inheritance and the rule of justice.'

(a) And here it is proper to remark, that the true etymology of this place is North-
augh, from the valley, which is there to be seen, vast and tremendous beyond any
valley in all this county; for, in the language of those times, and now in the north
of England, a valley is called a *Haugh*; the Latin writers call Rosehaugh, *de Rosa-*
rum Valle; and an artificial valley in a garden is called a Haugh: moreover, on
the southern boundary of this county, in East Barnet, there is another valley, with
lands adjoining, which is called at this day by the name of *Suthaw*, or *Southaugh*.

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Robert brought these letters to the abbot, and strenuously demanded possession of the wood. The abbot assembled his brethren, and they sat like a court, or grand council, in the consistory or chapter-house. Robert approached, with the letters in his hand, demanding the estate. The abbot rose up and said, these letters ought by no means to have been brought to us by you, who make no distinction betwixt a tenure by inheritance and one by grant. On which, Robert, in great anger, retired, and hastened to the Earl of Leicester, then justiciary, or chief justice of England; for the tenor of the letter was; 'If ye do not justice, let Robert Earl of Leicester do it, that the complainant suffer no longer vexation through want of right.' The earl directly issues his letter to the sheriff of Herts, commanding him to summon the abbot of St. Alban, and to cite him to appear at Northampton, before the said earl, and answer to this complaint in person. Abbot Robert refused to go; but sent a brother, named Hugh, a man of discretion and prudence, who, though with reluctance, undertook the journey. The earl was incensed, and issued another citation. The abbot still declined appearing; the earl gave sentence, adjudging the wood to Valoinges; and the sheriff put him into possession without delay. Then he, Valoinges, thinking that he should be tenant but a short time, from this unjust success, set himself to commit all kind of waste and spoil, beyond the example of any of his predecessors.

The abbot, finding the mischief to be irrecoverable, speeds away to the earl of Leicester, and obtains letters from him, to restrain and inhibit Robert de Valoinges from farther damage and injury. Robert refused obedience to the injunctions, and repeated, with double mischief, the waste and spoil of the wood. The abbot hereupon hastens to the Queen (Eleanor), then in England; and obtains from her letters to restrain the bold proceedings of Valoinges, who, for a while, acquiesced, and then returned to his old practices, and did more mischief than ever. On this, the abbot sent messengers, with the complaint, to pope Alexander; who returned this answer, directed to Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, and Hilary bishop of Chichester; 'Whereas, our beloved sons, the abbot and brethren of the monastery of St. Alban, have shewn, by their complaint, that Robert de Valoinges doth unjustly hold the wood of Northaw, their property: We charge you to convene the said Robert within thirty days after the receipt of these letters, and cause him to make restitution, or perform to them full and ample justice, in your presence; which, if he shall perchance, out of contempt, refuse to do, our will is, that you pronounce against him the sentence of excommunication.

' And

‘ And if one of you be unable to be present at this business, let it be put
 ‘ in execution by the other.’ Given at Anagnia, 6. cal. Feb.

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The bishops, on receipt of this papal order, were in the utmost fear and confusion; because Henry II. had forbid, that the sentence of excommunication should be pronounced against any of his nobles. The abbot, therefore, dispatches one of the brethren, laden with presents and promises, to the king, who was before Thoulouse; soliciting his Majesty to give orders to the earl of Leicester, that he, together with Robert de Valoinges, would be pleased to hear this complaint concerning the wood of Northaw, in his own court at Westminster. To this the king was not inclined; but, being softened by the importunities of the monk, he consented to write to the earl; directing, ‘ That he
 ‘ would not suffer Robert de Valoinges, from that day, to cut any
 ‘ more timber or wood, or to sell or give away any.’ Which injunction Robert having received, he, with great reluctance, complied with. Robert, the abbot, still resenting the unjust robbery which his church was suffering, repaired, with all speed, to the king, then in Normandy, being returned from Thoulouse (a). The king and the abbot had a long conference on the subject of the wood; the latter claiming justice, the former denying the necessity of it. At length a bargain was struck between these great personages, for 100l. on receipt of which, Robert obtained a rescript to the chief justiciary, commanding him to call before him the respective parties, ‘ and hear their
 ‘ allegations, and give a decision concerning the right of property,
 ‘ from the charter of Lanfranc (b), who was made archbishop of Canterbury in 1070, and other charters, and pronounce a definitive
 ‘ sentence.’

The abbot returned, and laid the rescript before the earl, who cites Valoinges to appear, allowing him only forty days. And, in the mean time, the abbot made a journey to their cell at Thinmow, or Tinmouth, in order to visit and inspect the brethren there settled.

At length the day came for the appearance of the two litigants; and Valoinges refused to appear: the abbot had travelled into Scotland, and was reposing himself in the abbey of Dumfermlin; but Symond, the prior of St. Alban, appeared in his stead, and by his order. The

(a) This was in 1160; and in this year died Theobald, the archbishop. But a more material circumstance that marks this year is, that Henry married his son, aged seven years, to the daughter of the king of France, who was aged three years.

(b) Lanfranc had been a great benefactor to this abbey; for, beside assisting Paul with large sums to rebuild his church, as has been said, he endowed the same with lands and manors; of which Northaw was one.

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justiciary proceeded not to a hearing, but issued a second citation to Robert de Valoinges, to appear at the same place, at the end of forty days. On the day appointed the abbot appeared, and Valoinges did not: on which the judge declared the wood to be confiscated to the use of the king; and summoned Valoinges a third time, allowing him six weeks. On the day, the abbot appeared at Leicester; and Valoinges did not, nor did he send any person to answer for him, or make exception. On which the earl, with the judgement of the whole court, decreed the wood to the abbot. He then put Robert in possession, by the delivery of a branch; and compelled Valoinges to make restitution for the mischief and damage by him committed.

I have been thus particular in the narration of this event, in order to shew, how much the rich and great envied the clergy in their possessions, and how much the latter were employed to combat the violence and artifice of the former: it discovers the difficulty of obtaining right in those days; how corrupt the very fountain of justice was; and how weak and helpless the clergy, even at the height of their prosperity, were, to obtain redress, and support themselves against the usurpations and encroachments of the great and opulent laity. It shews also, on a comparison with these days, with what wisdom great men, kings, and ministers, and courts of law under them, have acted, in supporting the rights, and maintaining the body, of Protestant clergy; in considering them no longer as the lords of the heritage, but as helpers of the faith; and employing them as teachers and instructors of the people, in obedience to just and mild government, not as the instruments and tools of arbitrary rule and unjust authority.

This same abbot, Robert de Gorham, had another contest with the earl of Arundel, whose father had founded the cell at Wymundham; and Robert, going to visit this cell, was very ill-treated by the prior, named Ralph de Nuers, and the servants. In short, they denied his authority, and refused him admission; and, having sent his cook before, as was the custom, to provide for the abbot, the man was beaten, and his horse stolen. The abbot applied to the earl, who lived near, for relief and assistance: and he interposed, by giving correction to the prior and servants. But this he did, not so much to vindicate the rights of the abbot as to assert his own, and manifest his own superiority; for, he affirmed that the abbot had no right or jurisdiction there, and that, his father having founded and endowed the cell, he was himself the patron and visitor, to the exclusion of all others. The abbot answered, that it was his, the earl's, duty, to give confirmation to the grants made by his father; that the king's char-

ter

ter (which was all that was necessary to establish a foundation in the time of Henry I.) was in his custody, and by that the cell was made subordinate to the abbey of St. Alban; and he challenged the earl to shew any deed, or record, to exclude the abbey, or to limit the authority of visitor to himself or his family. The earl, being unable to do this, submitted his own pretended authority, and acknowledged the right of the abbey; but not without swearing by the lance of God (being a great armed knight), that the abbot's name should, for the future, be called *Mate-felon*.

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Robert was on very good terms with his countryman, pope Adrian IV. and, being at Rome one summer, (a journey, which, in those days, seems to have been only a summer jaunt for the clergy), he solicited his holiness to enter on some measures to make the monks of Ely forbear their boasting that they were possessed of the true relics of St. Alban. The pope, accordingly, directed a commission to three certain bishops, to make strict enquiry; who, going to Ely, and shewing their credentials, the abbot and convent made choice of twelve of their oldest and most discreet brethren, to discuss this *arduous affair*. When the bishops had first exacted an oath, to examine the truth and obey it, otherwise they should suffer suspension and the censures of the church, they protested, with unanimous consent, 'that they had been 'deceived by a pious fraud; that they had perpetrated sacrilege, and 'were wholly without one bone of St. Alban: that, with regard to the 'saint's cassock, or rough coat, they believed themselves to have been 'deceived, through the like pious zeal; for, by reason only of the length 'of time, such a thing could not then exist; and that Germanus, 'when he discovered the bones of the saint, found them not wrapped in 'a cassock, but in a pall or cloak; and had left them in it, as he had 'found them: that Offa, likewise, who 344 years after Germanus, 'had raised the bones from the earth, did not find the said cassock: 'but the said pall or cloak he had reserved whole, and unhurt, in his 'church, in testimony of so great a miracle.' With this confession, the abbot and monks of St. Alban declared themselves satisfied.

Pope Alexander the Third had summoned a general council to meet at Tours in France; and, among the rest, the prelates of England set forth to attend his holiness, and consult for the benefit of the universal church. With them appeared the venerable abbot Robert, a man esteemed, at that time, the most eloquent, and the best instructed, in all divine and human laws. To him was assigned, by Hyacinth, the cardinal deacon, the first seat above all the English abbots, according to the privilege granted by pope Adrian; with

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with a charge to keep and preserve the said seat, as one of his servants. And, lest he might be too much puffed up by his elevation and honour, he was to consider himself as door-keeper to the pope. In the writ of privilege, the tenor of the grant runs thus; "that, as Alban was distinguished as the first martyr in England, so let the abbot of his monastery be ranked "the first in place and dignity." But the abbot of St. Edmundsbury, named Hugo, was sadly mortified at this pre-eminence; and, on the night before the day of assembling, he got possession of this first seat, and, together with his attendants, sat up therein, driving out, by violence, a servant of abbot Roberts, who had been sent to secure it: in the morning, abbot Hugo, fearing that the pope or cardinals would put some affront on him, and depose him from his seat, offered the court of the pontiff a present of sixty marks; promising that his brother Hamon, a monk, should be detained as a hostage until the money was paid. Robert was unwilling to appeal to the king's court for redress, because Henry had forbid all the prelates to bring any complaint, on any matter, into his courts. But, in the presence of all assembled, he laid before the pope the violence and affront committed by Hugo; and, arrayed in all his pontifical habits, seated himself next to Hugo, and before all the other abbots.

Hugo did this in justification of the honour of his martyr, who had been a king; but it proved of little advantage to him to assert and vindicate the royal martyr; for, beside the charges of the journey, &c. his presents and liberalities to the pope, the cardinals, and court, cost him very dear. Now, while Hugo was supporting his own affected honour and rank, Robert was turning his disgrace and affront to a public benefit; for, under the influence of this grievance, he offered many petitions to the pope, which his holiness granted without the least hesitation. One was, that he would be pleased to confirm that exemption from the bishop of Lincoln, which Pope Adrian had granted to his monastery, and to the fifteen churches (a) under its jurisdiction; another contained some advantages for the cell at Hatfield; and the third contained some privileges in favour of the holy virgins dwelling at Sopwell.

Robert, on his return home, was received with all the pomp and solemnity of a procession; and, approaching the high altar, he made an offering of two silver basons, value five marks; and two mantles,

(a) These were all that at this time belonged to the abbey. The other six, which constitute the arch-deaconry of St. Alban, were later acquisitions. It is not clear which were the fifteen here entitled to the privilege.

adorned before and behind with gold fringe. He caused to be made a very handsome censer of silver, for burning frankincense. He purchased two garments, or cloaks, of the finest imperial purple; of which one was made into a cope, value one hundred shillings, and the other was converted into a mantle. He caused also to be made a small image of the Virgin Mary, with its attributes, to be placed over the altar. He caused many books to be transcribed; "more" says my author, "than can be mentioned." He repaired the coffin and shrine of the saint, which, in the time of abbot Ralph, had been broken and stripped of its ornaments, in order to purchase their estate at Brentfield; and furnished it, as before, with much ornament of gold, silver, and precious stone. He bestowed much expence in improving the buildings of the monastery; for, he built anew the chapter-house from the ground; and the grand room called the King's Parlour; and a chapel to the honour of St. Nicolas; and all that side of the cloister which stood in the *front* of the chapter-house. He erected also a granary, a landry, a larder, and a long stable; and appointed that a lamp should be burning in the stable every night. He built, moreover, two sunny rooms (a), such as were in great request in those days, and which tended to soften the rigor of the winter weather.

But Robert, with all these virtues, stands charged with some faults; although, says *M. Paris*, they were very slight ones; for, he gave to his brother, named Ralph, the estate at Syret, without the consent, or even privity, of the body. And he gave to William Basslet, and his heirs, the whole vill of Thorpe, for the annual rent of thirty shillings; although the father of the said William never had, or claimed, any inheritance therein. He gave also to the monks of Bermondsey the tithes, and all parochial rights of a farm called Bridef-horn; with this single condition, that they should observe an anniversary day to his memory. These two last contracts he procured, by earnest solicitation, to be confirmed by the body. And, in a dispute with Roger de Meriden about the lands at Bradway, he yielded to the claims of the said Roger, not knowing the true title which the monastery had, and suffering himself to be deceived by the testimony, upon oath, of some of the dependents and soldiers of the said claimant, who, according to truth, and the charter of Henry I. had no kind of right.

At length, Robert, having governed the abbey fifteen years and four months, departed this life, being afflicted with a pleurisy. He

(a) *Salaria*, since called *Sollars*.

Robert the 18th abbot. died the 20th of October, 1166; and his funeral was attended by Gilbert Foliot bishop of London, Lawrence abbot of Westminster, and Simon the prior of this house. He was interred in the new chapter-house, at the feet of abbot Paul, who was the first and most distinguished person here buried, as appears by his grave-stone, "in which," saith my author, "he is represented as habited in his pontific robes." "But," continues he, "at rebuilding this house, the bodies of those venerable men were indecently disturbed, and thrown again promiscuously into the earth."

At the decease of Robert, the abbey was confiscated; that is, I imagine, the temporalities reverted to the king: but the whole care thereof was committed, by precept from the king's justice, the earl of Leicester, to the prior, and to the steward named Adam, and others of the brethren. The church was so much burdened with debt, that, when an account was drawn out, and settled by the king's officers (I suppose of the Exchequer, who had the care of the confiscation), the debt amounted to six hundred marks, much of this owing to Christians, but more to Jews. But this irregularity, and bad state of their revenue, was easily excused; in consideration of the numerous and arduous difficulties which they had been involved in, and through which their abbot had carried them with perfect success. He bore also a special affection towards his relations and countrymen; and had conferred on them many gifts and presents; in particular, the lands of Gorham, as they were now called, together with all their product and increase, he caused to be confirmed unto the grantee his relation, with certain enlargements, that were not strictly lawful.

31 Symond the 19th abbot. On Robert's death, the prior and monks petitioned the king for leave to elect a successor; but the king kept the vacancy open for four months and more; and at length, after much intreaty, he wrote to the bishop of London, Gilbert Foliot, directing him to go down; and that, "having procured a nomination of three persons, he should make report to the king of their true characters and abilities, and of the real state of the monastery; that he (the king) might choose whom he liked best." This the bishop performed; and the king appointed Symond the prior to succeed as abbot. In June, he received the form of benediction from the bishop, and, being invested in the proper habits, was enthroned. This was a new mode of election. But at this time the contest ran high between the king and Becket; and this was one of the instances, wherein Henry determined to shew Becket, that he could make abbots and bishops, and give them investiture,

titute, without the interference of the arch-bishop ; or of the pope, for whom Becket contended.

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Symond was an Englishman by birth ; a privilege which three or four of his predecessors could not boast. He had been bred up from his infancy in the monastery, and was well versed in all the rules, usages, and customs, practised therein. He was well accomplished in letters, and the learning then most esteemed ; and of excellent morals and sobriety. He took great pains to have plenty of good books. It has been observed, that there was in the monastery a certain apartment, called the *Scriptorium*, used for the scribes and copyists : this having been long neglected, and the use of it perverted, Symond repaired it ; and employed three or four scribes constantly, and made some addition to their salary : by this means he provided a great number of very fair and reputable books, and among others, the Old and New Testament much embellished. He caused a place to be made for these books, called the Almonry, opposite the tomb of Roger the Hermit, somewhere within the body of the church ; for, it is to be observed, that, among all the rooms and buildings belonging to the abbey, there was none called the LIBRARY : the scarcity of books rendered this unnecessary ; and, from their being kept in holes and corners, they soon decayed, and furnished new employment for the scribes. He likewise ordained, that all future abbots should employ *one* scribe at least.

This abbot had no such contests with the great and powerful as Robert had. But his whole time seems to have been spent in procuring gold and silver, and rich cups and utensils ; and in applying the gold and silver, together with many precious stones, in decorating the shrine of the saint. And herein he employed a very excellent artist, one master John, a goldsmith ; who, in a very few years, so enriched and embellished the shrine, that *M. Paris*, who lived near one hundred years after, says, he had never seen one more splendid and noble.

It is to be understood, that in those days there was no screen at the top of the choir, that the great altar stood where the rails and table now stand, and the shrine was placed in what is now the confistory ; so that it was all open, even from Cuthbert's screen, to the view of the whole choir and congregation. Symond caused the shrine to be a little elevated, for a better view, and to appear directly before the eye of the priest who was celebrating mass ; whose place it was to stand and kneel with his back to the people, and on the west side of the altar. This position of the shrine was not only the most splendid to the eye of the beholder, but was intended to raise and elevate the devotion of

^{Symond the} the priest; and to this purpose, also, was intended the decollation of Al-
^{19th abbot.} ban, which was painted on the wall opposite. The shrine was in form somewhat resembling an altar-tomb, but rising, with a lofty canopy over it supported on pillars; and was intended to represent the saint lying in great state; and thus to receive the homage and adorations of all such as believe in saints and in their efficacious prayers. The inside contained a coffin, wherein had been deposited the bones of Alban by abbot Geoffrey. This was inclosed in another case, which, on the two sides, was overlaid with figures cast in gold and silver, shewing the chief acts of Alban's life, in work that was highly raised and embossed. At the head, which was toward the east, was placed a huge crucifixion, with a figure of Mary on one side, and of St. John on the other, ornamented with a row of very splendid jewels. At the feet, which were towards the west, and in front of the choir, was placed an image of the Virgin, holding her son in her bosom, seated on a throne: the work seemingly of cast gold highly embossed, and enriched with precious stones and very costly bracelets. The four pillars which supported the canopy, and stood one at each corner, were shaped in resemblance like towers, with apertures to represent windows, and all of plate gold, supporting the roof or canopy, whose inside was covered with crystal stones.

Such was the shrine or monument of the holy Alban; and which, in the notions of those times, was calculated to excite devotion in the beholder. And, indeed, when the worship of saints made a great part of their religion, it was natural to set off the monument of the saint with all possible splendor; since this, with ignorant minds, would inspire a degree of awe and astonishment, excite an idea of the saint's power and interest in heaven, and certainly tended to make the poor votary more submissive to the masters of the saint. But it was a part of that mystery of iniquity which Christ and his apostles foretold would work: and now was the time when it drew near its highest perfection; when churchmen, now approaching to the greatest pitch of power, had instituted and established a rival jurisdiction, and were ever combating and controuling the civil authority.

The quarrel, between Henry II. and Becket, was nothing more than a struggle which should be superior, the *Crown* or the *Mitre*; and which dependent and subservient. Ever since the Conqueror had cherished the clergy and church, in order to secure his new acquisitions, they had gone on to obtain more and more privileges; William had founded new bishoprics, enlarged and amplified the old, created new officers under them, and enabled the clergy to rule all his subjects: and,

Beware of false
 Prophets

in the space of one century, they had grown independent of the Crown, and possessed privileges that were not only adverse to the usual laws and rules of civil government, but even dangerous to monarchy itself, whenever the monarch ventured to oppose them. This temporal power was greatly strengthened by the doctrines which they had taught: transubstantiation, the worship of the dead, and invocation of saints, in order to establish a pretended interest with Heaven; the necessity of confession, and resignation of all private will and opinion; and, to complete their tyranny over kings and civil powers, the pretended lawfulness to *de throne*, or to withdraw all *allegiance* and *duty* from them.

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In this summit of church power, but with a view to reduce or restrain its exorbitancy, did Henry place his chancellor Becket, by appointing him arch-bishop of Canterbury; being first ordained only deacon, and now, for this express purpose, priest. And, at first, the conduct of Becket seemed assenting to this plan; but he changed, and, instead of a moderate governor, became a most zealous champion and defender of the church. It is unnecessary to say more of the persecution he suffered, his exile, his undutiful carriage to the king, and his tragical end at last: but this event sufficiently shews the excess of power possessed by the clergy, and of the enmity which the state and its governors must conceive against them on that account.

Among the fautors and encouragers of Becket, our abbot Symond was not the least; though there is no fact on record that specially notes his courage, or his insolence in the contest, except this, which I will relate: Becket, after a proscription of seven years, was permitted to return to England: and he thought proper to go to Woodstock, to pay his duty to prince Henry, just then crowned and associated with his father in the throne. The arch-bishop had incensed the king afresh, by refusing to absolve those bishops who had been excommunicated: and, while he was on his journey, the king forbade him to proceed any farther: the arch-bishop turned back, and reposed himself at his manor of Harwes (a), about seven miles from this abbey; and sent for abbot Symond, to console him on his misfortunes and distresses. Here Symond passed some days with him; and, within fifteen days after their departure, Becket was slain by four ruffian knights, at the foot of an altar, on the 29th of December 1170. The death of such a man often drew pious lamentations from Symond, who grieved “that he was not worthy to have been involved in so glorious a toil;

(a) This, I believe, is Hayes near Uxbridge.

“ nor

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“ nor had ever had the honour to be maimed, or mutilated, or beheaded,
“ in so noble a cause.”

This abbot prepared many ornaments for the church and the service; such as very fine cups, well wrought in gold, and enriched with precious stones: to which the king added another exceeding rich cup, to hold the vessel that contained, what they called, the real body of Christ. He caused also to be made a very large cross, covered with plates of gold; which was borne between two other crosses on the day of the Lord's passion. The chapel of Cuthbert, built by abbot Richard, he now caused to be consecrated. He made another very uncommon vessel resembling a writing-desk (*scrinium*), covered with plates of gold, and rising in the top in ribs or circles of gold, wrought with figures and stories of the blessed Jesus. This contained a small chest, in which was deposited the true body: and the whole vessel was carried about with great solemnity, and, at certain times, worshipped with all the tokens of adoration by the whole convent; ‘to shew,’ saith my author, ‘how much that body ought to be revered and adored by men, which Christ gave up to be scourged, crucified, and buried in the earth (a).’

One is quite at a loss to understand how the Saviour's body, mortified as it was, could be justly represented by a great gilded box, said to contain something, which the bearers pretended was the real body. Nor can one see by what logic the people could be thence reasoned into a sense of the merits of Christ's body or death; or how the sight of this glittering vessel could raise any true devotion or reverence for the Saviour; but it served to dazzle and astonish, and thus prepare men to be more submissive and credulous; it awed the vulgar, and raised a credit or opinion, that priests and monks, who abounded in gold and riches, must be favoured of Heaven.

Another principal event of Symond's time was the discovery of the body of *Amphibalus*, the master and instructor of Alban. This great event is related by *M. Paris* as having come to pass by the miraculous appearance of Alban to one Robert, a lay person of the town; to whom he discovered, that, if they would dig on Redburn Green, they

(a) *Berenger*, who was one of the most learned divines of his age, was a principal of the school at Tours, and afterwards arch-bishop of Angers, suffered much persecution for asserting and teaching the *spiritual* presence only, and not the *corporeal*, of the Saviour, in the Eucharist. He had derived this opinion from the writings of *John Scotus Erigena*, who lived in the *ninth* century. But *Berenger* was persecuted for this doctrine, even when the church of Rome had not attained to any precise and settled doctrines concerning the presence. *Mosh. Ecc. Hist.* 11 Cent.

should

should find the remains of Amphibalus, and many of his fellow-sufferers. The abbot obeyed the direction, and was as successful in the discovery as if he had known by tradition the place of their burial. And with great solemnity the bones of this pious man and his companions, or of some others that had been deposited on that green, were brought to the abbey in 1178; and, to gain credit to the authenticity of the fact, wonderful cures were said to have been wrought among the sick, lame, and blind, at the place. The particular infirmities are related by *M. Paris*; but they are plainly copied from the miracles of Jesus.

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This religious abbot at length died in 1183, having ruled the monastery fifteen years. But it was discovered, that he left his abbey in debt above six hundred marks to the Jews; and, to others, more than two hundred. Aaron, the Jew, came down, and with great pride and ostentation made his boast, 'that *he* had built that noble shrine; 'and that all the grand entertainment of the place had been furnished 'out of *his* money.' Symond bore a very carnal affection towards his relations, and had enriched many with the goods of the crucifix: and, beside knights and nobles, he gave presents to many who only pretended to be his kinsmen; and for that purpose committed grievous waste on the timber and woods of the abbey. He was succeeded in the abbacy by Warren or Waring.

Warren was descended from an ordinary family in the town of Cambridge, and had early acquired great fame and reverence for his learning and piety; and was no less remarkable for the accomplishments of his person. While a secular, he went with his brother Matthew to Italy, and studied physic at Salernum, which at that time was a renowned medical school. But, while there, the two brothers, together with a nephew named Warren, and two associates, who were of Salernum, formed a resolution of entering as monks into the abbey of St. Alban: which wish and intent they did each of them accomplish, except the nephew. And he, still continuing a secular, kept a school in the town, lived in good fame and character, and died in a habitation very near to the nuns' house at Sopwell. His school was in such reputation, that it was scarcely surpassed by any other in the kingdom at that time, either in the number of scholars or in the utility of the science there taught. And it had this testimony from that learned doctor, called Alexander Nequam (or Neckam), who had ruled the same many years before young Warren took it, and who was at this time the director and governor of the great priory school at Dunstable. This Warren, the nephew, applied himself much to the study of
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Warren the 20th abbot. the decretals and church law, being supplied with books by his two uncles. These three men acquired great interest and esteem among persons of all ranks : and were termed, by the envious, *the threefold cord that could not be broken*.

The election of Warren the elder to the abbot's chair had passed with the universal consent of the convent ; except that of William Martel, the sacrist, who himself aspired to that dignity, but with much indecent conduct ; saying, that Warren (having a defect in his eye) was quite blind ; ' that he was of mean origin, and born of that ' low tribe called Dealers in Salt ; and that, if he should be chosen, he ' would, with Matthew his brother, tread under foot the whole convent ; nor must any man dare to contradict them.' Warren ruled the abbey twelve years ; and the most remarkable of his deeds was, his founding the cell and church of St. Mary de Pratis. He is said to have done this at the admonition of a man, born at Waldon, who pretended that Amphibalus had appeared to him, and requested ' that some place might be dedicated to his honour, for that he had ' been the instructor and converter of the great Alban.' Warren complied so far as to found a cell, with proper offices, and a church, with chaplain and clerk, for the use and habitation of thirteen poor leprous women. Its situation procured its name *de pratis* ; for, it is described as being placed at the extremity of the plowed land, and adjoining to the *meadows* of Kingsbury, with its offices on each side of the high-way (a). The person whom he placed over this society, (if it could be called such, when they were shut up from all communication with others, and limited to a small distance from their house), was John de Waldon, the son of him who had been honoured with the vision of Amphibalus ; and a brother and monk. The allowance for the maintenance of this house was a certain quantity of winter-corn, and of malt, per week ; with cloaths, and a small portion of money, from the Steward of the monastery. Amphibalus had signified in the vision, that this cell should be built in the place where his body had rested, when Symond removed the same from Redburn, in 1178. And this induced Warren to honour it by this beneficent act of humanity to the wretched sufferers of that incurable disease, the leprosy. But, that Amphibalus might not complain, the abbot caused the holy relics of that man, and his companions, to be re-

(a) This place also received its name, not only from its situation, but in imitation of a place so called near Rouen (*St. Mary de Prez*), and where the empress Maud was buried in 1167. *Hoveden* 289. So natural was it for Normans to transfer names thence to new places here, on which they founded new settlements.

moved

moved with great solemnity, on the 8th of the calends of July 1186, from the place where Symond had deposited them, and to be inclosed in a new shrine richly adorned with gold and silver. Symond had placed these relics on the right side of the great altar, in one coffin; but now Warren gave to each of them a separate inclosure, placing the shrine of Amphibalus close to the wall, on the right hand of the great altar and next to the upper pier, near the rood-loft(a) on which are represented, in rude carving, the sufferings of Amphibalus. He placed the relics of his three companions in other coffins; and near the same he placed the relics of the six other co-martyrs, which had been found with him, and all in separate and distinct boxes, or coffins.

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The king, Henry II. came down to the abbey with a large train of attendants, for entertainment, and this seems to have happened early in the time of Warren, and to have been the consequence of the interest he had with the court. The king desired to see the monks and body assembled together; and accordingly they met, and took their respective places in the chapter-house. When the king entered, he seated himself in the chair of the abbot, in the midst of the room, with the abbot on his right hand, and the bishop of Lincoln on his left; he then bowed to one side and the other, very graciously, in way of salutation, intreating them to 'pray with incessant prayers, for the safety of himself, and queen, and children, and also for the state of the realm.' To this the whole convent most devoutly consented, acknowledging that they were bound to perform this duty by every tie of gratitude. Then Walter of Constance, the bishop of Lincoln, rose up, and, addressing himself to the king, said, that he begged leave 'to prefer a complaint to his Majesty; which was, that he was greatly injured, and the church of Lincoln shamefully mutilated, by cutting off from it so noble a member as this monastery. With your permission, I must move a question against this abbot. Whatever my predecessor did, who was simple and easy, he was circumvented in the same: the world well knows, that this church is subject to the church of Lincoln; and, whatever hath been done in error, it is fit and expedient that the same be recalled.' The abbot Warren, hearing this, laid his bare hand on the knee of the king, without rising, and said, 'Your majesty is the pledge of my peace, the witness and mediator of the compromise, which was begun and confirmed between us.' The king arose in some warmth, and exclaimed,

(a) It seems as if this rood-loft had been built at this time.

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‘ By the eyes of God ! I was present at the agreement. What is it, my lord of Lincoln, that you would attempt ? do you think these things were done in secret ? I myself, and the most chosen men of the realm were present : and what was then done is ratified by writings the most incontestible, and confirmed by the testimony of the nobles. The determination stands good, and whoever sets himself to combat this abbot and monastery combats me. What seek you ? to touch the pupil of mine eye ? ’ On which the bishop found himself thunderstruck, and uttered not a word more. Nor was any question on that subject ever moved again : and, from that day to this, Lincoln hath never made any claims ; but, at the dissolution, when the power of the abbot was abrogated and annulled, all the places, or churches, under his jurisdiction and constituting the arch-deaconry of this church, were, together with all the churches in the liberty of St. Alban, annexed to London diocese.

I relate this event, in order to shew, on what footing these great churchmen stood with their sovereign in those days ; and as a proof of the esteem the king entertained for this abbot and his monastery. The king had come down to be entertained ; and it was the custom of the sovereigns, both before and after him, to go down at the great festivals to some abbey, and there keep their holidays : but he was well acquainted with abbot Warren (a), and would not suffer any obstruction or diminution of honour to his host. And the consequence of this little broil was, that Walter was the next year made archbishop of Rouen ; and Warren set on foot many innovations, changes, and amendments, in the government of the monastery ; one of which was, the founding the hospital of St. Mary de Pratis, as above-mentioned, and assigning thereto some of the ancient revenue, which, the discontented said, was almost sacrilege ; for, it was converting the sacred revenue to lay-uses, and rendering that common, which had been hallowed and given in alms. Another injunction was, that, whereas every brother, or monk, had at their death been buried in the plainest and least expensive manner, being only laid bare in the earth, for the future they should be interred in coffins made of stone. This was considered as done out of pique to William Martel, the sacrist, who had opposed the election of Warren ; for, it was a part of the duty and function of the sacrist to provide for the funeral of every member of the convent, and this order would put him to great expence.

(a) *Erat autem regi charissimus, propter liberalitatem et dapfilitatem. M. Paris.*

He

He enjoined also, that a day of anniversary feasting should be set apart, in memory of their deceased steward, Adam, who had been a faithful servant for many years, and had procured them the church of Suthbury. Adam, on bringing this church to the possessions of the abbey, had procured that a part of its revenue, which was more than 100l. a year, should be expended in gifts and feasting, for the souls of his father and mother, and for the souls of all the parents of all the monks, that is, as a dole, or recompence, to the receivers, who should pray for the salvation of those souls. The remainder of this revenue was now ordered to be expended in feeding an hundred poor persons at the gate, on the anniversary of Adam, with bread and ale, and an hundred more by the steward of the monk's kitchen; and in providing at the same time a sufficient and splendid repast for the whole convent in the refectory. Warren also appointed an anniversary for the soul of his predecessor Geoffrey, in which the treasurer of the church should relieve an hundred poor persons with bread and ale, and one mess of broth; and all others who might be present, should have half a loaf each, a quarter of corn being baked for the purpose.

Warren granted many indulgences to his monks, by way of mitigating the rigor of their order; for, whereas it had been a custom for the monks to be blooded about four or five times a year (a), the operation to be performed after dinner in the summer, and the patients to abstain from the refectory, and from converse, and from holy worship; he ordained, that they should undergo this operation in the morning both in the summer and in winter, should dine in the refectory, and then go (with the other monks, to whom also it was a liberty now first granted) into the strangers parlour, and there join company and converse for one hour; in which time the servitors and attendants were dining.

He ordered also, that they should all go together into the dormitory, at night, before the brethren should be summoned by the bell

(a) This ceremony is described by Cardinal *du Fresne*, in his Account of the Order of St. Victor, in these words, 'five times in the year let there be a general losing of blood; beyond which number, without great danger of extreme weakness, the liberty shall not be granted: and so many times are necessary (to be observed at certain fixed periods), that no persons may require the same at an improper season: the *first* is in September, the *second* before Advent, the *third* before Lent, the *fourth* after Easter, the *fifth* after Pentecost. Three days shall be employed in the rite; after which they shall come to matins, or morning service, and join the convent; and on the fourth they shall receive absolution in a chapter.' This rite is enjoined in the rule of the order of *Sempringham*; and in the *Chronicon of Trudo*, c. 9; and in the *Ufus Ord. Cisterciensium*, c. 90.

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to arise for the midnight service, *Completorium*: and that those, who did rise for that solemnity, should meet in the strangers parlour, and converse for one hour, or so long as the keeper of that room should give leave, before they went into the choir; but not longer, or later, than the curfew (a). He added, likewise, to some, a leave of absence from the midnight service or an indulgence of absence the next day. The matins were a service in the church at three o'clock in the morning, or in the summer at break of day: and it had been a constant custom for these bleeding monks to absent themselves for the first night after the operation, but to attend on the second. The abbot now granted them absence on the second night, with injunctions to attend the third, at all canonical hours; unless some principal festival, or double service, should intervene on the second.

This practice of bleeding the monks did not become necessary through high living, or to prevent a plethora and carry off any intemperance; for, they lived chiefly on roots and bread, and but rarely on fish and fowl: they, however, drank plentifully of ale and malt-liquor. But, in the physical system of those days, bleeding was deemed a remedy for all disorders, and especially for a low and weak constitution: and beside, they placed so much religious merit in a pale aspect and a mortified habit of body, that they thought a florid complexion, and healthy looks, quite inconsistent with religion and grace; and such appearance created a suspicion of great sin and criminality in the bearer.

It was the duty of the sacrist to regulate and direct all matters relative to the fasts, and the observance thereof; and he was now ordered to allow moderate refreshment to such as could not wait till the late hour the body sat down to dinner on fast-days; but to manage in such a manner, that the whole should assemble at the great mass. In Lent, the daily practice was, that no man tasted a morsel until after the great mass, which began at three o'clock; and then he might take a little food, and assemble with the convent, at six, to the vespers. But, as it had ever been complained, that they had but one hour (for, the great mass lasted two hours) for relieving their fast, and for necessary ease and refreshment, the abbot allowed that some should stay longer at their repast, provided that others attended vespers; and that, if the convent abstained from fish, which they did often on fast-days, a man should be absolved from the injunction of abstinence, and be allowed to eat what he could get. When any person had taken his

(a) *Pyritegium*.

repast,

repast, he should quit the refectory instantly, and betake himself to his solitary duties, while the body was dining; and that, if any monk abode or staid in the refectory until the sound of the bell was heard, (which was probably a summons to the servants, &c.), that monk should not be permitted to enter the parlour; but go into the church, and remain there solitary and silent.

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It was contrary to the rule and law of their institution to eat flesh meat, except in the infirmary; but, because there were some who concealed their weak and low condition, although they looked extremely pale and wasted, and wished to keep out of the infirmary, to them the abbot gave leave to eat meat, but it must be in the gate-house, and probably with the porter. And, even in the infirmary, no one touched meat, unless in the extremity of his disease, (which, as it arose from very low diet, here met its suitable remedy), or when, if recovering, the master of the infirmary, authorized for speaking the truth, affirmed that meat was necessary. He directed every one to enter the infirmary, as soon as he complained of sickness; and the offerings made at the altar of St. Peter(a), at the north end of the town, were set apart for the purpose of finding medicines, advice, &c.; so that no one, who should undertake that duty, might hereafter plead an impossibility or defect of means: and this appointment of the offerings continued till the time of *John of Hertford*, the 23d abbot, who, in 1253, endowed a vicarage in this church, and also in that of Saint Michael of Kingsbury; when the offerings and certain portions of the tithe were allotted to the maintenance of the vicar, and no recompence made to the monastic body.

He permitted any of the monks, who seemed to be declining in their health, to go and recreate themselves at Redburn; lest a continual round of duty and confinement in the cloister, without any variation, might breed utter and irrecoverable sickness: but they were obliged to this condition, that, if flesh-meat was proper and necessary, they should eat such as their servants might provide for themselves, and they (the servants) should eat the conventual dinner. He allowed the monks, on fast-days, to sleep after dinner, if any thought proper; whereas, the custom had been, to lie down to rest at noon. But it is necessary also to mention, that it was a custom with Warren, to send

(a) Abbot Geoffrey had appointed St. Peter's, and all its appurtenances, to the perpetual use of the infirmary and refectory; with annual denunciations, &c. &c. see page 55: But, from this fresh grant of Warren's, it would appear, that, after a lapse of 50 years, the threats were forgotten, and the *Infirmary's* portion otherwise applied.

Warren the away to Tinmouth, or some distant cell, any monk whom he dis-
 20th abbot. liked; under pretence of its being necessary for his health, or for
 his farther progress in the ways of righteousness and salvation.

He remitted much of their duty in the choir, by shortening many parts of the service, and especially that service on private days, from All Saints to Easter, in which they were accustomed to sing *thirty* psalms: this service was so tiresome to some, that they babbled it over as quick as possible, and others were ready, in the mean time, to nod: he therefore divided it into two services, with an interval; and, instead of some other service, or set of prayers, used before, he substituted the seven penitential psalms.

He made some alterations in their dress; injoining, that instead of high-shoes, fastened with a thong, they should wear boots, and those made of the leather called *Basan*, or in present vulgar speech, *Basils*, that is, calf-skin, tanned; whereas, their former shoes were made of bullock's hide, and tanned at more expence: the reason of this change was, that they might be more ready and expeditious in coming to the service in the morning, and might not entangle themselves with their neighbour in walking; and, that they might appear with clean hands: these boots still retained the ancient roundness and wide form of the shoes. He ordered them, also, to wear their under garments in such a manner, that they might have their arms more at liberty, and no longer be confined by sleeves. He directed that no servitor, or attendant in the refectory, should wait without a good frock; for, before, they were so ill-clothed, that their appearance approached very near to nakedness: and, observing that the noviciates wore only a frock with a hood sewed to it, he ordered, that, as soon as the young monk received the tonsure, he should put on the whole dress and habit of a *professed*. He ordained also, that no secular, except a bishop, should ever dine with the monks.

He gave to his church a certain habit of a purple colour, and of great value, being adorned with rows of very costly pearl, and painted, or embroidered, with the figures of birds looking behind them; and ordained, that on his anniversary, or day of his death, the officiating priest should be habited in this garment, and offer up a salutary victim (I suppose in prayer) for his soul. When he perceived his end approaching, he bequeathed to his successor one hundred marks for rebuilding the west front of his church.

It was in this abbot's time, that King Richard (*Cœur de Lion*) was taken prisoner, on his return from the Holy Land; and he had sent an order to his Council, to demand, in his name, from all the monasteries,

nafteries, bishops, and clergy of England, all their silver cups, in order to make a sum for his ransom : the abbot then sent to the king two hundred marks of silver ; being unwilling to impoverish his abbey, or mutilate the splendor of its appearance.

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Warren ruled the abbey near 12 years ; but had always shewn himself an imperious, self-willed, man, full of his own conceits, and never listening to any advice or admonition of others, however friendly : and, by the help of his brother Matthew, the prior, who was of a very suspicious character, he offended many of the best nobility and great personages, who had concerns with the abbey, and pursued them with a most unrelenting hatred. This conduct rendered his monastery so thin, that he had noviciates of *five* years old ; and the few that remained in the convent never durst contradict him. He was much blamed for founding the church and hospital of St. Mary de Pratis, as doing an injury to the revenue of his abbey : and the indulgences, which he gave his monks, were said to be with a view of keeping them in good temper and compliance. But he was famous for doing irreparable mischief in the woods of the abbey ; and every Sunday he kept a kind of exchequer, or revenue office, to which resorted the foresters and others, who sold or bought the wood, in order to settle their accompts, &c. And yet, from this supply, he never added to the ornaments of the church, or to the buildings of the monastery ; nor, indeed, did he keep up or repair those of the farms and manors : but, with great assiduity, and many liberal donations, did he study to recommend himself to king Richard and queen Eleanor ; as if that had constituted the sum of religious duty and of good fame. Whomsoever he found speaking of him with obloquy or reprehending his excesses, these persons were soon hurried away to some distant cell, where many suffered a kind of exile, and, enduring great bitterness of mind, finished a wretched life, with dreadful imprecations on Warren ; and chiefly, because they found themselves constrained to break those vows of obedience, and act contrary to those promises and professions, which they had made on admission. Warren died in 1195.

The indulgences, if they may be so called, which this abbot shewed to his monks, give full proof, in how abject a subjection to the superior they lived, and also, what an austere and irksome life they were forced to lead : the service of the choir employed them eight hours in the twenty-four, namely, two hours at six in the morning or at day-

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day-break, two more at noon, two at six in the evening, and two more at midnight. They had, indeed, eight hours for rest, but that was much broken, and interrupted by frequent vigils in the night-season; and the remaining eight, which we may suppose spent in recreation, or in pleasant company and agreeable discourse, seem to have been quite void of all these pleasures: if they spent these hours in solitude, it is probable they were given to rest or indolence; or, if they chose to refresh themselves in the open air, it is probable that this could not be done without leave; and then, it was enjoined every man, who sought for air and exercise, to employ himself in the garden with the spade or the hoe. Every thing like innocent mirth or amusement was excluded these walls, in which a repetition of prayers and perpetual singing of psalms were deemed devotion and worship, and were holden equivalent to sound faith and to pure morals.

The diet of the monks was another austerity, that, in these days, would not be submitted to by the most indigent. Fasting twice a week is reckoned a hardship now, by even those who are ever full, and fare sumptuously every day; but it was a severe trial and mortification to men, who fared very scantily at all times, and may be said never to have a belly-full of good substantial food; for, the little flesh they had was generally turned into broth, and the fish allowed was but in small quantities: eggs boiled hard, and a portion of roots and herbs, with bread and ale, constituted the generality of their meals. And here it is to be observed, that the roots and herbs were but of the most ordinary kind, since, in the days I speak of, very few of the present esculent plants were known in England. They seem, indeed, on some occasions, to have had a portion of wine(a), and were, at times, indulged in the flesh of birds and the feathered tribe, which seem, in those days, to have been more plenty than beef and mutton, and to have made a considerable part of the feasts, even in later times.

The dress, or attire, of the men had as little in it to excite pride, as their diet could gluttony; or, rather, was as well calculated to mortify and humble them: a coarse long gown of black, with some ordinary under-garments, and beneath all a hair shirt(b), is a dress, that,

(a) Probably of their own making.

(b) This is understood to be the garment worn, among the Jews, by the penitent and the mournful; and is the same as the Septuagint translators term *Σαννος*, and St. John in the 6th chapter of the Apocalypse; and which the Latin interpreters have rendered *Cilicium*; being made of the hair, or wool, shorn from the goats, and woven in Cilicia, where this invention took its rise, and continued long in practice, as is affirmed by

that, beside being ever painful and working like a thorn in the flesh, ^{Warren the 20th abbot.} was a constant incumbrance to the legs and arms, in every motion and gesture: a bald head, and with no covering, in the severest cold, but a dirty cowl, or hood, hanging on the shoulders, is something very humiliating to all persons, who are sensible how much the manly character is raised by the air and ornament of the head.

Their life was passed without much instruction, either in public or in private; for, the sermons were not, as now, lessons of faith or good morals, but panegyrics on some saint, with an account of the strange miracles, performed at the tomb of some pious departed mortal: and books were so scarce, and so few persons capable of reading them, that no instruction could easily be had in private. The sole business of these monks was, to chaunt and exhibit the *public* worship of God in pomp and splendor; and their *private* adoration of him was in self-denial and abasement.

On a view of their life, what persons, it may be said, could be induced to embrace it? and here, though I will allow, that parents might often breed up their children with a view to it, and that many reasons of prudence and policy prompted the younger branches of families to enter, yet I may safely venture to say, that far the greater number took on them this kind of life when they were capable of judging, and that they did it through choice, and after much serious consideration: it may then be answered to this questionist, "Alas! thou favourest more of the things that belong unto men, than of those that belong unto God." For, these men did it out of principle, and in conformity to the notions and doctrines of the times, with great sincerity of mind, and the most pure sentiments of piety. All their books and doctors of theology taught, that men came into the world with a monstrous burden of sin: it

by Varro *de Re Rusticâ, in fine*. Sometimes it was made of camel's hair; but always of the coarsest sort, and woven with a very hard coarse thread: And this was the raiment of John the Baptist, as being most suitable to his penitential character and mission. The English translators term it *sackcloth*, as if it was made of hemp; but it is probable this name was affixed to the garment from its resembling a sack, and being, like that, narrow and straight.

Virgil alludes to this in the *3d Georgic*, thus,

Cinyphii tondent hirci, setasque comantes,
Usum in castrorum, miseris velamina nautis.

And Alcimus Avitus *de Justitio, cap. 4.*

Molibus abjectis, Cilicum dant tegmina setæ.

And Paulinus Nolanus *in Obit. Celsi, v. 451.*

Si modò lugentem gravis hirta tegmine faccus
Caprigenum setis dum teget, et stimulet.

N

matters

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matters not how this guilt was contracted; they found themselves laden, and, therefore, were not only prudent in forbearing to add to the burden, but were prompted to gain a discharge from this paternal debt by any means they could devise. The monastic life offered the fairest promise of remedy. They thought it enough to expiate and wear away the old debt; but had no notion of setting out as innocent persons, and making farther progress in holiness and virtue: to get rid of the original burden was all their care; and this institution offered the best means, as being full of harsh and rigid duties, and removed far from all new temptations: the continual offering up a sacrifice, whether of the real or supposed body of the Redeemer, together with frequent and fervent prayer, they thought would derive a merit upon them. And to do their duty in that state of life, wherein they should *place themselves* (a), thus by choice, they thought most pleasing to God.

To such a faith as this, what could better accord and suit, than a state of life, wherein their duties were very few: for, by this life, they cut off many of the commandments; they rejected all the duties of a father and all those also of a son, and they no longer owed justice or love to a neighbour, when they quitted society; then too, they renounced all conjugal ties, and the best endearments of blood and affection: and, by vowing perpetual chastity, poverty, and fasting, they very nearly expunged all the duties due to a man's self (even sobriety and temperance) and comprehended the whole duty of this new life in piety and religious worship.

Indeed, the most pious persons of those times considered the monastic life as the most perfect pattern of holy living, and such as could not be attained in the world, or be taught by the secular clergy: and this induced liberal gifts and benefactions to the monasteries, and was the cause of frequent bickering and rivalry between the regulars and the seculars. These foundations had such reputation for sanctity, that they became the parents of most parish-churches; the lord of a manor generally sending to a monastery for some priest to occupy the church he had built, and therein perform the holy offices among his tenants. Nay, most of the cathedral churches were founded with a body of this sort, and the bishop was surrounded with a cloister of monks. They had a pre-eminence for fame, and gained an ascendancy throughout the kingdom: they were the seminaries of instruc-

(a) The reformers, afterwards, taught people to do their duty in that state of life, unto which it *shall please God* to call them.

tion,

tion, and doubtless well calculated to spread religion over the land, to found churches, and establish parishes; and to perform those great works, which none but *corporate bodies*, in whom reside power, numbers, and *duration*, can accomplish.

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They were, indeed, the parents of many parish-churches; but this was not all, they were the great instruments, in the hand of the popes, not only for governing the papal subjects, but for managing and ruling even the kings of the earth: they were the sworn subjects of the pope, and but in a second place the subjects of their civil prince: accordingly, every kingdom experienced a rival jurisdiction, wherein a continual struggle was kept up, by the sovereigns and their barons, on one side, against the pope and clergy on the other. In this twelfth century, which is reckoned the summit of papal power, it is remarkable how instrumental the monks were, to stir up, at the command of the pope, all the nations of Europe, to go upon that mad project of rescuing the Holy Land; but which wars appear, on a nearer view, to have been the contrivance of the popes, to ward off some great blow that threatened themselves. And it is remarkable, likewise, that when, in this same century, the Albigenes and Waldenses appeared, contesting the usurpations of Rome and disproving its doctrines, the popes could not vanquish those new foes by argument or learning; nor combat them with any other weapon than by giving all possible encouragement to the monastic bodies then existing, and by creating new orders of monks; as, for instance, the Dominicans and Franciscans, of whom I shall have occasion to speak more at large in the sequel of this work.

C H A P T E R III.

John I. the
21st abbot.

ON the death of Warren, the monks chose *John*, the first of that name, to be abbot; he was called *John of the Cell*, from having been born at Merkgate Cell, not far from Studham, and therefore sometimes called *John of Studham*. He was a man of extraordinary piety, and a rigid observer of the monastic rules; and for that reason chosen, in order to revive the discipline of the cloister, and recover credit to the abbey, which had fallen into neglect, by the remissness of the late abbot. This John, in his younger days, had studied at Paris; and came home with such reputation, that, in grammar he was reckoned a very Priscian, in poetry a perfect Ovid, and in physic was esteemed equal to Galen. Having taken the habit of a religious, he was advanced to the place of prior of Wallingford(a), and thence was elected to govern this abbey. He committed the care of the cloister, and of the internal government, to Raymond the prior, a man of good counsel, and esteemed prudent and religious, and to the steward, or *cellerarius*, named Roger Parker; and thus, by delivering over to others the cares of the house, he reserved himself for the more serious duties of devotion and contemplation.

Now, with the assistance of these two, he undertook the repair, or rebuilding, of the west front of the church; for which he had received, of the late abbot, one hundred marks. But, before I relate the progress of this work, or the difficulties and troubles that involved both John and his coadjutors, it is proper to say something relative to the

(b) A cell belonging to the abbey, and situated in Berkshire.

structure,

structure, and to ascertain the time, or times, of its being built and completed: and this is necessary, because there appear so many different styles of architecture, that the several parts have been ascribed to different ages, in which a different style, or fashion of building, prevailed; for, some connoisseurs have thought they could discover, in the choir and transepts, the rudeness and simplicity of the ancient Saxon, prior to the Conquest; and, in the most improved part, all the elegance and rich variety of Henry VI. or VII.'s time; with the gradual changes and improvements of the intervening periods.

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But, as it is certain that abbot Paul, in the time of the conqueror and Rufus, began and carried on a great part of the building; so it is no less certain, from this legacy of Warren, that the whole of the west end had been completed, and did now, in the front, want great reparations. Abbot Paul was appointed in 1077, and ruled sixteen years; and now, in 1105, a great decay has happened: hence it is probable that this ruined part had not stood 100 years. And, beside, it may be remembered that abbot Richard, the successor of Paul, built the screen and chapel, in honour of Cuthbert, and caused the dedication of the church to be solemnized, with great festivity, on Christmas-day, in the year 1115: whoever observes nicely the position of that screen, now standing, must acknowledge, that it was built after the arches and piers on either side of it, and therefore those arches and piers must have been built before 1115: and, when the west front was in a decayed state in 1105, it must follow, that both sides below that screen had been built and completed, not only before 1105, but before 1115. But farther, I have already said, on the express testimony of *M. Paris*, that the church was begun, and great part of it built by abbot Paul, within the first eleven years of his rule; and that the same was dedicated by his successor in 1115: now, if the church had not been ENTIRELY rebuilt, dedication would not have been necessary; and, if it had not been COMPLETE, that solemnity would not have taken place. So that no doubt can remain, but that the whole structure, of its present size, form, and dimensions, was erected by Paul and Richard, between 1077 and 1115.

Whence then, it may be said, comes such variety in the style and fashion of the architecture? It arose from two causes: partly from the different taste and fancy of the various sets of builders and workmen, but chiefly from the nature of the materials. It is well known, that bands and companies of builders were united by consent, and undertook great works, and enjoyed certain privileges and immunities; as they were thought the only persons qualified, for their skill, their
2 numbers,

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2^d abbot.

numbers, and union, to put the same in execution (a). Now, as several sets of those men were employed at the same time, each set engaged, as the custom was, to perform such a part, for such a price: but they could work only in the style and manner they had been accustomed to; and therefore some of the sets, unskilled, perhaps, in the nicer operations of stone, would readily undertake to execute the work, with the simple materials, that had been long preparing for the purpose, and were now collected in great quantities; while others, of more skill and judgement, might stand aloof, until the Roman tile was nearly exhausted, or, till they had enforced the propriety of using more tractable materials, both to embellish the church and display their taste. In proof of this, let us take a view of the structure itself: just below the screen, on the south side, are four or five arches and piers, of the most beautiful style in the whole building; and directly opposite these, on the north side, five of the most rude and ordinary: the last are formed entirely of the Roman tile, the first of stone: this makes it evident, that, though the work was executed at or about the same time, yet it was neither by the same men, nor after the same plan; nor was the same sort of materials used, at least in the external. But, as a mark of the antiquity of the former beautiful part, there may be seen, at the spring of the arches, the head of Lanfranc, of Offa and his queen, and of Edward the Confessor, the venerable founders and benefactors; and over their heads are the arms of England (the 4 lions rampant), which were the arms of the said Edward, then the arms of Mercia (3 crowns), the arms of the abbey (a cross like St. Andrew's), the arms of France, and the arms of Westminster (3 birds); all cut in the Totternhoe stone, and very entire at this day.

As to the very rude part of the building, viz. the four piers and arches that support the tower, the whole of the choir, the two transepts, and the five arches above-mentioned; the rudeness argues nothing for its antiquity or its being a mark of originality; for, it arose chiefly,

(a) When the Crusaders built churches in Palestine, which was done under the direction and skill of such bands from Europe, it was common to bind the Saracen captives, taken in battle, to those builders, and make them perform all the most laborious services; and this fact is expressly ascertained by *M. Paris*, who says, in the year 1184. "that the king of Portugal gave, for slaves, the captives and prisoners, to serve the builders in the repair of the churches." Hence perhaps, from the many Saracens employed in the servile part, this style of building may have been called, *the Saracenic Architecture*, and the name brought into England at the return of the Crusaders. From these bands, likewise, we may perhaps date the origin of the *Free Masons*, who were esteemed the better builders; in opposition to that ignorant and servile tribe, who wrought without fancy, taste, or judgement.

as I have already said, from the intractable materials then used, which, ^{John I. the} being the Roman tile, would not admit of being formed into beautiful ^{21 ft at bot.} columns, or smooth and well-turned arches, or even make a smooth wall: and the other builders, observing the uncouthness of these materials, took care, in forming their arches and columns, to make the nice and even edges with stone from Totternhoe, and to conceal the Roman tile in the solid inside: and it may be presumed, from the exquisite hardness of these Roman materials, that the structure will surpass, in duration, any thing that is built of stone or marble.

If this be the case, how comes it, it may be said, that the west front was so soon decayed? Because, it is probable, it had been built, for the sake of ornament and a more complete finish, of some different material, as of the Totternhoe or some other stone: and it is manifest at this day, that what part is made of that stone or of the Sussex marble, is in the sheltered part of the gate and arch-way, and that such part as is exposed to the weather is composed of the Roman tile: yet the first is most decayed.

Having thus shewn, that the rudeness and simplicity of the choir and transepts are owing, chiefly, to the very uncouth materials where-with these parts were built, which had been collecting for a length of years, and which would allow no arch but the plain semi-circle, without any lessening from its outer edge; and having stated, that, when these materials were almost exhausted, the builders had recourse to the Totternhoe stone, and of that constructed all the beautiful parts below the rude; it may be proper to add, that we may here plainly discern the error of those critics in architecture, who assert, that the pointed arch arose first in the time of Henry III. and is seldom found in earlier constructions; whereas, in this structure, the pointed arch is to be seen, in all the several specimens of good and complete building: and the same was undoubtedly erected in the time of the Conqueror and his sons, before 1115. Indeed, so complete and perfect is the style of these beautiful parts, that the authors may be thought to have reached the summit of their art: for, it is not only calculated for strength and duration; but the proportion of the several parts of the arch and its columns is most exquisite, and contrived with so much judgement, that they lose nothing of their beauty, though placed more than forty feet above the eye of the observer. These specimens of the perfect Gothic are equal, in themselves, to any work, in any cathedral; but yet, as they consist only of four or five arches in each specimen, they appear not with that commanding admiration, which results from a whole and complete building, erected in this style. The
cathedral

John I. the cathedral at Peterborough is of that sort, and uniform throughout:
 21st abbot. and so much resembles some of these specimens, that, as it was built
 later, we may almost say, the style and form was copied from this
 abbey church.

This ancient and religious style of building has never received its due praises, nor the inventors their due merits, from those even who pretend to understand their works. Perhaps nothing has so much contributed to keep down their fame as calling them *Gothic*; and, because invented in rude and unpolished ages, this art itself is likewise thought to be a rude jumble of contrivances. But be it considered, that it was the invention of people, who lived some centuries after the Gothic name was sunk and undistinguished among the nations of Europe: it was invented and improved by Christians, and men of pious and elevated minds. WHEN it began, or WHERE, we know not. But when men saw that Heathen temples, though beautiful and exquisite in the external parts, were, within, neither beautiful nor enlightened, (for they were without windows, and full of smoke and filth, from lamps (a) and fires), nor fit to be applied to the worship of a pure and holy mind, they learnt to build for themselves: and here it must be said, that they studied the internal from the beginning, and aimed at such a structure as should tend to raise the thoughts, elevate the mind, and captivate the heart of man, by charming his sight. Indeed, the Romish worship had every thing in it, to arrest the *senses* of its votaries, and withdraw them, as they thought, from all worldly vanities: music and melody for the ear, incense and rich perfume for the nose, and every display of painting and statuary to engage the eye. But, before these arts prevailed or were called in, the building was contrived with every sort of skill and art, to raise the mind to a contemplation of that God whom they worshipped: lofty in its roof, enlightened, and chearful; spacious, for processions and great assemblies of worshippers; full of pillars, as necessary to support a heavy roof; yet, when strength was attained by their massy pillars and thick walls, they contrived to reduce these solid and clumsy parts with such art, in shaping them, as to give an air of lightness, without diminishing the strength.

They were confined to no rules of proportion; or, rather, had never studied to confine the art within any rule: they built from fancy, guided only by a judicious taste. In their arches and columns they have shewn great ingenuity, not only in placing three or four

(a) *Lychnychi penfiles in delubris.* Plin. Lib. 34.

rows of such work in height, but in making the lower row large in its parts, gradually lessening the parts of the next, and so diminishing as they rise; thus, they have shaped the columns and the arches in such a manner as to make the work appear light and easy, without prejudice to its strength: the variations in their arches are likewise very ingenious, as being both beautiful and strong: and, indeed, that boundless variety which appears, not only in the necessary and substantial parts, but in the ornamental, is so chaste, simple, and correct, that it ever appears with a fitness and propriety suitable to its place and its use. It was no small advantage in these structures, that they enabled the builders to use and employ all the small stones; for, of such are their works composed, both within and without: but this defect was supplied and made up by using an incomparably good cement.

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This kind of building was in use and fashion in England, from the time the Normans first became connected with this country, (before the Conquest,) until the reign of Henry VIII. at which time it gave way, only, on the discovery of the Greek and Roman architecture. But, although it was in universal use, yet not a scrap of any design on paper is come down to this time, nor are the names of any of the principal builders, in that long period of five hundred years, now so much as known: except William of Wickham be thought the architect of Edward III. and Nicolas Close, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, the architect of Henry VI.; the first having conducted the building of Windsor castle, the last that of King's College Chapel. Yet their works will preserve the fame of their art as long as any Grecian architecture shall be standing; for, on a comparison, the advantage and general utility must appear on the side of the former; because the exquisite art of the Grecian goes only to the perfect beauty of the column and the entablature, and the repetition of these in a grand portico, or a peristyle and arcade; and there its beauty is great, and its perfection complete; owing to its very fine marble and the geometrical knowledge of the artists: but it is a mere external architecture; and provides not, in the least degree, for the internal use, beauty, or convenience. This church-architecture ought to be called, *The Christian Order*: for, as it has been ever used for places of worship, and was invented with that view, and is exquisitely adapted to that purpose, so will it hereafter prevail, more or less, in all new churches, as being the most perfect work of man's art, to elevate the mind and raise ideas and affections suitable to the Christian worship.

But



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But to return to abbot John. He set himself in great earnest to repair the decayed front, and is reported to have proceeded in this manner; he caused the old wall to be taken down, even the hard and solid part of it, where the materials were of the tile and the mortar impenetrable; then he began to draw together timber, and stones not a few, with some columns and planks; after which, he assembled a set of masons (*cæmentarii*), the head of which was one Hugo de Goldcliff, a deceitful knave, but an excellent artist: Hugo was employed, and, having dug the trench and laid the foundation, he began to build; but in a very short time the hundred marks were found to be expended, together with many more, and a daily charge going on; nor was the work so far advanced as that the wall was even with the ground. On this, the abbot began to feel weary, and, perceiving that Hugo was adding many carvings and ornaments that were very expensive, yet very trifling, before the wall was raised to the height of a house-floor, the abbot grew quite tired and timid, and the work began to grow languid: in the following winter, the wall being uncovered, the stones crumbled away, the columns, with their bases and capitals, fell to the ground, and the whole exhibited the appearance of ruin and rubbish: the workmen hereupon withdrew and quitted the *job*, as it is called, but were denied their wages. Perhaps, when they found the hundred marks gone and no speedy supply, they might think they had done enough; and, by the character of Goldcliff, this was probably the true case.

The abbot then assigned the work to the care of one of the brethren, named Gilbert de Eversholt, and imposed a tax of one sheaf of corn, to be paid yearly, for every acre sown of the abbey's estates: this tax, being begun in the third year of John's election, was continued during his whole life, which was seventeen more, and for ten years of his successor's; nor did the work advance in any manner to administer joy to the old abbot, but was a constant source of grief and sorrow. He offered many presents of gold and silver to any person who would forward the work, and caused this offer to be proclaimed through all the lands of the abbey, and some of the dioceses; and, having sent one Amphibalus to travel about with relics, and pretend "that he had been raised from the dead by the merits of Alban and Amphibalus, and was able to give good proof of their miracles," he collected, by this illusion, great sums of money; but this unfortunate work absorbed all the supplies, just as the sea drinks up all rivers: and, as the sea receives thereby no signs of increase, so this work received no advancement. After much useless expence, and at the death of Eversholt,
the

the work was given up; though entrusted to another curator, named John I. the Sisseverne, who had the care and conduct thereof for thirty years ^{21st abbot.} after; and, though he received great supplies, yet the work did not advance two feet in height in any one year.

At the death of Everholt, the abbot turned his thoughts to more prudent counsels; and, finding the refectory to be decayed and ruinous, he caused the same to be pulled down and rebuilt: this was completed in a handsome manner and brought to a happy conclusion, during his life, to the no small joy of himself, and to the better entertainment and festivity of the brethren. While this work was going on, he caused the dormitory, now old and ruinous, to be rebuilt, and also a dwelling adjoining, used and inhabited by the domestics. These improvements he finished in a complete manner, and with the entire consent and approbation of the convent; for, in order to discharge the expence of these two splendid edifices (a), as they were called, the convent gave up their wine (b), by general consent, for the space of fifteen years: though the good abbot lived not to see the end and conclusion of the compact.

Another vexation, that caused great grief to John, was, a new claim set up to the wood of Northaw, by Robert the son of Walter (c); who, being an earl of large possessions, and surrounded with relations and dependents, was able to pursue his pretended right with great trouble and injury towards the abbot and the monastery. John supported the contest with spirit and firmness; being assisted by the experience and wisdom of Raymond, the prior; and Roger Parker, the steward of their household; and by William Sisseverne, a knight, and steward of the manors and estates; and by Lawrence de Therebrugge, a knight of great eloquence and prudence, who shewed that he had not the least fear of the threats of Robert. The earl, after causing infinite mischief and trouble to the abbot, and having procured four of his dependents to enter into a plot against the life of the said Lawrence, at length submitted; and the wood remained in the possession of the abbey.

Soon after, the claim was revived; and Robert produced a grant under the seal of the conventual chapter: this alarmed and confounded the abbot, until it was discovered that one William Pibun (d), a false brother in the convent, had been gained over by Robert, to frame

(a) Nobilium Domorum.

(b) That is, by refusing to buy any, and by selling what they made.

(c) Fitzwalter, perhaps a descendant of Robert de Valoinges.

(d) Since called Pigeon.

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and contrive for him this forged deed, and, in the hurry of business, during other transactions, to put to it the common seal, in a treacherous and clandestine manner. My author loads the memory of this Pigun with every epithet of reproach, and says that John sent him to the cell at Tinnmouth, there to undergo a perpetual penance, if that could efface the guilt of his crime; and that, at his death, which happened soon after, a voice was heard, by some in the dormitory, repeating these words, *cape, Satan, cape, Satan*; whence it was concluded that Satan had chosen him.

It seems Pigun had conceived a dislike and hatred to John, for being refused by him in a request to have his nephew admitted a monk, at that time a school-boy in the town; and it is probable that his late exile had sharpened his temper to a keener edge against the abbot. However, he died suddenly, it was said, after a very intemperate debauch; in which, being full of wine and meat, he passed from ebriety to sleep, and from sleep to death, by a natural and common gradation.

John was now so infirm and languishing in his health, that he deputed William Sisseverne to transact all business for him; which William, as steward, performed for a year and a day. John having still great dread of the open violence or private machinations of Robert, he prudently offered terms of accommodation and peace; and Robert, severely struck, says *M. Paris*, with the sad end of his friend Pigun, and through some compunctions of conscience, fearful also of the vengeance which Alban might take on him or prevail upon God to inflict, and thinking that more of his enormities might come to light, listened to overtures. The deed was committed to the flames, and John consented to give him the church's estate at Bishopscote, worth 10l. a year.

This instance is one of many, which occurred in those days, wherein the tyranny and avaricious encroachments of the rich and great was frequently employing itself against such as were thought unable to defend themselves: and the meekness and gentleness of abbot John served to invite such kind of contests and usurpations. For, the same Robert set up a claim also to the patronage of the cell at Binham (a), the prior of which, named Thomas, had been removed by John for his partial regards towards Robert; on which occasion the earl claimed the right of making the prior, and pretended he had a deed from the abbey, granting him that privilege, and that, by the tenor of the same, no prior could be turned out without his leave: in support of

(a) Now Bynham, in the county of Norfolk, and situate near Walsingham.

his

his claim, he beset the cell with armed men, threatening the defenders with extreme punishment, if they (being thirteen brethren) would not surrender. The king, hearing this at court, expressed great displeasure at the daring insolence of Robert, and sent an armed party to raise the siege, and retrieve the honour of the church.

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It was now the reign of king John, and in that part of the same, when the pope was waging war against him; and Robert was set at the head of one of the armies, assuming the title of constable (a) of the army of God: this he did by the encouragement and advice of the pope, Innocent the third. When John submitted to the pope, then Innocent raised a persecution against Robert, and caused all his possessions to be confiscated, and himself to be banished, or compelled to wander in distress and want. At length, in the reign of Henry III. he died, but refused ever to quit his claim to the patronage of Binham or give up the pretended deed. However, at his death, his confident, friend, and fellow soldier, Adam, the son of William, or, as he would be called now, Adam Fitzwilliam, who had been privy to the whole transaction, and was suspected to have forged the deed, gave it up to the abbey; declaring all the secrets of his patron Robert: and, in expiation of his own guilt in the affair, he presented to the church and offered on the great altar one large silver cup, gilt, out of the goods of the said Robert; but this cup was afterwards stolen.

But other and heavier afflictions awaited the patient abbot. For, during the interdict from the pope, in which all divine worship was suspended and the celebration of holy offices prohibited, an injunction came from the king, commanding to condemn the pope's decree, and to return to the holy solemnities and the usual modes of worship. On which he called a council of the brethren, where it was resolved, in due form, *that it was better to obey God than man*: and he thus refused compliance with the king's command. On this the king took possession of the abbey, and posted in it an armed force, under the command of one Robert London (b), a clerk, and in great favor with

(a) This man was one of the most strenuous asserters of the liberties of the subject, and foremost in demanding *Magna Charta*; his name also stands first in the attestation to that deed, as copied by *M. Paris*. Yet he could deny liberty and justice to his inferiors.

(b) This Robert had been sent by the king, the year before, to the great king of Morocco, called admiral Marmeline, with an offer of the crown of England, to be held of him as a fief; and, during Robert's abode in the monastery, he used to show and exhibit, with much pomp, the jewels and splendid presents, which he pretended to have received from Marmeline; and of these, *M. Paris* says, he was himself a beholder and admirer.

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to arise for the midnight service, *Completorium*: and that those, who did rise for that solemnity, should meet in the strangers parlour, and converse for one hour, or so long as the keeper of that room should give leave, before they went into the choir; but not longer, or later, than the curfew (a). He added, likewise, to some, a leave of absence from the midnight service or an indulgence of absence the next day. The matins were a service in the church at three o'clock in the morning, or in the summer at break of day: and it had been a constant custom for these bleeding monks to absent themselves for the first night after the operation, but to attend on the second. The abbot now granted them absence on the second night, with injunctions to attend the third, at all canonical hours; unless some principal festival, or double service, should intervene on the second.

This practice of bleeding the monks did not become necessary through high living, or to prevent a plethora and carry off any intemperance; for, they lived chiefly on roots and bread, and but rarely on fish and fowl: they, however, drank plentifully of ale and malt-liquor. But, in the physical system of those days, bleeding was deemed a remedy for all disorders, and especially for a low and weak constitution: and beside, they placed so much religious merit in a pale aspect and a mortified habit of body, that they thought a florid complexion, and healthy looks, quite inconsistent with religion and grace; and such appearance created a suspicion of great sin and criminality in the bearer.

It was the duty of the sacrist to regulate and direct all matters relative to the fasts, and the observance thereof; and he was now ordered to allow moderate refreshment to such as could not wait till the late hour the body sat down to dinner on fast-days; but to manage in such a manner, that the whole should assemble at the great mass. In Lent, the daily practice was, that no man tasted a morsel until after the great mass, which began at three o'clock; and then he might take a little food, and assemble with the convent, at six, to the vespers. But, as it had ever been complained, that they had but one hour (for, the great mass lasted two hours) for relieving their fast, and for necessary ease and refreshment, the abbot allowed that some should stay longer at their repast, provided that others attended vespers; and that, if the convent abstained from fish, which they did often on fast-days, a man should be absolved from the injunction of abstinence, and be allowed to eat what he could get. When any person had taken his

(a) *Pyritegium*.

repast,

repast, he should quit the refectory instantly, and betake himself to his solitary duties, while the body was dining; and that, if any monk abode or staid in the refectory until the sound of the bell was heard, (which was probably a summons to the servants, &c.), that monk should not be permitted to enter the parlour; but go into the church, and remain there solitary and silent.

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It was contrary to the rule and law of their institution to eat flesh meat, except in the infirmary; but, because there were some who concealed their weak and low condition, although they looked extremely pale and wasted, and wished to keep out of the infirmary, to them the abbot gave leave to eat meat, but it must be in the gate-house, and probably with the porter. And, even in the infirmary, no one touched meat, unless in the extremity of his disease, (which, as it arose from very low diet, here met its suitable remedy), or when, if recovering, the master of the infirmary, authorized for speaking the truth, affirmed that meat was necessary. He directed every one to enter the infirmary, as soon as he complained of sickness; and the offerings made at the altar of St. Peter(a), at the north end of the town, were set apart for the purpose of finding medicines, advice, &c.; so that no one, who should undertake that duty, might hereafter plead an impossibility or defect of means: and this appointment of the offerings continued till the time of *John of Hertford*, the 23d abbot, who, in 1253, endowed a vicarage in this church, and also in that of Saint Michael of Kingsbury; when the offerings and certain portions of the tithe were allotted to the maintenance of the vicar, and no recompence made to the monastic body.

He permitted any of the monks, who seemed to be declining in their health, to go and recreate themselves at Redburn; lest a continual round of duty and confinement in the cloister, without any variation, might breed utter and irrecoverable sickness: but they were obliged to this condition, that, if flesh-meat was proper and necessary, they should eat such as their servants might provide for themselves, and they (the servants) should eat the conventual dinner. He allowed the monks, on fast-days, to sleep after dinner, if any thought proper; whereas, the custom had been, to lie down to rest at noon. But it is necessary also to mention, that it was a custom with Warren, to send

(a) Abbot Geoffrey had appointed St. Peter's, and all its appurtenances, to the perpetual use of the infirmary and refectory; with annual denunciations, &c. &c. see page 55: But, from this fresh grant of Warren's, it would appear, that, after a lapse of 50 years, the threats were forgotten, and the *Infirmary's* portion otherwise applied.

Warren the away to Tinmouth, or some distant cell, any monk whom he dis-
 20th abbot. liked; under pretence of its being necessary for his health, or for
 his farther progress in the ways of righteousness and salvation.

He remitted much of their duty in the choir, by shortening many parts of the service, and especially that service on private days, from All Saints to Easter, in which they were accustomed to sing *thirty* psalms: this service was so tiresome to some, that they babbled it over as quick as possible, and others were ready, in the mean time, to nod: he therefore divided it into two services, with an interval; and, instead of some other service, or set of prayers, used before, he substituted the seven penitential psalms.

He made some alterations in their dress; injoining, that instead of high-shoes, fastened with a thong, they should wear boots, and those made of the leather called *Basan*, or in present vulgar speech, *Basils*, that is, calf-skin, tanned; whereas, their former shoes were made of bullock's hide, and tanned at more expence: the reason of this change was, that they might be more ready and expeditious in coming to the service in the morning, and might not entangle themselves with their neighbour in walking; and, that they might appear with clean hands: these boots still retained the ancient roundness and wide form of the shoes. He ordered them, also, to wear their under garments in such a manner, that they might have their arms more at liberty, and no longer be confined by sleeves. He directed that no servitor, or attendant in the refectory, should wait without a good frock; for, before, they were so ill-clothed, that their appearance approached very near to nakedness: and, observing that the noviciates wore only a frock with a hood sewed to it, he ordered, that, as soon as the young monk received the tonsure, he should put on the whole dress and habit of a *professed*. He ordained also, that no secular, except a bishop, should ever dine with the monks.

He gave to his church a certain habit of a purple colour, and of great value, being adorned with rows of very costly pearl, and painted, or embroidered, with the figures of birds looking behind them; and ordained, that on his anniversary, or day of his death, the officiating priest should be habited in this garment, and offer up a salutary victim (I suppose in prayer) for his soul. When he perceived his end approaching, he bequeathed to his successor one hundred marks for rebuilding the west front of his church.

It was in this abbot's time, that King Richard (*Cœur de Lion*) was taken prisoner, on his return from the Holy Land; and he had sent an order to his Council, to demand, in his name, from all the monasteries,

nafteries, bishops, and clergy of England, all their silver cups, in order to make a sum for his ransom : the abbot then sent to the king ^{Warren the 20th abbot.} two hundred marks of silver ; being unwilling to impoverish his abbey, or mutilate the splendor of its appearance.

Warren ruled the abbey near 12 years ; but had always shewn himself an imperious, self-willed, man, full of his own conceits, and never listening to any advice or admonition of others, however friendly : and, by the help of his brother Matthew, the prior, who was of a very suspicious character, he offended many of the best nobility and great personages, who had concerns with the abbey, and pursued them with a most unrelenting hatred. This conduct rendered his monastery so thin, that he had noviciates of *five* years old ; and the few that remained in the convent never durst contradict him. He was much blamed for founding the church and hospital of St. Mary de Pratis, as doing an injury to the revenue of his abbey : and the indulgences, which he gave his monks, were said to be with a view of keeping them in good temper and compliance. But he was famous for doing irreparable mischief in the woods of the abbey ; and every Sunday he kept a kind of exchequer, or revenue office, to which resorted the foresters and others, who sold or bought the wood, in order to settle their accompts, &c. And yet, from this supply, he never added to the ornaments of the church, or to the buildings of the monastery ; nor, indeed, did he keep up or repair those of the farms and manors : but, with great assiduity, and many liberal donations, did he study to recommend himself to king Richard and queen Eleanor ; as if that had constituted the sum of religious duty and of good fame. Whomsoever he found speaking of him with obloquy or reprehending his excesses, these persons were soon hurried away to some distant cell, where many suffered a kind of exile, and, enduring great bitterness of mind, finished a wretched life, with dreadful imprecations on Warren ; and chiefly, because they found themselves constrained to break those vows of obedience, and act contrary to those promises and professions, which they had made on admission. Warren died in 1195.

The indulgences, if they may be so called, which this abbot shewed to his monks, give full proof, in how abject a subjection to the superior they lived, and also, what an austere and irksome life they were forced to lead : the service of the choir employed them eight hours in the twenty-four, namely, two hours at six in the morning or at day-

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day-break, two more at noon, two at six in the evening, and two more at midnight. They had, indeed, eight hours for rest, but that was much broken, and interrupted by frequent vigils in the night-season; and the remaining eight, which we may suppose spent in recreation, or in pleasant company and agreeable discourse, seem to have been quite void of all these pleasures: if they spent these hours in solitude, it is probable they were given to rest or indolence; or, if they chose to refresh themselves in the open air, it is probable that this could not be done without leave; and then, it was enjoined every man, who sought for air and exercise, to employ himself in the garden with the spade or the hoe. Every thing like innocent mirth or amusement was excluded these walls, in which a repetition of prayers and perpetual singing of psalms were deemed devotion and worship, and were holden equivalent to sound faith and to pure morals.

The diet of the monks was another austerity, that, in these days, would not be submitted to by the most indigent. Fasting twice a week is reckoned a hardship now, by even those who are ever full, and fare sumptuously every day; but it was a severe trial and mortification to men, who fared very scantily at all times, and may be said never to have a belly-full of good substantial food; for, the little flesh they had was generally turned into broth, and the fish allowed was but in small quantities: eggs boiled hard, and a portion of roots and herbs, with bread and ale, constituted the generality of their meals. And here it is to be observed, that the roots and herbs were but of the most ordinary kind, since, in the days I speak of, very few of the present esculent plants were known in England. They seem, indeed, on some occasions, to have had a portion of wine(a), and were, at times, indulged in the flesh of birds and the feathered tribe, which seem, in those days, to have been more plenty than beef and mutton, and to have made a considerable part of the feasts, even in later times.

The dress, or attire, of the men had as little in it to excite pride, as their diet could gluttony; or, rather, was as well calculated to mortify and humble them: a coarse long gown of black, with some ordinary under-garments, and beneath all a hair shirt(b), is a dress, that,

(a) Probably of their own making.

(b) This is understood to be the garment worn, among the Jews, by the penitent and the mournful; and is the same as the Septuagint translators term *Σαλκος*, and St. John in the 6th chapter of the Apocalypse; and which the Latin interpreters have rendered *Cilicium*; being made of the hair, or wool, shorn from the goats, and woven in Cilicia, where this invention took its rise, and continued long in practice, as is affirmed by

that, beside being ever painful and working like a thorn in the flesh, ^{Warren the 20th abbot.} was a constant incumbrance to the legs and arms, in every motion and gesture: a bald head, and with no covering, in the severest cold, but a dirty cowl, or hood, hanging on the shoulders, is something very humiliating to all persons, who are sensible how much the manly character is raised by the air and ornament of the head.

Their life was passed without much instruction, either in public or in private; for, the sermons were not, as now, lessons of faith or good morals, but panegyrics on some saint, with an account of the strange miracles, performed at the tomb of some pious departed mortal: and books were so scarce, and so few persons capable of reading them, that no instruction could easily be had in private. The sole business of these monks was, to chaunt and exhibit the *public* worship of God in pomp and splendor; and their *private* adoration of him was in self-denial and abasement.

On a view of their life, what persons, it may be said, could be induced to embrace it? and here, though I will allow, that parents might often breed up their children with a view to it, and that many reasons of prudence and policy prompted the younger branches of families to enter, yet I may safely venture to say, that far the greater number took on them this kind of life when they were capable of judging, and that they did it through choice, and after much serious consideration: it may then be answered to this questionist, "Alas! thou favourest more of the things that belong unto men, than of those that belong unto God." For, these men did it out of principle, and in conformity to the notions and doctrines of the times, with great sincerity of mind, and the most pure sentiments of piety. All their books and doctors of theology taught, that men came into the world with a monstrous burden of sin: it

by Varro *de Re Rusticâ, in fine*. Sometimes it was made of camel's hair; but always of the coarsest sort, and woven with a very hard coarse thread: And this was the raiment of John the Baptist, as being most suitable to his penitential character and mission. The English translators term it *sackcloth*, as if it was made of hemp; but it is probable this name was affixed to the garment from its resembling a sack, and being, like that, narrow and straight.

Virgil alludes to this in the 3d *Georgic*, thus,

Cinyphii tondent hirci, setasque comantes,
Usum in castrorum, miseris velamina nautis.

And Alcimus Avitus *de Justitia, cap. 4.*

Molibus abjectis, Cilicum dant tegmina setæ.

And Paulinus Nolanus *in Obit. Celsi, v. 451.*

Si modò lugentem gravis hircio tegmine faccus
Caprigenûm fetis dum teget, et stimulet.

N

matters

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matters not how this guilt was contracted; they found themselves laden, and, therefore, were not only prudent in forbearing to add to the burden, but were prompted to gain a discharge from this paternal debt by any means they could devise. The monastic life offered the fairest promise of remedy. They thought it enough to expiate and wear away the old debt; but had no notion of setting out as innocent persons, and making farther progress in holiness and virtue: to get rid of the original burden was all their care; and this institution offered the best means, as being full of harsh and rigid duties, and removed far from all new temptations: the continual offering up a sacrifice, whether of the real or supposed body of the Redeemer, together with frequent and fervent prayer, they thought would derive a merit upon them. And to do their duty in that state of life, wherein they should *place themselves* (a), thus by choice, they thought most pleasing to God.

To such a faith as this, what could better accord and suit, than a state of life, wherein their duties were very few: for, by this life, they cut off many of the commandments; they rejected all the duties of a father and all those also of a son, and they no longer owed justice or love to a neighbour, when they quitted society; then too, they renounced all conjugal ties, and the best endearments of blood and affection: and, by vowing perpetual chastity, poverty, and fasting, they very nearly expunged all the duties due to a man's self (even sobriety and temperance) and comprehended the whole duty of this new life in piety and religious worship.

Indeed, the most pious persons of those times considered the monastic life as the most perfect pattern of holy living, and such as could not be attained in the world, or be taught by the secular clergy: and this induced liberal gifts and benefactions to the monasteries, and was the cause of frequent bickering and rivalry between the regulars and the seculars. These foundations had such reputation for sanctity, that they became the parents of most parish-churches; the lord of a manor generally sending to a monastery for some priest to occupy the church he had built, and therein perform the holy offices among his tenants. Nay, most of the cathedral churches were founded with a body of this sort, and the bishop was surrounded with a cloister of monks. They had a pre-eminence for fame, and gained an ascendancy throughout the kingdom: they were the seminaries of instruc-

(a) The reformers, afterwards, taught people to do their duty in that state of life, unto which it *shall please God* to call them.

tion,

tion, and doubtless well calculated to spread religion over the land, to found churches, and establish parishes; and to perform those great works, which none but *corporate bodies*, in whom reside *power, numbers, and duration*, can accomplish.

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They were, indeed, the parents of many parish-churches; but this was not all, they were the great instruments, in the hand of the popes, not only for governing the papal subjects, but for managing and ruling even the kings of the earth: they were the sworn subjects of the pope, and but in a second place the subjects of their civil prince: accordingly, every kingdom experienced a rival jurisdiction, wherein a continual struggle was kept up, by the sovereigns and their barons, on one side, against the pope and clergy on the other. In this twelfth century, which is reckoned the summit of papal power, it is remarkable how instrumental the monks were, to stir up, at the command of the pope, all the nations of Europe, to go upon that mad project of rescuing the Holy Land; but which wars appear, on a nearer view, to have been the contrivance of the popes, to ward off some great blow that threatened themselves. And it is remarkable, likewise, that when, in this same century, the Albigenses and Waldenses appeared, contesting the usurpations of Rome and disproving its doctrines, the popes could not vanquish those new foes by argument or learning; nor combat them with any other weapon than by giving all possible encouragement to the monastic bodies then existing, and by creating new orders of monks; as, for instance, the Dominicans and Franciscans, of whom I shall have occasion to speak more at large in the sequel of this work.

C H A P T E R III.

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ON the death of Warren, the monks chose *John*, the first of that name, to be abbot; he was called *John of the Cell*, from having been born at Merkgate Cell, not far from Studham, and therefore sometimes called *John of Studham*. He was a man of extraordinary piety, and a rigid observer of the monastic rules; and for that reason chosen, in order to revive the discipline of the cloister, and recover credit to the abbey, which had fallen into neglect, by the remissness of the late abbot. This John, in his younger days, had studied at Paris; and came home with such reputation, that, in grammar he was reckoned a very Priscian, in poetry a perfect Ovid, and in physic was esteemed equal to Galen. Having taken the habit of a religious, he was advanced to the place of prior of Wallingford(a), and thence was elected to govern this abbey. He committed the care of the cloister, and of the internal government, to Raymond the prior, a man of good counsel, and esteemed prudent and religious, and to the steward, or *cellerarius*, named Roger Parker; and thus, by delivering over to others the cares of the house, he reserved himself for the more serious duties of devotion and contemplation.

Now, with the assistance of these two, he undertook the repair, or rebuilding, of the west front of the church; for which he had received, of the late abbot, one hundred marks. But, before I relate the progress of this work, or the difficulties and troubles that involved both John and his coadjutors, it is proper to say something relative to the

(b) A cell belonging to the abbey, and situated in Berkshire.

structure,

structure, and to ascertain the time, or times, of its being built and completed: and this is necessary, because there appear so many different styles of architecture, that the several parts have been ascribed to different ages, in which a different style, or fashion of building, prevailed; for, some connoisseurs have thought they could discover, in the choir and transepts, the rudeness and simplicity of the ancient Saxon, prior to the Conquest; and, in the most improved part, all the elegance and rich variety of Henry VI. or VII.'s time; with the gradual changes and improvements of the intervening periods.

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But, as it is certain that abbot Paul, in the time of the conqueror and Rufus, began and carried on a great part of the building; so it is no less certain, from this legacy of Warren, that the whole of the west end had been completed, and did now, in the front, want great reparations. Abbot Paul was appointed in 1077, and ruled sixteen years; and now, in 1195, a great decay has happened: hence it is probable that this ruined part had not stood 100 years. And, beside, it may be remembered that abbot Richard, the successor of Paul, built the screen and chapel, in honour of Cuthbert, and caused the dedication of the church to be solemnized, with great festivity, on Christmas-day, in the year 1115: whoever observes nicely the position of that screen, now standing, must acknowledge, that it was built after the arches and piers on either side of it, and therefore those arches and piers must have been built before 1115: and, when the west front was in a decayed state in 1195, it must follow, that both sides below that screen had been built and completed, not only before 1195, but before 1115. But farther, I have already said, on the express testimony of *M. Paris*, that the church was begun, and great part of it built by abbot Paul, within the first eleven years of his rule; and that the same was dedicated by his successor in 1115: now, if the church had not been ENTIRELY rebuilt, dedication would not have been necessary; and, if it had not been COMPLETE, that solemnity would not have taken place. So that no doubt can remain, but that the whole structure, of its present size, form, and dimensions, was erected by Paul and Richard, between 1077 and 1115.

Whence then, it may be said, comes such variety in the style and fashion of the architecture? It arose from two causes: partly from the different taste and fancy of the various sets of builders and workmen, but chiefly from the nature of the materials. It is well known, that bands and companies of builders were united by consent, and undertook great works, and enjoyed certain privileges and immunities; as they were thought the only persons qualified, for their skill, their numbers,

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numbers, and union, to put the same in execution(a). Now, as several sets of those men were employed at the same time, each set engaged, as the custom was, to perform such a part, for such a price: but they could work only in the style and manner they had been accustomed to; and therefore some of the sets, unskilled, perhaps, in the nicer operations of stone, would readily undertake to execute the work, with the simple materials, that had been long preparing for the purpose, and were now collected in great quantities; while others, of more skill and judgement, might stand aloof, until the Roman tile was nearly exhausted, or, till they had enforced the propriety of using more tractable materials, both to embellish the church and display their taste. In proof of this, let us take a view of the structure itself: just below the screen, on the south side, are four or five arches and piers, of the most beautiful style in the whole building; and directly opposite these, on the north side, five of the most rude and ordinary: the last are formed entirely of the Roman tile, the first of stone: this makes it evident, that, though the work was executed at or about the same time, yet it was neither by the same men, nor after the same plan; nor was the same sort of materials used, at least in the external. But, as a mark of the antiquity of the former beautiful part, there may be seen, at the spring of the arches, the head of Lanfranc, of Offa and his queen, and of Edward the Confessor, the venerable founders and benefactors; and over their heads are the arms of England (the 4 lions rampant), which were the arms of the said Edward, then the arms of Mercia (3 crowns), the arms of the abbey (a cross like St. Andrew's), the arms of France, and the arms of Westminster (3 birds); all cut in the Totternhoe stone, and very entire at this day.

As to the very rude part of the building, viz. the four piers and arches that support the tower, the whole of the choir, the two transepts, and the five arches above-mentioned; the rudeness argues nothing for its antiquity or its being a mark of originality; for, it arose chiefly,

(a) When the Crusaders built churches in Palestine, which was done under the direction and skill of such bands from Europe, it was common to bind the Saracen captives, taken in battle, to those builders, and make them perform all the most laborious services; and this fact is expressly ascertained by *M. Paris*, who says, in the year 1184, "that the king of Portugal gave, for slaves, the captives and prisoners, to serve the builders in the repair of the churches." Hence perhaps, from the many Saracens employed in the servile part, this style of building may have been called, *the Saracenic Architecture*, and the name brought into England at the return of the Crusaders. From these bands, likewise, we may perhaps date the origin of the *Free Masons*, who were esteemed the better builders; in opposition to that ignorant and servile tribe, who wrought without fancy, taste, or judgement.

as I have already said, from the intractable materials then used, which, ^{John I. the} being the Roman tile, would not admit of being formed into beautiful ^{21st abbot.} columns, or smooth and well-turned arches, or even make a smooth wall: and the other builders, observing the uncouthness of these materials, took care, in forming their arches and columns, to make the nice and even edges with stone from Totternhoe, and to conceal the Roman tile in the solid inside: and it may be presumed, from the exquisite hardness of these Roman materials, that the structure will surpass, in duration, any thing that is built of stone or marble.

If this be the case, how comes it, it may be said, that the west front was so soon decayed? Because, it is probable, it had been built, for the sake of ornament and a more complete finish, of some different material, as of the Totternhoe or some other stone: and it is manifest at this day, that what part is made of that stone or of the Sussex marble, is in the sheltered part of the gate and arch-way, and that such part as is exposed to the weather is composed of the Roman tile: yet the first is most decayed.

Having thus shewn, that the rudeness and simplicity of the choir and transepts are owing, chiefly, to the very uncouth materials wherewith these parts were built, which had been collecting for a length of years, and which would allow no arch but the plain semi-circle, without any lessening from its outer edge; and having stated, that, when these materials were almost exhausted, the builders had recourse to the Totternhoe stone, and of that constructed all the beautiful parts below the rude; it may be proper to add, that we may here plainly discern the error of those critics in architecture, who assert, that the pointed arch arose first in the time of Henry III. and is seldom found in earlier constructions; whereas, in this structure, the pointed arch is to be seen, in all the several specimens of good and complete building: and the same was undoubtedly erected in the time of the Conqueror and his sons, before 1115. Indeed, so complete and perfect is the style of these beautiful parts, that the authors may be thought to have reached the summit of their art: for, it is not only calculated for strength and duration; but the proportion of the several parts of the arch and its columns is most exquisite, and contrived with so much judgement, that they lose nothing of their beauty, though placed more than forty feet above the eye of the observer. These specimens of the perfect Gothic are equal, in themselves, to any work, in any cathedral; but yet, as they consist only of four or five arches in each specimen, they appear not with that commanding admiration, which results from a whole and complete building, erected in this style. The
cathedral

John I. the cathedral at Peterborough is of that sort, and uniform throughout:
 21st abbot. and so much resembles some of these specimens, that, as it was built
 later, we may almost say, the style and form was copied from this
 abbey church.

This ancient and religious style of building has never received its due praises, nor the inventors their due merits, from those even who pretend to understand their works. Perhaps nothing has so much contributed to keep down their fame as calling them *Gothic*; and, because invented in rude and unpolished ages, this art itself is likewise thought to be a rude jumble of contrivances. But be it considered, that it was the invention of people, who lived some centuries after the Gothic name was sunk and undistinguished among the nations of Europe: it was invented and improved by Christians, and men of pious and elevated minds. WHEN it began, or WHERE, we know not. But when men saw that Heathen temples, though beautiful and exquisite in the external parts, were, within, neither beautiful nor enlightened, (for they were without windows, and full of smoke and filth, from lamps (a) and fires), nor fit to be applied to the worship of a pure and holy mind, they learnt to build for themselves: and here it must be said, that they studied the internal from the beginning, and aimed at such a structure as should tend to raise the thoughts, elevate the mind, and captivate the heart of man, by charming his sight. Indeed, the Romish worship had every thing in it, to arrest the *senses* of its votaries, and withdraw them, as they thought, from all worldly vanities: music and melody for the ear, incense and rich perfume for the nose, and every display of painting and statuary to engage the eye. But, before these arts prevailed or were called in, the building was contrived with every sort of skill and art, to raise the mind to a contemplation of that God whom they worshipped: lofty in its roof, enlightened, and chearful; spacious, for processions and great assemblies of worshippers; full of pillars, as necessary to support a heavy roof; yet, when strength was attained by their massy pillars and thick walls, they contrived to reduce these solid and clumsy parts with such art, in shaping them, as to give an air of lightness, without diminishing the strength.

They were confined to no rules of proportion; or, rather, had never studied to confine the art within any rule: they built from fancy, guided only by a judicious taste. In their arches and columns they have shewn great ingenuity, not only in placing three or four

(a) *Lychnychi penfiles in delubris.* Plin. Lib. 34.

rows of such work in height, but in making the lower row large in its parts, gradually lessening the parts of the next, and so diminishing as they rise; thus, they have shaped the columns and the arches in such a manner as to make the work appear light and easy, without prejudice to its strength: the variations in their arches are likewise very ingenious, as being both beautiful and strong: and, indeed, that boundless variety which appears, not only in the necessary and substantial parts, but in the ornamental, is so chaste, simple, and correct, that it ever appears with a fitness and propriety suitable to its place and its use. It was no small advantage in these structures, that they enabled the builders to use and employ all the small stones; for, of such are their works composed, both within and without: but this defect was supplied and made up by using an incomparably good cement.

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This kind of building was in use and fashion in England, from the time the Normans first became connected with this country, (before the Conquest,) until the reign of Henry VIII. at which time it gave way, only, on the discovery of the Greek and Roman architecture. But, although it was in universal use, yet not a scrap of any design on paper is come down to this time, nor are the names of any of the principal builders, in that long period of five hundred years, now so much as known: except William of Wickham be thought the architect of Edward III. and Nicolas Close, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, the architect of Henry VI.; the first having conducted the building of Windsor castle, the last that of King's College Chapel. Yet their works will preserve the fame of their art as long as any Grecian architecture shall be standing; for, on a comparison, the advantage and general utility must appear on the side of the former; because the exquisite art of the Grecian goes only to the perfect beauty of the column and the entablature, and the repetition of these in a grand portico, or a peristyle and arcade; and there its beauty is great, and its perfection complete; owing to its very fine marble and the geometrical knowledge of the artists: but it is a mere external architecture; and provides not, in the least degree, for the internal use, beauty, or convenience. This church-architecture ought to be called, *The Christian Order*: for, as it has been ever used for places of worship, and was invented with that view, and is exquisitely adapted to that purpose, so will it hereafter prevail, more or less, in all new churches, as being the most perfect work of man's art, to elevate the mind and raise ideas and affections suitable to the Christian worship.

But



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21st abbot.

But to return to abbot John. He set himself in great earnest to repair the decayed front, and is reported to have proceeded in this manner; he caused the old wall to be taken down, even the hard and solid part of it, where the materials were of the tile and the mortar impenetrable; then he began to draw together timber, and stones not a few, with some columns and planks; after which, he assembled a set of masons (*cæmentarii*), the head of which was one Hugo de Goldcliff, a deceitful knave, but an excellent artist: Hugo was employed, and, having dug the trench and laid the foundation, he began to build; but in a very short time the hundred marks were found to be expended, together with many more, and a daily charge going on; nor was the work so far advanced as that the wall was even with the ground. On this, the abbot began to feel weary, and, perceiving that Hugo was adding many carvings and ornaments that were very expensive, yet very trifling, before the wall was raised to the height of a house-floor, the abbot grew quite tired and timid, and the work began to grow languid: in the following winter, the wall being uncovered, the stones crumbled away, the columns, with their bases and capitals, fell to the ground, and the whole exhibited the appearance of ruin and rubbish: the workmen hereupon withdrew and quitted the *job*, as it is called, but were denied their wages. Perhaps, when they found the hundred marks gone and no speedy supply, they might think they had done enough; and, by the character of Goldcliff, this was probably the true case.

The abbot then assigned the work to the care of one of the brethren, named Gilbert de Eversholt, and imposed a tax of one sheaf of corn, to be paid yearly, for every acre sown of the abbey's estates: this tax, being begun in the third year of John's election, was continued during his whole life, which was seventeen more, and for ten years of his successor's; nor did the work advance in any manner to administer joy to the old abbot, but was a constant source of grief and sorrow. He offered many presents of gold and silver to any person who would forward the work, and caused this offer to be proclaimed through all the lands of the abbey, and some of the dioceses; and, having sent one Amphibalus to travel about with relics, and pretend "that he had been raised from the dead by the merits of Alban and Amphibalus," and was able to give good proof of their miracles," he collected, by this illusion, great sums of money; but this unfortunate work absorbed all the supplies, just as the sea drinks up all rivers: and, as the sea receives thereby no signs of increase, so this work received no advancement. After much useless expence, and at the death of Eversholt,
the

the work was given up; though entrusted to another curator, named John I. the Sisseverne, who had the care and conduct thereof for thirty years after; and, though he received great supplies, yet the work did not advance two feet in height in any one year. John I. the
21st abbot.

At the death of Eversholt, the abbot turned his thoughts to more prudent counsels; and, finding the refectory to be decayed and ruinous, he caused the same to be pulled down and rebuilt: this was completed in a handsome manner and brought to a happy conclusion, during his life, to the no small joy of himself, and to the better entertainment and festivity of the brethren. While this work was going on, he caused the dormitory, now old and ruinous, to be rebuilt, and also a dwelling adjoining, used and inhabited by the domestics. These improvements he finished in a complete manner, and with the entire consent and approbation of the convent; for, in order to discharge the expence of these two splendid edifices (a), as they were called, the convent gave up their wine (b), by general consent, for the space of fifteen years: though the good abbot lived not to see the end and conclusion of the compact.

Another vexation, that caused great grief to John, was, a new claim set up to the wood of Northaw, by Robert the son of Walter (c); who, being an earl of large possessions, and surrounded with relations and dependents, was able to pursue his pretended right with great trouble and injury towards the abbot and the monastery. John supported the contest with spirit and firmness; being assisted by the experience and wisdom of Raymond, the prior; and Roger Parker, the steward of their household; and by William Sisseverne, a knight, and steward of the manors and estates; and by Lawrence de Therebrugge, a knight of great eloquence and prudence, who shewed that he had not the least fear of the threats of Robert. The earl, after causing infinite mischief and trouble to the abbot, and having procured four of his dependents to enter into a plot against the life of the said Lawrence, at length submitted; and the wood remained in the possession of the abbey.

Soon after, the claim was revived; and Robert produced a grant under the seal of the conventual chapter: this alarmed and confounded the abbot, until it was discovered that one William Pigun (d), a false brother in the convent, had been gained over by Robert, to frame

(a) Nobilium Domorum.

(b) That is, by refusing to buy any, and by selling what they made.

(c) Fitzwalter, perhaps a descendant of Robert de Valoinges.

(d) Since called Pigeon.

John I. the 21st abbot. and contrive for him this forged deed, and, in the hurry of business, during other transactions, to put to it the common seal, in a treacherous and clandestine manner. My author loads the memory of this Pigun with every epithet of reproach, and says that John sent him to the cell at Tinnmouth, there to undergo a perpetual penance, if that could efface the guilt of his crime; and that, at his death, which happened soon after, a voice was heard, by some in the dormitory, repeating these words, *cape, Satan, cape, Satan*; whence it was concluded that Satan had chosen him.

It seems Pigun had conceived a dislike and hatred to John, for being refused by him in a request to have his nephew admitted a monk, at that time a school-boy in the town; and it is probable that his late exile had sharpened his temper to a keener edge against the abbot. However, he died suddenly, it was said, after a very intemperate debauch; in which, being full of wine and meat, he passed from ebriety to sleep, and from sleep to death, by a natural and common gradation.

John was now so infirm and languishing in his health, that he deputed William Sisseverne to transact all business for him; which William, as steward, performed for a year and a day. John having still great dread of the open violence or private machinations of Robert, he prudently offered terms of accommodation and peace; and Robert, severely struck, says *M. Paris*, with the sad end of his friend Pigun, and through some compunctions of conscience, fearful also of the vengeance which Alban might take on him or prevail upon God to inflict, and thinking that more of his enormities might come to light, listened to overtures. The deed was committed to the flames, and John consented to give him the church's estate at Bishopscote, worth 10l. a year.

This instance is one of many, which occurred in those days, wherein the tyranny and avaricious encroachments of the rich and great was frequently employing itself against such as were thought unable to defend themselves: and the meekness and gentleness of abbot John served to invite such kind of contests and usurpations. For, the same Robert set up a claim also to the patronage of the cell at Bynham (a), the prior of which, named Thomas, had been removed by John for his partial regards towards Robert; on which occasion the earl claimed the right of making the prior, and pretended he had a deed from the abbey, granting him that privilege, and that, by the tenor of the same, no prior could be turned out without his leave: in support of

(a) Now Bynham, in the county of Norfolk, and situate near Walsingham.

his

his claim, he beset the cell with armed men, threatening the defenders with extreme punishment, if they (being thirteen brethren) would not surrender. The king, hearing this at court, expressed great displeasure at the daring insolence of Robert, and sent an armed party to raise the siege, and retrieve the honour of the church.

John I. the
21st abbot.

It was now the reign of king John, and in that part of the same, when the pope was waging war against him; and Robert was set at the head of one of the armies, assuming the title of constable (a) of the army of God: this he did by the encouragement and advice of the pope, Innocent the third. When John submitted to the pope, then Innocent raised a persecution against Robert, and caused all his possessions to be confiscated, and himself to be banished, or compelled to wander in distress and want. At length, in the reign of Henry III. he died, but refused ever to quit his claim to the patronage of Bingham or give up the pretended deed. However, at his death, his confident, friend, and fellow soldier, Adam, the son of William, or, as he would be called now, Adam Fitzwilliam, who had been privy to the whole transaction, and was suspected to have forged the deed, gave it up to the abbey; declaring all the secrets of his patron Robert: and, in expiation of his own guilt in the affair, he presented to the church and offered on the great altar one large silver cup, gilt, out of the goods of the said Robert; but this cup was afterwards stolen.

But other and heavier afflictions awaited the patient abbot. For, during the interdict from the pope, in which all divine worship was suspended and the celebration of holy offices prohibited, an injunction came from the king, commanding to condemn the pope's decree, and to return to the holy solemnities and the usual modes of worship. On which he called a council of the brethren, where it was resolved, in due form, *that it was better to obey God than man*: and he thus refused compliance with the king's command. On this the king took possession of the abbey, and posted in it an armed force, under the command of one Robert London (b), a clerk, and in great favor with

(a) This man was one of the most strenuous asserters of the liberties of the subject, and foremost in demanding *Magna Charta*; his name also stands first in the attestation to that deed, as copied by *M. Paris*. Yet he could deny liberty and justice to his inferiors.

(b) This Robert had been sent by the king, the year before, to the great king of Morocco, called admiral Marmeline, with an offer of the crown of England, to be held of him as a fief; and, during Robert's abode in the monastery, he used to show and exhibit, with much pomp, the jewels and splendid presents, which he pretended to have received from Marmeline; and of these, *M. Paris* says, he was himself a beholder and admirer.

John I. the king: nor would the king restore the abbey and quit possession,
 21st abbot. until the abbot laid down six hundred marks.

In the same year, 1214, the king, having thrust into the see of Durham one Richard de Marisco, (for he was never duly elected), ordered him to make a requisition of the abbot of five hundred marks more. This Richard was lord chancellor, and bishop of Durham; but, beside squandering the revenues of the see, he was bound in duty to provide for the exigences of his master: and, having sent for the abbot, he addresses him thus, ‘ My lord abbot, there is not a better
 ‘ man in England than you: to what amount are you willing to assist
 ‘ the king? We know that you have given him six hundred marks;
 ‘ but that was for the delivery of your abbey, which the king had a
 ‘ right to have held; and therefore you had an equivalent: but now
 ‘ let us see, how far your mere liberality will go, and whether it will
 ‘ not be better to give five hundred more, and receive thanks for
 ‘ them.’ The abbot startled at the exaction, and began to mutter.
 ‘ Oh!’ saith Richard, ‘ why do you murmur? the sentence is passed,
 ‘ and cannot be altered: and is it not better, and more like a good
 ‘ subject, to give *five* hundred and receive thanks, than to give *two*
 ‘ or *three* hundred and receive none?’ No intreaties could avail to mitigate this unjust demand, and the abbot was compelled to pay, to the great detriment and burthen of his church.

The experience and practice of abbot John had been so great, that he is said to have been able to repeat a whole service, perhaps fifteen or twenty psalms, without book; nay, that he could repeat them backward, and not err in any of the responses: and his sanctity was such, that, if he sang alone, the responses were made by angels. Indeed, in one of the piers on the north side of the body, there is a large cavity, to be approached and entered from the gallery (*triforium*), with an aperture toward the middle walk; and which seems calculated for no other possible use but to speak through, unseen.

There were in the time of this abbot many paintings made and hung up in the church; they were executed chiefly by some of the monks, among whom was John of Colchester, and others, named Richard, William, and Simon, by whose hands several of the saints and holy men were delineated in colours or represented in curious carving: all the wall surrounding the great altar was adorned with St. John, St. Stephen, St. Amphibalus, and St. Benedict: by the hand of Simon there was a curious picture of St. Peter and St. Michael, and another of St. Thomas. These pictures were all in being, and, I suppose,

suppose, in great estimation, in the time of *M. Paris*, who might be ^{John I. the 21st abbot.} a young monk at this time (1214), and who lived himself to 1259. By the care and industry of Raymond, the prior, many noble and useful books were obtained, by copying, and added to the collection; and in particular a very elegant book, styled *Historia Scholastica cum Allegoriis* (a).

It is to be noted, that there were several altars at this time in the church, beside what was the principal, and called *the Great Altar*: these were dedicated to different saints, and received prayers and gifts, at the pleasure of pious persons, who sought relief, or made application to them, as mediators and intercessors at the throne of Grace: one of these was dedicated to the Virgin Mary; and on this altar a golden cup was made an offering by Richard de Clothall, knt. a man of piety, and most affectionate to the abbot.

John was the author of divers good statutes: the first of which was, that, in consideration of their poverty and hardship of travel, any monk, on his journey to this abbey, might turn aside out of the road, and be entertained, both man and horse, at any farm or grange, which he could find, belonging to the abbey. The second was, that the number of monks should be one hundred; but none farther, or beyond that number, should be admitted, unless well recommended for science or rank, or by petition from some great man, whom they feared to offend. Another statute was, that, in celebrating either private or public masses, the number of collects, then repeated, should not exceed seven; because seven were sufficient to make prayer effectual; and, beside, it was a number of great dignity.

This pious abbot, finding his end approaching, spent his latter days in frequent exhortations to the brethren, and in mortifications to himself: he caused himself to be placed in the middle of the chapter-house, on a fall-stool, that is, in a kneeling posture, and his garments to be stripped off to the bare skin; in order to shew them, what a poor, emaciated, deformed, wretch an old man was, and to give them a lesson of reflection, on comparing themselves with him. He was conveyed thence to the infirmary, and placed on a stone there prepared and used for this purpose, where the extreme unction was administered: He declared, as if by a prophetic spirit, that he should not survive the third day; which accordingly did come to pass: and the intervals of rest he employed in serious exhortation and advice, and in distributing little presents to those about him; but one of the brethren, perhaps

(a) One of these in *Ben. Coll. Lib. Cambridge*.

thinking

John I. the
21st abbot.

thinking himself forgotten, interrupted the serious moments of the company, by crying out, that the abbot had once given above one hundred and fifty marks to a certain kinsman, to fit him out and pay his expence of being knighted: "True," says the abbot, "and I cannot deny such an act of liberality; but I procured for you the tithes and offerings of St. Stephen's church in this town, and also I have purchased, for one hundred and fifty marks, the lands of Hammond: and all these profits have I bestowed on your kitchen, for the augmentation of your commons." "Right, O father! thou hast done well, and thou hast been beneficent unto all," was the answer. But directly did the abbot, though on his death-bed, give orders, that his accuser should be sent away to some distant cell (a).

However, four or five joining in disapprobation, among whom was the keeper of the seal, they drew up a paper to disannul that deed and to abolish the practice, and brought the form to be read and sealed by the abbot, then dying: he heard and understood the subject; but could not speak, or express his dislike otherwise than by turning away and shaking his head: the bearer of the seal replied, "the silent man gives consent enough;" and then gave confirmation to the transaction. This was the last time of using that seal; for, at the death of the abbot, it was broken, and, as in these times with the seals of all deceased prelates, sent to the arch-bishop. Thus ended the life and rule of abbot John the first, in the year 1214; the year before the barons obtained the great charter; and two years before the death of king John.

William the
22d abbot.

As soon as the abbacy was vacant, it was judged necessary to send two of the brethren to the king, to ask leave to proceed to an election; and the convent made choice of Robert de Brightwell and William de Trumpington, for this embassy. The king was then in Poictou; but, though he gave them audience, he consented not to the matter or subject of their petition; well knowing, that the longer he kept the vacancy open, the more wealth and substance he should draw from the abbey's estates, which, at the death of an abbot, as in a bishopric, reverted to the hands of the king and custody of his lord chancellor: this was early in the spring, and he put them off until his return to England, in November. In the mean time a valiant knight, named William de Trumpington, made interest with the king in behalf

(a) What did the religion of these monks consist in? when, amid all this solemn preparation for death, such bitter resentment dwelt in the abbot's breast, that, with his last breath, he could endeavour to entail misery on a fellow-creature!

of William the monk, who, he said, was his relation, and who, though a young man, had been seneschal to Sayer, earl of Winchester. The monks, finding by what interest he was supported, and fearing to offend the king or earl, made choice of *William de Trumpington*: he was elected and installed on the 20th of November, 1215, and was prepared to receive the benediction from Eustace, bishop of Ely, before the great altar, on the first day of Advent following.

William the
2d abbot.

This abbot immediately quitted, as if with contempt, the society and converse of his former friends and associates of the cloister; and, mixing with seculars and laymen, followed their ways and manner, both in his diet and his conversation: this was so new and unexpected by his electors, that they took the liberty to remonstrate and argue with him; these were, Raymond the prior, Walter de Rheims, Alexander de Langley, Alexander Appleton, Fabian the superior, Aylmer, Hubert Ridell, and John Scott; who all spoke of the election with some self-condemnation, as if they deserved this disgrace, for regarding the king more than the law, in the form of the election. In a chapter, held soon after, the monks proceeded to give him severe reprehension for his libertine conduct and carriage; claiming, at the same time, the privilege and freedom of the body, contained in the late charter: "Truly," says William, "I did make that charter, or deed, and by my diligence procured it; but I knew not then what I was doing: now I well know what I was ignorant of then." "True my Lord," saith Aylmer, "Now you know that you are abbot; which you did not then." A few days before this, a monk was ordered to be sent off to some distant cell, though without the consent of the convent: the poor wretch, in spite of all his tears and most humble intreaties, was forced to comply; and he died there, soon after, in great anguish of mind. Within a short space another was sent away and never heard of again.

By the procurement of the abbot, the pope's legate, named Nicolas, came to the abbey, and, having convened the body, desired to inspect a certain charter, granted by the late abbot: it was put into his hand, and, when he had perused it, he said, "My brethren, are ye mad! what! do you mean to renounce the obedience which ye have vowed unto God with a solemn oath?" and instantly tore the charter into pieces; and, breaking the seal in like manner, he threw it before them. On sight of which, the pride of the most lofty was humbled, and the wit and irony of the most ingenious put to silence, and, the chapter being dissolved, they departed full of amazement and

William the confusion; the legate directing, that, if any murmur should arise, he
 22d abbot. might be sent for.

In a few days the prior Raymond, a man of great character, for wisdom, fidelity, and diligence, was removed from that office, and sent away to the cell at Tinmouth, much against his will and to the great grief of the old man, who was thus not only banished from his friends, but robbed and spoiled of all his books and stripped of every thing that might be the consolation of his old age.

William, in order to root up all seeds of complaint and discontent, thought proper to remove others of his brethren and send them to some of the distant cells: these were William Carne, John Seldford, Aylmer, and Walter Standon. As for Alexander de Langley, he sent him, at the request of the Countess of Arundel who was patroness of Wymundam (a), to be the prior of that church and cell; but the poor man soon after became so ill, by an alienation of mind and loss of his reason, as to be incapable of his charge: he was accordingly sent back again, and his place supplied by Ralph de Whitby. This Ralph was originally of Stanham, or Stoneham, and became a monk of Whitby, where he was chosen prior; but, after suffering divers troubles and persecutions, he left that monastery, and prayed to be admitted at St. Alban's: and, having governed the cell of Whitby with great prudence and circumspection, was now thought a proper person to rule that of Wymundham. Raymond's place of prior was filled by Walter of Rheims, a monk of good learning and zealous for the honour and reputation of the order.

This was the year 1215, so famous for the contest of the barons (among whom also were many of the bishops and abbots), who obtained of king John *the Great Charter* of their liberties. But I find not that our abbot took any part in those transactions: indeed, he had been so lately advanced, and owed his preferment so much to the king, through the recommendation of his kinsman, that William could not make a declared opposition to the king. And, though several bishops and abbots joined the barons and with them assembled at Stamford, then at London, and afterwards at Staines, yet it is probable that he staid quiet at home and settled his own little domestic kingdom.

The great transaction of Runemede was in June 1215. But the pope excommunicated the barons and Langton the archbishop, and

(a) This place is the same as Wyndham, and is situate in the county of Norfolk. The patronage of this cell, contended with some warmth between a former earl and abbot Robert, (p. 70.) seems now to have been compromised.
 declared

declared the articles of *Magna Charta* no longer binding on the king. John then breathed nothing but war; and, providing his castles with men and stores, he set forth, in the winter following, to raise forces, and in the middle of December came to this abbey with a numerous train of adherents and soldiers. Here, in the chapter-house, he held a grand consultation on the future plan of renewing and carrying on the war; and here it was determined, that he should raise two armies: the one to curb and restrain the Londoners; the other to march northwards, and fight the barons troops and the mercenaries under Lewis the Dauphin of France, who had invaded England and joined the rebellious barons against their tyrannical sovereign. John then passed on to Dunstable and Northampton: and, in the course of this campaign, he took up his abode, for some time, at the castle of Langar, in the county of Nottingham.

William the
2^d abbot.

During this contest, Lewis the Dauphin thought proper to make a visit to abbot William: and, after the first salutations, the prince proposed, that, as he was in possession of great part of the kingdom, he, the abbot, should also do homage to him and consent to acknowledge him for his sovereign. This the abbot refused, unless he could be absolved from his allegiance to his former and lawful prince; and, though the Dauphin used many threats, yet still William was firm and uncomplying: at last, the prince threatened to burn down the abbey and the whole town. Here Sayer, the former friend of William, interposed and mollified the rage of this blustering prince, and, by William's presenting him with eighty marks, saved both abbey and town; for, the prince departed with the present, and some disappointment.

It was during the fury of this civil war, that one Falco, a great partizan of the times, came to this town, and committed horrid outrages, his followers having slain one of the abbot's servants in the very church; and, after robbing the townsmen, they seized one, and in a violent manner, roasted him alive. This fierce invader, before he would depart, exacted one hundred marks from the abbot. But he met with his just deserts, some years after, at Bedford, where his company and followers were most of them hanged, and himself driven out a vagabond and beggar for life(a).

At the end of the year 1215, and in November, the pope's summons to a general council was complied with, and, among the prelates of England, went our abbot, taking with him Alexander Appleton

(a) *M. Paris*, anno 1225.

William the
22d abbot.

and Roger Porretan, brethren of great fame for learning and experience; and accompanied, on his journey, by the abbot of Westminster. The chief business of the council was to urge on, with more speed and success, the holy war: but many subjects of a domestic nature, for the better rule of the church (a), were discussed. And one day, while the pope and council were all present, our young abbot rises, and, the subject of debate being the mass and some circumstances thereof, begs leave to put a question; which was, he said, to be informed, "whether it was lawful for those abbots, whose churches were possessed of the body of some saint, to mention his name also, in conjunction with the other intercessors and advocates at the throne of God?" to which the pope, with some circumspection, answered, "that it was proper and agreeable to right, that the saint, his name, and his intercession and interest, should, in its proper place, be demanded, in the solemnity of the mass." On the solution of which question, many thanks were bestowed on abbot William, by all those who were possessed of the body of any dead saint; in particular by the abbots of St. Edmund's and of Durham.

The pope, when the council broke up, inquired who that ingenious abbot was, who had put the question; and, being told he was the abbot of St. Alban's in England, his holiness paid him many compliments for the weighty matter of the question and the prudence of his address: on which Roger Porretan advised William to resign his abbey, as being sure of receiving higher promotion from the Pope. "No," says William, "I learn wisdom from the experience of others: you did so, with regard to your abbey of Bath, but never got any thing at all after." The pope sent for William to a private audience, and William, with exceeding joy, obeyed: "What?" saith his holiness, "are not you the abbot of St. Alban's, which hath obtained from us such great privileges and benefactions? I cannot suffer a man of such eminence to depart, without a more especial compliment being paid to me;" and he refused to let William set forth from Rome without laying down at the feet of his holiness one hundred marks.

(a) The XIth canon enjoins, that, in every cathedral church, there shall be kept a grammar-master to teach, *gratis*, the clergy of that church, and other poor scholars; and, in the metropolitan church, beside the grammar-master, a divine, to teach the priests and other ecclesiastics the holy scriptures, and what relates to the cure of souls. The XVIth is against the effeminacy of some clerks, who spent part of the night in feasting or in prophane company, who slept till day-light, and who, in saying their matins, left out one half of the office.

Soon

Soon after his return, Alexander Appleton died: and Alexander de ^{William the} Langley, having recovered his health, was substituted in his place ^{22d abbot.} and made keeper of the abbey seal: he was a man of learning, and, being very expert in writing and in rhetoric, was capable of writing an elegant epistle to the pope, if need be. But, in a short time, his understanding failing him once more, and growing quite frantic, he was ordered back to the cloister, and well lowered with bleeding; but this was no remedy: and, assuming the airs of a great man, and in his extreme pride deriding the abbot, he was ordered to undergo a very severe flagellation, and to be sent in irons to the cell at Binham; where he was kept, in solitude and in fetters, to the day of his death, and interred with his chains on (a).

About this time, Thomas, bishop of Norwich, held an ordination in the church of St. Alban, at the great altar, on the 18th of December: this was done at the request of the abbot; and the bishop dedicated, or consecrated, as it is now called, a cemetary, or burial ground, for the church of St. Alban, in which many of the faithful had been buried during the interdict (b): he dedicated, also, a burial place for the church of St. Peter, and one for the cell of St. Mary de Pree, and an altar in the great church to the honour and worship of St. Leonard. All this was done about Christmas, 1216, and just after the death of king John.

(a) From the inhuman treatment of this unfortunate man, it appears pretty evident that *charity and brotherly love* were not the leading characteristics of the monkish religion.

(b) It is probable that these churches had not any *burial grounds*, or *consecrated places*, adjoining, before this time; for it was not until the days of Gregory II. early in the eighth century, that church-yards had a beginning; the dead being usually buried near the highways, as the Roman laws directed, and which practice was followed by the Christian congregations, or else in places, remote from the walls of the city or town, set apart for that purpose. But, in the time of the aforesaid Gregory, the priests and monks began to offer prayers for the deceased, and received gifts and offerings from the relations for the performance of those duties; on which they requested the pope, that the dead might be buried near the places of the monks abode, or in the very churches or monasteries: in order that the relations, coming to the worship and solemnities used in those places, might see their graves, remember them, and be moved to join in prayer and processions near their remains. Cuthbert, the arch-bishop of Canterbury, in 750, brought over this practice into England, and hence is dated the *origin of church-yards* in this island used as burial grounds: then it grew into a custom to bury in the church; so much, that it gave occasion to a canon, made somewhat before the time of Edward the Confessor, *de non sepeliendo in ecclesiis*: then it was practised in the nave, or body, only of the church, and afterwards under arches by the side of the walls. Lanfranc, arch-bishop of Canterbury, seems to have been the first who brought up the use of vaults in chancels and under the very altars, when he rebuilt the church of Canterbury, about the year 1075. *Ken. Par. Ant.* 592.

Soon

William the
22d abbot.

Soon after the accession of Henry III. the kingdom returned to a state of peace and quiet; and William then resolved to make a visitation of the cells. But he first ordained, that the abbot, whenever he travelled, should be attended by six knights or squires, to bear arms and be a body guard; and this was to be a standing rule whenever the abbot should visit Tinmouth, especially: he appointed, that they should be enfeofed with certain lands, out of the estates of the abbey, which had been held aforetime by certain squires: he directed that their expences, both in going and returning, should be born by the monastery, and that they should find their own horses; but, in case any horse died on the journey, his master should be indemnified to the full value, which was limited at ten shillings: it was also appointed, that each horse should be of decent appearance, and strong enough to carry the cloaths and garments of one monk behind his rider.

This may appear nothing more than having six servants, mounted and armed, to attend his lordship; but, in those days, these knights or squires were not attendants on any other occasion than to defend their lord in times of danger: they enjoyed their lands on this condition. And this was one of the chief marks, wherein great churchmen imitated the lords and barons of the realm: it carried with it a lordly consequence: and, being done at the expence of the body, reflected an honour on St. Alban and his church, much more than if they had been the private servants of the abbot. This military kind of attendance was practised by some of the bishops; and at length, in a very ostentatious degree, by Cardinal Wolsey, when, in the day of his disgrace, he marched from London to York with 160 horse: a piece of grandeur which induced his master, Henry VIII. to leave all future bishops without any means for such pomp and vanity.

The abbot set forward on his journey with his retinue of six knights, and, having taken Belvoir in his way, it was whispered that the prior, Roger de Wendover, committed waste and spoil of the goods, &c. in prodigal living: the abbot admonished him, the prior promised an alteration in that matter, and William proceeded on his journey. When he approached to Tinmouth, he was met by an immense crowd of people, headed by the prior accompanied by the gentry and principal persons of the country; insomuch that the company appeared like an army; many were suffered to come into the cell, to congratulate the abbot; and immense feasting followed: and, after a few days, in which the abbot received the homage of all such as owed duty to him, and regulated and directed all matters of any moment, he appointed a day of departure; at which time the prior, by name

Ralph

Ralph Gobion, fell at the abbot's feet and begged to be dismissed, crying out, in the words of Simeon, *Now, O Lord! thou lettest thy servant depart in peace*, &c. pleading, at the same time, his great age, many infirmities, and long services: to which the abbot answered only, raising him with his hands, "brother, support your burden a while longer, until "I can provide for the consequences of your resignation." This incident is of no moment, except as it shews the servile obedience which monks consented to and bound on themselves with an oath when they entered the order. And, if the obedience and compliance was so strict in the orders of regular clergy, where their functions and duties were but of little moment, let me ask, if that obedience ought not to be more strict in the seculars of these days, whose functions and duties are of a more serious nature and import?

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When the abbot came to Wymundham, the prior there, named Ralph de Whitby, was accused of wasting the goods, &c. and of enriching the cell of Whitby, whence he had come at the expence of this cell, and that he courted the favour of the earl of Arundel, in a manner that shewed he loved him more than God, or the abbot, or any one of the brethren: the abbot enjoined an amendment, and, with some admonition to prior Ralph, on the subject of excess and imprudent management, he departed. He then came to Hatfield, that is, Hatfield Peverel, in Essex: and here a very great enormity was alleged against the prior, to which the abbot promised that a speedy correction should be had; but refused to examine into the charge upon the spot. These are trifling events, and, as the charge in each place was much the same, it is probable that they proceeded from some of the monks, who bore a grudge against their priors; as they would have done, had they been gratified in all their wishes and inclinations: and it is likely that, by *waste and extravagance*, the monks meant, that the prior lived in plenty and comfort, and better than themselves.

The abbot returned home, and at the same instant arrives Ralph Gobion, the prior of Tinmouth, with a grievous complaint, what trouble and vexation he suffered from one Simon of Tinmouth, who demanded of him two monks corrodies, that is, maintenance for two monks; which Simon claimed by perpetual right, as the gift of some abbot of this church to the church of Tinmouth: Simon brought with him, for he came also, a huge fighting fellow, named William Pigun, as a champion: for, though it had been settled in a court of law in favour of Ralph, yet, by the judicial practice of the times, if the party, who lost his suit, chose to try it again, and by battle, the same was allowed; and this new trial was called,

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called, *disfrationare et per duellum dirimere*; as if it were the same thing to disprove by reason and to fight by deputies. However, it was necessary to answer this new appeal of Simon, and a champion was provided on the part of the prior. The contest ended in favour of Simon and his champion, and Ralph was bound to yield up the two corrodiess. But, on this unfortunate conflict, he refused to return any more to his cell at Tinmouth, and begging again his dismissal of the abbot, it was granted; and the abbot entertained him thence forward as his privy counsellor and table companion.

Soon after, the abbot recalled the prior of Wymundham, Ralph de Whitby, who was found quite unable to reform his own excesses, and less able to govern others: he came to St. Alban's, and, in a very decent manner, but in few words, returned thanks to the abbot and brethren for the many favours and honours conferred on him: he then went to the hermitage, assigned to his use by the cell of Whitby, which he found well provided and furnished; and here, having lived a few years longer in the strictest course of piety, he departed this life. In like manner was the prior of Hatfield recalled, named Alexander de Burg, a man of duplicity and very unsteady conduct; and, for his incorrigible excesses, he was stripped of all his former pre-eminence, and degraded to the cloister and common condition of the monks.

The priorate of Belvoir was conferred on Martyn de Borsham, steward (a) of the household of this abbey: and of Wymundham the priorate was conferred on William de Feschamp, a man who possessed less discretion than became his post; and, having fallen under the displeasure and reprehension of the Earl of Arundel, patron of that house, he was removed: his place was supplied by Thomas Mead, who had travelled into the Holy Land with the late earl of Arundel; and, the earl dying there, this Thomas had carefully brought back the dead body and given it honourable interment at this cell. In the room of Alexander, prior of Hatfield Peverel, another person was placed, named Richard de Brantfield, one of the necessary attendants of the abbot. And the place of Ralph Gobion, the prior of Tinmouth, was supplied by one Germanus, a man of northern extraction.

In the year 1219, a very long and expensive suit was finished, by the mediation of Richard, bishop of Salisbury, and the two abbots of Westminster and Waltham, who were appointed for this purpose by letters from the pope. The institution or endowment of vicarages

(a) Cellerarius.

was almost a new thing: and the abbey having the church of Luton, with all its tithes, lands, or glebes, and obventions and offerings, had instituted a vicar; but had not ascertained his rights, or clearly fixed the revenue necessary and proper for his maintenance; nor would the abbey allow any authority of the diocesan over the vicar. This controversy arose from the novelty of vicarages and the desire of keeping what they used to receive, as their own; being accustomed, probably, to send a priest thither occasionally. But now the said judges determined, that the vicar should be presented by the abbey to the bishop of Lincoln, to be approved by him and be instituted; that his maintenance should arise from some fixed property, namely, all the small tithes and obventions; that he should be furnished with a suitable mansion and glebe, and be entitled to all the obventions paid or given at the chapels belonging to the said church of Luton, and pay all parish-dues, and procurations, and synodals: and that the bishop of Lincoln and his successors should have full jurisdiction in the said church.

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They ordained also, that, in all other churches, which the abbey had been accustomed to appropriate to its own uses, but to which it had now begun to assign vicars, the rights and authority of the diocesan should be the same as they had been in the said churches, before this dispute had arisen. Which, in fact, was making no determination in the case of the other churches, and left the claims of the bishop and the usual rights of the abbey on the same footing as before. But these judges hoped and thought, that the determination they had made, in the case of Luton, would be a pattern for all future proceedings of the like kind: and indeed it became necessary to appoint by law (which began in the councils and constitutions of the arch-bishops, and received its final completion in Parliament) what should be the legal method of instituting and endowing a vicarage. This business began by petition from the patron to the bishop, was followed with the bishop's instrument and endowment, setting forth the articles of tithes, &c. for the vicar, and, that being presented to the king or his chancellor, a writ from him gave confirmation to the whole: and it was not, until all these steps had been taken, that the vicar could be deemed an ecclesiastic person, and become a member of the ecclesiastic body, with special rights and privileges.

With regard to the cells also, which had usually claimed an exemption from the bishop and acknowledged no superior, beside their abbot, it was ordained, by these judges, that, whenever any prior should be appointed by the abbot, the same should be presented to the bishop in whose diocese the cell was situate, and receive from his hands the

Q

spiritual

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spiritual administration, and be subject to all the functions of the parish-church, and payment of tenths and the like duties, in regard to which he was bound to acknowledge the bishop as his lawful diocesan. This was now ordained, but became a general observance afterwards, wherever a cell was united, like a manse and glebe, to a parish-church: but, if it had no connection with a parish-church, it owed no such obedience, and was subject purely to the abbey.

Abbot William, having put all things abroad and without his walls in good order, turned his thoughts to domestic improvements: and the first thing of this sort was to new-furnish the dormitory: here he caused all the bedsteads to be made of oak, which is called a very decent and elegant improvement, but leaves us in the dark as to the former state of this mansion of sleep. The two wings of the church, forming the transept, being much decayed both in the timber and the stone work, and letting in the rain and bad weather, he caused to be repaired with good oak well united and fastened together, and the walls to be strengthened with battlements and turrets (a) at the corners: the tower also, which threatened ruin, and had, from its form, a very unseemly appearance, he caused to be raised higher and to be well constructed of the best materials; and all these works to be covered with lead.

These great repairs were effected, under the abbot's direction, by the diligence and skill of Richard de Thydenhanger, who was treasurer to the abbey; after whose death, which was much lamented, the abbot, by the persuasion of Matthew Cambridge, keeper of the seal, and of the abbot's privy council, was induced to make farther additions to the tower; and he added those rectilinear projections, like pilasters, on each side of the tower, which serve to vary the flat surface: these were built from the foundation up to the battlements, and were said to give wonderful strength to the walls and beauty to its appearance. The western front also, which had been a tedious job, sometimes advancing and sometimes decaying and falling, the abbot determined to undertake: he did so; and in a short time completed it in its present form; finishing the same with its roof and arches, and exquisite glass windows, and with a good covering of lead, adjoining to the old roof. All the decayed or ruinous parts of the walls he caused to be repaired, many of the windows in the long wall he completed with stone uprights and glass, and he made the two great windows of

(a) Still in good condition.

the wings (a) to be suitable, in fashion, and form, and lighting, to the rest about the church; in such a manner, saith my author, that, by the advantage of this new light, the church seemed, as it were, rebuilt.

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Walter de Colchester, now sacrist, and an excellent painter and sculptor, constructed a pulpit (b) in the middle of the church, with a great cross suspended in it, with figures of Mary, and John, and other suitable carvings. And William removed the shrine of St. Amphibalus, in which were contained the remains of him and his companions, from the place where the same had stood, namely, close along by the side of the great altar, on the north and near St. Alban's shrine, to a place in the middle of the church, inclosed with an iron grating, where had been fixed a decent altar with a painting and other suitable ornaments. This altar he caused to be dedicated anew to the *Holy Cross*; for, that had been its former title, and to Amphibalus and his companions, whose remains rested in this shrine.

There is nothing that so much shews the ignorance of the Romish church in these ages as the use of altars, which have no necessary place in pure Christian worship. If the church adopted them from the Jewish worship, why did they not copy the whole ceremony of their service, and slay and burn thereon certain parts of the victim? If they took the practice from Heathen worship, they seem to imitate the Heathen throughout, making mediators and intercessors of every pious departed man, just as the Heathen made divers deities or local Gods; and in both cases invoking their aid and interest in Heaven: whereas, it is not more repugnant to reason to make other divinities than it is to scripture to make other mediators and intercessors. If they say, the devout worshipper at the altar offers up his praises to God, and makes a sacrifice of his own sins and frailties, that is true; but an *altar* is not necessary for this proper duty and service. The truth is, that, when the Romish church took up the doctrine of sacrifices, and adopted into their worship an imitation and perpetual rehearsal of the sacrifice of Christ, they made an altar a necessary part of such representation: and, indeed, an altar is the only sensible part of such sacrifice, or service, the rest being quite imaginary and not bearing the least resemblance to the solemnity of a sacrifice; though, at the same time, they wish to communicate spiritual health and

(a) That in the south wing was blown into the church, in 1703, in the famous high wind.

(b) Marks of this are seen, at this day, on one of the piers on the north side just above Cuthbert's screen; the work being cut away to admit a stair-case.

William the 2^d abbot. strength, and derive all Christian aid from using it. But to return to William, and his altars, and ornaments, and relics.

The solemnity of dedicating the altar to St. Amphibalus, and likewise of consecrating the great cross suspended in the pulpit above-mentioned, with the images of Mary and John, was performed by the bishop of Ardfert in Ireland, who stopped on his journey and reposed here for some considerable time. The two gilt shrines, in which had been deposited the remains of Amphibalus and his companions before Warren moved them to more sumptuous shrines, he sent to the church at Redburn, in honour and reverence to that place, where these martyrs had undergone so glorious a trial; and he appointed that a perpetual guard should be kept, day and night, over these shrines, by one monk, to be relieved by another. 'And,' says my author, 'it is plain that God approved this transaction, by the many miracles which were performed at this place:' but he mentions not any of the particulars.

Among the many laudable deeds of this abbot, it is recorded, as one, that he furnished the church with a most inestimable relic; which was the rib of Wulstan, formerly bishop of Worcester, and a strenuous defender of the church, in the time of William the Conqueror. The present bishop, named Sylvester, intended to make a solemn translation, or, in modern phrase, to remove the body of the deceased Wulstan to a more splendid tomb which he had provided for him: to this solemnity Sylvester invited our abbot with sundry others of high rank. But how William obtained this rib is not said: it could scarcely be by gift; for, in that case, every person would expect the like boon, or compliment: and, had that been done, there could not have been one bone left for the second interment. However, this rib was reckoned a great acquisition; and the abbot caused an altar to be constructed in honour of Wulstan, near the altar of St. Oswin, toward the east, and the rib, inclosed in some work of gold, to be deposited on the same.

He caused many additional ornaments to be made about the great altar; and on the beam, which supports the rood loft, he caused some carvings to be made, representing the history of St. Alban and his martyrdom: 'a very exquisite work,' saith *M. Paris*, 'and performed by that incomparable carver, Walter de Colchester.' And, in farther honour of the martyr, he ordered six large wax candles to be lighted in every festival, or service, wherein the monks attended in copes; the expence of which was directed to be defrayed by one mark, to be paid by the priory of Binham, in lieu of a certain quantity of herrings thence sent every year to the abbey.

Walter de Ramsey also provided, at his expence, two large wax lights, to burn during the service sung to the honour of the Virgin Mary, in addition to four others which had usually been provided and lighted for her before; two of which, those standing toward the east, had been provided as the gift of Adam, the former steward: and afterward, a lady, named Alicia, the wife of Sir Henry Cock, left as a legacy to that altar one garment, called a *chasuble*, for the use of the officiating priest, of scarlet cloth adorned with a rich gold fringe. William ordained that a constant watch, or guard, of one monk at a time, should be placed over this altar to the Virgin: it stood in the south wing, and the watch took his station near the altar of St. Blaze, in some of the recesses of the wall in the gallery, (*triforium*,) or in a small closet now remaining, with an iron grate in front, which had been built in imitation of the little chamber in the wall, as mentioned in scripture, 2d Kings IV. 10; and from which, being directly opposite the Virgin's altar, he might have a constant view of the altar and its contents, aided at night by wax lights burning thereon. And, whereas it was the custom, in all the great churches, to sing mass, that is, to perform a service in honour of the Virgin, every day; and in this church but once a week, viz. on the Sunday; he appointed this to be done here also every day, and to be performed by a company of six monks at a time, to be succeeded by six more; the names and order being written and hung up, for the purpose of giving public notice: and this service was to be performed by singing, to musical notes, the composition made for the office.

It is here proper to remark, that great part of the service consisted in singing; and, whenever any prayer intervened, the priest stopped and said, *Let us pray*; which, being copied from the mass-book into our liturgy, sounds oddly, till we understand that it means a transition from singing.

William caused a very loud founding bell to be cast, and, when consecrated by the said bishop of Ardfert, to be hung up; this was to be founded three times every day, to call the six priests and the watch monks to their duty, and to summon all others of the faithful, who were devoted to the Virgin, and wished to administer to her honour and procure prosperity to the church or themselves: He farther caused a very curious image of Mary to be carved by Walter de Colchester, and to be consecrated by the said bishop; this curious *Mariola*, as it was called, was to be placed over the altar where mass was to be sung every day to her honour; and, just before her, was placed a wax light bound round and adorned with flowers,

William the 2^d abbot. flowers, to be lighted up, day and night, in the principal feasts and processions made in commemoration of her. He caused also the ceiling of the south wing, wherein stood the Virgin's altar, to be covered with boarding somewhat wrought and carved, and the walls of that wing to be cleaned and whitened; and, as he had placed the old and mean image of Mary in another place, so he thought proper to remove a great beam, which was over the great altar, to the south wing, and set it up near the noble Mary. This was calculated to do honour to the Virgin and to render ornament to the church; for, there was carved on it a series, or row, of twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles, and in the middle was figured *God the Father* (a), with the synagogue and the church (b). The old cross, and the former Mary, he placed in the north wing, to the edification of the laity and all beholders.

Cuthbert's chapel had been built about 130 years, having been erected by abbot Richard; but it was, at this time, so decayed and ruinous, that William thought it necessary to rebuild it: he therefore constructed it anew of hewn stone, and furnished it with glass windows and all things suitable; and it was raised high enough to admit of a chamber over it, which being capable of holding twelve beds, supplied the want of room in the dormitory: for, ever since John had increased the number to one hundred, it was found that the dormitory could not contain them. In this chapel he constructed an altar (c), and caused the said bishop to consecrate the same and the chapel, dedicating the latter to St. Cuthbert, and John the Baptist, and St. Agnes, a martyred virgin. The said bishop, also, proclaimed an indulgence of twenty days, to every person who would pay his worship at the said altar, on the fast of either saint or the anniversary of the Dedication.

It is to be remarked, that this bishop exercised his function in many parts of this diocese, and particularly in dedications, and failed not to grant indulgences to the faithful, in a manner suitable to his office and dignity. He was employed also, at the request of our abbot, to consecrate many churches and chapels in this diocese; and particularly, the church at Redburn, to the worship of Amphibalus and his companions. This was done with great solemnity, the abbot appearing dressed in his full pontifical habit, and the bishop granting to Gilbert Sisseverne, the prior of Redburn, an indulgence of forty days.

(a) Majestas.

(b) This curious sculpture hath long ago been destroyed.

(c) Its place and situation may still be discerned.

An *indulgence* sounds, in our ears, as if it signified a leave of full gratification, and permission to transgress; but it is a Latin word, and signifies an indulgence to the wishes of the penitent to be released from the pains of hell: these indulgences were granted to the living as well as to the dead, and they proceeded upon this fundamental doctrine, that mankind was already under a state of condemnation, burthened with original sin and guilt, and obnoxious to pains and torments both here and hereafter; and therefore any remission that could be obtained was a desirable object. Now the promise of such remission and the pretensions of possessing this power were a source of great emolument and profit; but by indulgence was meant, a mitigation or release from the pains and penalties of Hell, the power of which the church of Rome had claimed as her right. This impious and absurd doctrine was made up of St. Austin's notion of original sin, and the Pagan notions of the future state; both of which are inconsistent with the true and genuine doctrines of Christ and his apostles: but as the Papal Christians took many parts of their *worship* from that of the Pagans, so did they likewise many of their *doctrines* of the future state: and upon those Pagan notions hath Rome built her doctrines of purgatory (a), invocation of saints, and of divers mediators, &c.

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As a farther improvement to the spiritual matters, he obtained a holy cross and other valuable relics: this cross had been brought by one Lawrence from the Holy Land, where he had dwelt as a monk, in the monastery of Jehosaphat, near to Jerusalem; and he brought also authentic testimonies, from several persons of rank there, in proof of the sanctity of this cross and of its antiquity; for, he pretended it was the real cross upon which Christ had suffered, above 1200 years before. This cross Lawrence deposited, with the proofs and other valuables, in this abbey; promising, that if he failed in his

(a) These purgatorial sufferings, according to the popular creed of Pagan Greece and Rome, are beautifully described by Virgil in his *Æneid*, Lib. VI. v. 735, et sequen.

Quin, et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,

Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes

Corporeæ excedunt pestes: penitusque necesse est

Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.

Ergo exercentur poenis, veterumque malorum

Supplicia expendunt. Aliæ panduntur inanes

Suspensæ ad ventos: aliis sub gurgite vasto

Infectum eluitur scelus; aut exuritur igni.

Quisque suos patimur Manes: exinde per amplum

Mittimur Elysium, &c. &c.

business.

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business, and which was to procure the manor and church of Brightwell, he would leave this invaluable cross as a testimony of his gratitude to this abbey for the *Vaticum*, &c. which they would afford him on his return: the monk was disappointed and did return; leaving this present. A modern eye will easily discern, in this transaction, a trick and fraud; but must allow there was skill and management on both sides.

Together with this cross Lawrence had brought a human arm, pretending and proving, that it was an arm of St. Jerom, who lived and died near Bethlem, in the fifth century; but Jerom was a sacred name in the Romish church, and better known than any other of the fathers: and this arm our abbot caused to be inclosed in some costly work of gold, set with jewels and stones of value, and it was borne in the processions, on all great festivals: there were other relics likewise, being part of Jerom's clothing and his staff. He received also two fingers of St. Margaret brought from the Holy Land by a traveller (a). William procured also another cross, which had long been concealed at London, had passed from father to son, without any creature of the family declaring its value, (and that, too, in times when such relics were inestimable) and was now pretended to have been the actual cross used at the torture and death of Alban: though he was always said to have been beheaded. The abbot now composed a special service in praise of Alban, to be sung every day, and the summons to this solemnity was given and known by the ringing of two bells at once. It began with praying the saint to recommend them to God, &c. and ended with a chorus, addressed to Alban, of *Praise, honour, glory, be to thee for ever*. He composed also a service in praise of all these relics and their owners, naming them singly, but always beginning with the cross: and this was sung with great solemnity.

And here we cannot contemplate the nature of these services without perceiving, that they were calculated to astonish and surprize an ignorant audience, but not to instruct or reform, being always in a language unknown to the common people, and to many of the monks, and conveying no moral precept. The worship, in every part, was addressed to the eyes and ears of the beholders, but not to the heart: and they became believers from admiration and wonder, and were charmed, or seduced, into obedience, not gained by arguments of truth.

(a) *M. Paris*, ad ann. 1223.

William purchased a house in London, for the safe and honourable ^{William the} abode of himself and successors, or of any of his monks who might ^{22d abbot.} have business in London: it was like a palace for size, and there belonged to it a chapel, a good kitchen, a garden, an orchard, a well, a stable, and divers grand apartments, beside a court; and, by building other dwellings round the court and forward to the street, he raised a good rent, and appointed a person to have the inspection and care of the whole: this house cost one hundred marks, and the improvements fifty more. He purchased also, for fifty marks, a house at Yarmouth to lay up in store, at the proper season, salted fish and especially herrings; to the unspeakable benefit and comfort of this abbey.

But, beside all these improvements and conveniences abroad, he studied the same with no less attention at home: and, for this purpose, he added several cloisters, or covered ways, about the monastery, for the better communication between one place and another: he made one cloister from the chapter-house to St. Cuthbert's chapel (that is, along the west and out side of the present south wing,) to keep dry all passengers; because this way was more frequented than formerly, by reason of the chamber made over that chapel: he built another with three sides, viz. from the door of the kitchen to the entrance of the monks' cloister, and then to the door of the strangers parlour, and the third side was from the monks' cloister to the way leading to the satory (a); and these sides were fenced with grating and lattice-work, in order to prevent any person from going into the middle plot, which contained a very nice little shrubbery: the other cloister was constructed round a square court, and had four sides, and they led to the infirmary; the care of this cloister was given to the master of the infirmary. They were all built of sound oak timber, and covered with shingles of the same.

This abbot made great addition to the library by the acquisition of many books; among which was one, of a very handsome appearance, called the Scholastic History, procured, as mentioned before, by the diligence and expence of Raymond the prior. He gave to the church of St. Amphibalus, at Redburn, a very noble psalter bound and enriched in a costly manner; together with a very handsome ordinal, which was a sort of rubric, or directory, necessary to instruct the priests and monks in the form and manner of the services, and generally deposited in some conspicuous part of the church, for the use of all who wanted information: a large book of this sort lay in the abbey-church.

(a) An office where the monks cloaths, &c. were repaired.

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He gave also to the church at Wymundham another psalter of greater value and adorned with exquisite devices. He directed that at the end of the Lord's prayer, which was repeated every hour and by every person in private, they should add these short devout ejaculations, *Κύριε, ἐλέησον, Lord, have mercy upon us*, but thrice: whereas, before, persons used them much oftener. He directed, farther, that the shoes and short boots of the monks should no longer be made of the most ordinary leather, but of such as should have been tanned and properly prepared by the art of the currier.

This monk was able to keep all the estates of the church during the late war, though he was grievously robbed at different times, as, in one single year, to the loss of one thousand marks, by that most tyrannical of the sons of men, king John. Their estate at Berkhamstead was pillaged of money and goods to the value of 100l. There was a present, by extortion, made to Lewis, the Dauphin, while at Dover, of 100l.; and another present to Sayer, earl of Winton, his kinsman, and the barons when in arms at London, of 50 marks: the estate at Rickmersworth and that at Watford were pillaged; the first of 60 marks, and the latter of 100l. and a good palfrey worth 10 marks. The treasurer (a), or collector of the abbey's revenues, was likewise a great sufferer; and the other officers also sustained losses; so that, in the whole, it was computed that the monastery and its servants did not lose less than 2,500l. In short, all their estates in this country were robbed; but none were confiscated or torn from them. And yet, notwithstanding these losses, such was the good management of William, that, exclusive of building, and repairs, and ornaments for the church, wherein he expended large sums, he purchased and procured much land, and increased the yearly rents and income of the abbey. And, if any person desires to know the particulars, my author refers us to the oak-cabinet which lies in the great chest that holds their papers, and in that are contained all their muniments, or deeds, and the several titles of them written on the inside of the lid.

(a) When king John came to Redburn, the treasurer lost 3 good horses and 2 asses, and a good new cart shod with iron; worth in all 50s.; beside other losses, to the amount of 60s. more: and, when Falco came to Langley and set fire to the town, there were three houses burnt down and thirty-five hogs destroyed, worth in value at least 10l.: He lost also, by the same rapacious plunderer, five good horses, worth 6l. and more; and a good plow, worth 10s.: and, when the marshal of the French troops came, he was robbed of 24 horses, and, in oxen, hogs, and fowls, to the value of 40 marks. And at Winslow he lost seven horses, and, in cows, sheep, geese, eggs, and poultry, to the value of 10 marks. So that the whole losses of this officer came to at least 58l.

William

William performed a very kind act towards a vicar in the north of England, which was never mentioned without great commendation and praise. This vicar, by name Hugo, and an Italian, had got possession of the living of Hertburn, in Durham, by intrusion and authority from Rome, without any consent or leave of its rightful patron, the abbey of St. Alban. At length comes this Hugo, after a long journey, to the abbot, and makes a free and voluntary confession of his usurpation, and, having had enjoyment thereof for many years, begs leave to thank him and to make resignation of the same. The abbot answered, "I accept your resignation, Hugo, and indeed I have never found such faith in any Transalpine." Hugo now retired with an easy conscience. In half an hour the abbot called him and said, "Now, Hugo, I will give you the living out of charity, and in a *legal* way; that you may *always* enjoy peace of mind, and have a *perpetual* ease of conscience."

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22d abbot.

It had been an unsettled point, for some years, what canonical obedience was due from priors of cells, who had also parish-churches. For, as priors, they were subject intirely to their abbot; and therefore they wished to withdraw themselves totally from every other jurisdiction. But this was settled, by a composition between the bishop of Norwich, and the priors of Binham and Wymundham who had hitherto acknowledged no authority over them or their churches, beside that of the abbot, without considering that the office and duty of rector was antecedent to that of prior. And now it was decreed, by a commission from the pope to the dean of London, the archdeacon of Middlesex, and the master, or dean of the arches, as follows: that the said priors should attend the visitations of the bishop and his successors, and take their seats with the other priors, and, without changing their travelling dress, may appear in great coats and boots (a), and shall do and perform all canonical obedience at the bishop's synodical meetings: that vicarages shall be created in every parish where there is a priory (b) in this diocese: that the vicars shall be presented to the bishop and admitted: and that the rights of the abbey should remain safe and entire, with a power over the monks and of placing or displacing the priors. Thus were the two jurisdictions made distinct and separate, the two cures placed in different hands, and the great tithes left with the abbey. This composition was decreed in the year 1228 (c).

(a) In Cappis et Calcaribus. *M. Paris.*

(b) Which were Binham, Wymundham, Snetsham, Hapsbury, and Derfingham.

(c) This beneficial rule extended no farther than through the diocese of Norwich; for, in 1319, Walter, bishop of Coventry inquired, in his visitation, by what title religious men held parish-churches. *Mon. I. 117.*

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Abbey-lands owed a military service to the crown, as well as lay-baronies and the lands of laymen; and the duty required of this abbey was to find the king six soldiers: the six knights, or horsemen, which abbot William had appointed, were for his own use and state, and distinct from the six foot soldiers, incumbent on the abbey's estates to find, maintain, and support, in defence of the realm. And it was now as formerly (when the feudal duty was extended over all lands by William the Conqueror), that six and sometimes five hides (a) were bound to find one man jointly. Oxhaie containing two hides, and Crokefly containing six and a half, found one man; Gorham containing four hides, and Rongton two hides, found one man; Childwic containing two hides and a half, and Merdon two and a half, and Sisseverne and Norton two hides and one yard-land, found one man; Burston being one hide, and Garston half a hide, and Sarret one yard-land, they were united with other estates to find a man; and other lands of obscure names found two more. But, among the names of the tenants of these lands, we find such as are, at the present day, of note in this country, to wit, *Perrot, Baldwin, Wake*.

In the time of this abbot a dreadful alarm happened from a storm of thunder and lightning. The latter fell on the top of the church, and, having melted the lead, set fire to the timber underneath; but, by good providence, there stood near the spot a tub placed there to catch the water that leaked through the roof, and this tub, happening to be full at the time, afforded means to extinguish the flames. This event is in itself so inconsiderable, that I should not have inserted it, had it not been with a view to confirm the present philosophy of an electric fluid in thunder and lightning: for, it is most probable that this inflammable fluid had penetrated through the cracks, and thereby formed a train for the fire; and the lead was melted after the fire began or in the instant of the explosion. However, the tub deserved a day of thanksgiving with a procession, but had it not.

This good abbot, whose faults or neglects are not to be mentioned, and are indeed nothing in comparison with his benefits and laudable deeds, died on St. Matthew's day, 1235; after he had thus ruled his church, in prosperity and honour, 20 years and three months. But he was not buried until the calends of March following, and then his obsequies were performed, with all possible honours, by the abbot of Waltham. Directly on the death, three chosen brethren were

(a) A hide was supposed to be as much as would employ a team.

dispatched

dispatched to the king to obtain leave to proceed to a new election, and to be indulged with the quiet possession of their abbey during the vacancy; granting the king the escheats and forfeitures, and the collating to the churches: and, on presenting the king three hundred marks, he granted their requests. But, soon after, the church of St. Julian, or Stephen, became vacant, and the king collated to it one of the brethren, named Nicolas. The king's escheator, a stout knight who lived at Hatfield and was lord thereof, came with a great posse of rustics and dependents, with intent to take possession of the abbey and all its lands, in the name of the king; but, on being shewn the king's writ for enabling the monks to hold the same in their own hands, his lofty looks began to sink, and he returned with a grievous disappointment.

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One reason, among others, for delaying the burial of the late abbot, was, to do the greater honour to the man whom they had dearly loved; and to allow, beside, a due preparation for the election, and the appearing of the priors and others at a distance. But, in this intent of honouring their abbot, it is necessary to shew what kind of embalming they used towards such a person: the custom then had been, and was now practised on the body of William, to wash and shave the deceased, and to remove the corpse into the infirmary; thither were admitted only a few of the more discreet, and but one secular, who, as servant to the sacrist, was to perform the anatomic part, which consisted in making a long incision from the throat downwards, and extracting the entrails; these were received into a broad vessel and sprinkled with salt, and the next day deposited in the church-yard(a), near the altar of St. Stephen, with great solemnity and the devotion of the fingers. The body, being well washed and impregnated with vinegar, and sprinkled plentifully with salt, was sewed up: and, with no other preparation, it was kept until the burial, without being offensive.

After three days, in which the juices and moisture had quitted it, the body was cloathed; that is, dressed in the pontifical habits, with a mitre on the head, gloves and a ring on the hands, under the right arm his usual staff, the hands placed across, and sandals put on the feet: during this formality, there was a service sung, at the door of the infirmary, containing certain collects, and the seven penitential psalms and other pieces formerly used at the death of every brother. The great bell then tolling, the body was borne into the church, being

(a) At length a small tomb of marble was erected on this spot.

placed

William the 22d abbot. placed on one of the covers, or lids, of some shrine, and bound down; the convent following in procession, all the while, and singing psalms: when the body was set down in the choir, the abbot's seal was brought forth, and, being laid on one side of the stone steps leading to the great altar, was broken at one stroke of a huge hammer; so that (to the regret of all posterity, says *M. Paris*) the image (a) and the letters were utterly defaced and destroyed. Then began a solemn service of psalmody, which continued, with great exertions and earnestness, day and night; with this intermission only, that every day a solemn mass was said at the great altar, as was practised always for any deceased brother: at the first mass the whole convent appeared in white (b), and those who constituted the choir, or singing part, were apparelled in copes; and wax-lights in great numbers were burning.

Thus did they perform the exequies, or last offices, due to their departed abbot; and, admission being given to all persons into the choir, or presbytery, they had leave to behold and mourn over their lost friend. The body remained with as vivid a countenance as when alive; and most awful lamentations were made, not only by the monks, but by the laymen who resorted to the sight. These were true and genuine sorrows; for, no man was more beloved. At his return from a journey, he was received with a salutation of profound reverence by all the monks: and the poor he received at the gate with donations and liberalities. He was used to be present at transacting all business in the chapter-house, (which was considered as a kind of council-chamber) and to attend all the services in the church, even those for private offices to any particular saint, and that also which was solemnized at midnight (c): in all which, by his ready and chearful manner of singing, he excited others to a proper and patient discharge of their duty in the same. Though he attended the midnight service, yet he never failed to assist at the matins, which was a service of twelve lessons to be read at three o'clock in the summer, and six in the winter; in which duty he always read the chapter that came to his turn and sang the responsory (d). At singing the *Te Deum* he was always the first to begin and lead the band, and, though the singers took their turns to rise and sing, the abbot was always standing, and thus animating the whole choir by his example. At the

(a) A saltire *Or*, on a field *Sable*.

(b) *In Albis*; that is, probably, in *Surplices*.

(c) Called *Completorium*, from finishing the day.

(d) Short sentences of ejaculation following each chapter.

mass sung in honour of the Holy Virgin he was ever present in the midst of the choir, habited in his mitre: and, on the principal feasts, he always celebrated the mass at the great altar. At the double feasts, that is, when two festivals came together, he attended all the time in his mitre; on common days, he appeared standing in his stall, guiding the choir and singing with great spirit; and, whenever the convent appeared either in white or in copes, (which was on particular days,) he failed not to sing the responses in the mass, at the nod of the chantor. It was the custom to bring the sick and infirm into the midst of the choir, there to receive extreme unction; and this the abbot was always attending in his seat, which was near the middle of the choir. He never received the professions of noviciates at any other place than at the great altar, which was a just and proper rule, used here ever since the foundation of the monastery.

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He, on all occasions, carried himself to the potentates and prelates of the realm with most profound respect and reverence, and with a mien that gained their esteem and love. His skill and ability in temporal matters I have before shewn, together with his diligence in the care of the monastic body and the advancement of their revenues and interests. The grief for this loss was truly sincere; and, beside a mass celebrated every day for the peace of his soul, the convent thought they could not do him the last honours in a proper manner, unless they requested a man of singular holiness, and of full affection toward the deceased, to bury him. For which purpose they requested Henry, the abbot of Waltham, to perform this last office: and William, in the midst of universal sorrow and tears, was deposited in the center of the chapter-house, adorned in all his pontifical habits.

It had been customary, at the death of every abbot, to appoint an anniversary to his memory, and to grant a corrody, or daily maintenance, to one monk then newly admitted, for the purpose of celebrating mass and praying daily for his soul. This was now providing and settling, when Richard, a monk, and keeper of the church and hospital of St. Mary de Prez, came forward and demanded, for the use of the leprous women under his care, seven corrodies: for, he alleged that, 'by the tenor of the charter which founded and endowed this hospital of St. Mary, at least one new corrody should be granted at the death of every abbot, until the number amounted to thirteen (which was the number of women confined); and that not one had been granted ever since the foundation.' This claim

William the 22d abbot. claim was considered and allowed, and it made no small addition to the table of these wretched objects.

And here, because we are come to the period, in which the church and the monasteries had arrived at their highest degree of power and influence, in consequence of their having attained the summit of their wealth and affluence, we will pause a while, and take a view of the domestic œconomy of this abbey, and of the service and devotion which employed them in the church : and then shew in what relation they stood to the king, to the pope, to the bishops, and to other abbeys.

It is to be remembered that the body consisted at this time, and had consisted, from the time of William's predecessor, abbot John, of 100 monks. These were all in the same degree of rank and precedence, except what arose from the time of admission, and except that the rulers and officers (a) of the house bore some title and pre-eminence : as, next to the abbot, the *prior* ; then the *house-steward*, or *cellerarius* ; the *sacrist*, who had the care of the vestments, and provided all necessaries for the church ; and the *infirmarius*, who had the care of the sick : there were other inferior officers who had certain occasional duties put upon them, but these duties were not constant and regular.

The abbot lived in good apartments, alone, except that he had his *Bajuli* (b), or intimate and confidential friends (who served him in the capacity of privy counsellors, and were generally brought with him or chosen out of the Body) ; but he always dined in the great hall, or refectory, sitting alone at a table placed at the top of the room (c) ; the prior and sacrist were seated at the head of a long table on the right hand of the abbot, and the steward and infirmarius took their places at the head of another long table on his left hand ; which two tables accommodated all the brethren. It appears not whether they were waited on by any brethren of an inferior degree, or by the noviciates, or by ordinary lay-retainers : and probably by neither ; as their food was slender, consisting of eggs boiled hard, dried or salted fish, or roasted fowl, with some farinaceous compound : this being placed, with bread and beer, required no such change or attendants as the fancied wants of modern

(a) Obedientiarii.

(b) We may here discern the *affected humility* of the monks in their use of this word, by which the *favourites* and *counsellors* of the abbot were fond of being distinguished, although it is known to signify, in its usual acceptation, the *meanest* and *most servile attendant*.

(c) This table was called *Dais*, from *Δαίς*, Epulum.

days have invented and found needful. A profound silence was ever observed at meals, as also in the church, in the dormitory, and in the cloister; and therefore it was a gratification to be allowed to converse in the parlour, when abbot Warren gave that liberty.

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It appears not that they had any separate rooms, to which they might retire to read or pursue any particular amusement or employment: and, indeed, so much was their attendance required in the choir that little time could be spared for any other business. We find also no school to have been kept up in this abbey, for the instruction of youth, or even for training the young monks, until the time of John Wheathampstead. The copying-room employed only two or three, and those seldom were monks: and so void of instruction were these men, after they had professed and taken the vows, that many of them did not understand the language which they sang; and it was generally considered as a proper qualification for ordaining a deacon or priest, (of which holy order here were always ten or twelve, employed in saying mass, and reading the prayers, and to succeed to the churches in the gift of the abbey,) if the person could read Latin with propriety, and be expert and ready at finding and observing the office and service for the day. Though the service was frequent, yet it was so infinite and manifold, beyond the duties of our present churches, that they seem ever to have had such a regulator thereof as is now called a *Dean*; and this office was either supplied by one of that name, or by the priest in waiting. And the service consisted so much in singing, and returned so often in the twenty-four hours, that the ordinary monks were no better than choristers and singing men; and the sanctity of their character must have arisen from the place and duty performed, rather than from any attainments in moral holiness and improvements in solid virtue.

The care that lay on the abbot was no small matter, to govern this family, which, with its necessary retainers and servants, could not be fewer than 130; beside the three hospitals near the abbey, containing about 50 persons, and the distant cells, which were eight in number (a), and maintained at least 100 more. Not to mention the frequent molestation, and injury, and violent assaults, committed by the potent laymen against the persons or the lands and property of

(a) These were *Merkgate-street* and *Hertford*, both in this county (Herts); *Hatfield-Peverel*, in Essex; *Binham* and *Wyndham*, in Norfolk; *Belvoir*, in Leicestershire; *Tinmouth*, in Northumberland; and *Wallingford*, in Berkshire. *Beaulieu*, in Bedfordshire, was not long under the government of this abbey, as will appear in the next chapter.

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the abbey: for, the abbot was defeated in every contest, unless he could make a friend of the king or his chief justiciary. Such was the administration of justice in those days.

With regard to the service of the church, I have shewn how much of the monks' time was employed in it: insomuch, that the authors of so long and tedious a service seem to have thought, that monks were arrived at such a pitch of heavenly perfection as to be no longer liable to the earthly infirmities of hunger, and thirst, and bodily fatigue; without considering, that the mind will be unable to raise itself to contemplation or devotion whenever the body is ill at ease. But such was the idea then prevailing, that the whole duty of man was to mortify and purge out the old leaven, without attending to the methods of being instructed in new virtues and advanced to higher attainments of holiness. This will appear also in the nature of the service, and in the practice of this and most other churches. It is well known that there was no uniformity of worship, and no general book of common prayer, prior to the Reformation; but it had been the usage with all bishops, and abbots, and such as presided over a great conventual body, to form and to use whatever liturgy they pleased: agreeing only in this, that the canon of the mass, as being of the essence of Christian worship, was universally used in the same manner. And whatever was used in the cathedral church was adopted through the diocese; and in all the parish-churches the like liturgy was observed as far as one person could perform it, and that was in general on the Sundays only: and the practice of the abbey-church was observed by all the churches belonging to it, if the mother-church and its branches had ever obtained an exemption. But William the Conqueror had brought into England, and placed in the see of Salisbury, one Osmond, a man of great learning, and bred up in Normandy; and he composed a liturgy, for the use of his own cathedral, which came into general use, and continued in great esteem until the Reformation. The service directed by this ordinal, or missal, was in this form and manner. Every Sunday, the first business of the priest was to prepare the holy water, which was received in a vessel at the entrance into the choir; and, after repeating some short prayers to obtain a blessing, or virtue of salubrity, on the water, the priest cast into it a quantity of salt, praying for farther and more effectual preservation to reside in the same. The prayers then began with sentences of scripture, alluding to the Advent, the Nativity, the Epiphany, and the other great feasts: prayers followed, with two or three collects; and portions of Scripture, called the Epistle and Gospel. And this special service

service for each Sunday was much lengthened by singing certain psalms or hymns, and by reading four or five chapters of the Word of God. But this singing and reading was arbitrary, and appointed at the will of the bishop or abbot, and made no part of the direction in the Rubric. There were also saints days without number, and for every one there was provided a special office, in Osmond's Missal: and this office and the stated service of the day were both performed, and it was called a double festival, and had sometimes nine lessons and generally six to be read. The mass, or giving the Lord's Supper, was performed almost every day, and was a very solemn service: though it was attended with so many gesticulations and motions of the priest, as, with persons who did not understand it, would be thought theatrical. Yet this was the only service, wherein the Apostles Creed is professed or any open confession made of sin and imperfection.

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In this papal worship we may behold a great resemblance to that of pagan Rome: both had altars and sacrifices; and, in the former, holy and pious men took the place of heroes and legislators: both were performed in the Latin tongue; though the papal worship was planted in countries where the Latin was a dead language, utterly unknown to the worshipper, and often even to the performer. Hence it is plain, that instruction was not the aim of the bishops and rulers of the papal church: and, though the office of matrimony was always performed, in the *betrotting* part, in the English tongue, yet they taught not the way of salvation in the same manner. We may well imagine how tiresome and disgusting it was, to such as did not understand the language, either to perform the service or to hear it: but, to those who did understand it, how little could it instruct and edify! and how little would it communicate of true comfort and satisfaction, when the senses only were entertained and charmed, and the mind left void of help! It was a kind of service that seemed to have arisen, or to have been well calculated, for more perfect beings; as resembling that heavenly harmony which shall occupy the blessed; but it was wholly unfit for edification, or to communicate the consolations of religion to frail ignorant mortals. And, though the resemblance of it in great churches is now exceeding proper and suitable to the elevated dignity of the place, yet the reformers wisely excluded it from parish-churches, where instruction and the first seeds of religion were to be sown: these reformers provided for the wants of the people, not for the grandeur of a few. Though many of the collects, epistles, and gospels, are copied in our liturgy from the ancient service; yet the latter had no prayer, or petition, so well adapted,

William the 2^d abbot. adapted, so properly addressed, so interesting to the worshipper, and so instructive, as our litany.

Abbeys and monasteries, cathedral-churches and bishops' sees, were always founded by the king's charter, whoever were the authors and contributors thereunto. They may be alike considered as corporations for the better furtherance of piety and religion, and, being intended to have succession and perpetuity, they were established with all the strength and firmness which the law of the land could give: endowments also were ratified by the like authority; and, in the Saxon times, the great nobles and officers of state consented and subscribed to the same, two forms whereof I have exhibited in the Appendix, (a). Elections of abbots, and also of bishops, were originally confined to the brethren and conventual body. But, when these heads and superiors became rich by endowments, and held lands of the crown, and were placed in council on the footing of peers and nobles, then the kings became interested in the fee, and would not grant the temporalities without approving the tenant. The next step, both with the Saxon kings and those of the Norman race, was to grant leave to elect, and to recommend: and it stood on this footing (though not without interruption from the popes) until, in the reign of Henry II. the pope assumed the whole power to himself: and, though the succeeding kings struggled against this usurpation, yet the pope's authority and power generally prevailed, until the time of Henry VIII. when the legislature resumed this power, and placed it, beyond all controversy, in the regal head of the church. But, whoever appointed, the confirmation always came from Rome: and, as bishops and abbots were but different branches of the same holy church, the pope made equal claims to the right and privilege, as head and ruler of that church, to terminate and settle all disputes in the election of these subordinate rulers; and generally made them pay a good price to obtain a quiet possession.

Although the Christian religion had been received by the Britons, and was established through the land; yet we find very few traces, either of bishoprics or of abbeys, in their times. The oldest seat of Christianity seems to be Glastonbury; Banchor in Flintshire was next in fame as well as age; then probably Winchester, where a cathedral was founded and dedicated to Amphibalus, about 309; Caerleon also and St. David's were of that time: and all these were the great seminaries of the church, before the coming of the Saxons; but it is difficult to distinguish how far they were monastic institutions or secular. Lucius, a king of the western part of Britain, and, from his

(a) N^o I.

name,

name, one should be apt to suppose of Roman extraction, was a great instrument of converting his subjects to Christ; and the bishop of Rome had sent him two bishops, Faganus and Damianus, for the establishment of the gospel. This was about 189, and it is remarkable that this place, Winchester, suffered extremely in the Dioclesian persecution; though no name of great note for its piety has reached us: but, when the church was rebuilt, it was dedicated by Constans, the bishop, about the year 309, to St. Amphibalus, who had suffered in the late persecution: so that the fame of Amphibalus was spread abroad soon after his death, but that of Alban had no regard paid to it, nor any dedication made to it, until Germanus took up the name, in a pious intention, 200 years after Alban's death.

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But the great establishments of cathedrals and of monasteries were reserved for the Saxon converts: and it is surprizing to behold, on examination, how many of the great endowments of both were made by Austin, and his followers and converts. In the seventh century, were founded the sees of Canterbury, Rochester, London, York, Hereford, Lincoln, Litchfield, Norwich, Worcester, and Durham. In that same century, many great monasteries were likewise founded, and, indeed, in every century down to the end of Henry the Vth's reign; the number of which, of 200l. a year and upwards, was near two hundred at the dissolution; and the small ones, together with priories, chantries, and other monkish establishments, amounted to eight hundred and more. If it be asked, why there were so few of the former (*sees*) and so many of the latter? several reasons might be given; but this alone may suffice: that the former were established as the seminaries for the church, and to breed up secular clergy for the service of the country; whereas the latter were promoted by a selfish spirit, and intended to pray for the soul of the founder, and be entrusted with his interest between his death and the day of judgement: and on this principle new benefactors daily appeared, new gifts and offerings were made, and new spiritual cares were undertaken.

It may be observed that most, if not all, the foundations prior to the Conquest are of the Benedictine order. The reason is, because the other orders, as the Cisterians, Præmonstratensians, Cluniacs, Augustine Canons, Carthusians, and Gilbertines, were introduced by the Conqueror and the following kings and great men, from their principal abbeys in France, and were, in fact, only different modifications of the order of Benedict, and took their name from the reformer or from the place of their abode abroad. Each of these orders, as they presumed to call themselves, though they were but as dissenters

from

William the 22d abbot. from Benedict, was under the rule and direction of a principal, called the *Provincial*, who used to convene the heads of his respective order, inquire into the state and management thereof, and enact rules for their better government. But as all the monastic bodies considered the pope as their *temporal* as well as *spiritual* head, so he claimed the right of regulating and directing their chapters, or general conventions, and of confirming the statutes therein made. Thus we shall see the Benedictines assembled by the legate Otho for amending their statutes, in the year 1238(a), and again in 1249: and it will best appear what kind of a life these men led, and what abuses and neglects had crept in, from perusing the new statutes and ordinances then given them, and confirmed by the pope: these I have exhibited in the Appendix(b), and may have occasion to mention them again under their proper dates.

Although the monks and the secular clergy were branches of the same church, yet there was continual enmity between them: one envying and maligning the other, on a supposition that the adversary enjoyed more advantages. The seculars possessed a freedom, in their parochial cures, which the monks had not: and the latter, from carrying away the tithes and owning lands and manors, were supposed, by the former, to be rich and opulent, full and easy.

(a) At the provincial chapter of Benedictines, in 1338, there were summoned to it 40 abbots and 21 priors: only 4 exempt. And 25 Benedictine abbots sat in Parliament, being usually summoned as holding baronies. (*Dug. Mon. II. 178*)

(b) N^o II. and N^o III.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

THE same day on which William was buried, the convent dispatched three of the most discreet brethren to the king, to intreat leave to proceed to a new election, that the household of the Lord (a) might not be damaged by a long vacancy. In the mean time, the convent were employed in seeking the spiritual aid of the blessed martyr, by making, every day, solemn processions about his shrine with their feet bare, singing the seven penitential psalms, and in prostration repeating, with the most earnest devotion, certain collects proper for the occasion. The three monks sent to the king having obtained his leave, in consequence of a handsome letter written to him and another to his chancellor, the convent appointed the morrow of the Annunciation for the day of election, and, by letter, summoned the priors to attend, they being principal members of the body. Accordingly, being all assembled on that day, they could not proceed to so arduous a business, by reason of the sanctity of the day (b) and the necessary duty therein; therefore, it was agreed to adjourn the business till Monday, and, on Monday, it was agreed to defer it, by reason of its requiring farther deliberation, until Wednesday: at last, on that day, the priors and convent being assembled in the chapter-house, they made choice of JOHN OF HERTFORD, prior of the cell at that place, a regular monk, and a man of great piety. He was presented to the king on Palm-Sunday, together with a letter of re-

John II. the
23d abbot.

(a) Grex Domini.

(b) Being Sunday.

John II. the 23d abbot. commendation; and the king, out of love to the abbey and having a good character of John, gave him a most gracious reception.

The form and manner of electing an abbot was this; and practised in the case of John. Those priests whose duty and office it was to receive confessions (being three or four in number) made choice of twelve of the most upright and faithful men in the whole convent; and these twelve had the sole power of the election, taking whom they or the majority of them pleased, out of their own number, or from any other rank belonging to the monastic body.

At the last Lateran Council, held in the year 1215, a canon was made, subjecting all abbeys and monastic bodies, which had gained exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, to that of the pope: and our abbey came under that name and description: and thereupon the king wrote to the pope a handsome letter, supplicating his confirmation of this election. Three discreet monks, namely, Reginald of Booking, Nicolas of St. Alban, and Geoffrey of Langley, were deputed to Rome to present this letter. And, when they came to the pope's court, which was then held at Perusium, they found it necessary to lay a sum of money at the pope's feet, which, being immediately accepted, was ordered by his holiness to be deposited in his treasury; but neither the treasurer nor his master condescended to offer these messengers the smallest entertainment or repast: they found it necessary, also, to make liberal presents to the janitors and attendants about the court, and even to those friends of the king, to whom he had recommended them and sent letters, &c. which they ever considered as of little value (a) unless accompanied with presents. But, the messengers having obtained a confirmation and received a large portion of apostolic benediction, they returned, much disgusted with the practice of that court.

The pope's confirmation was made by a rescript to the bishops of London and Ely, directing them to examine into the merits of the elected and the form of the election; and, on discovering no fault or illegality therein, to give John admission and administer to him an oath of subjection: accordingly, on the morrow of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, namely, the 9th of September, the bishops, finding no exceptions to be made, repaired to this abbey, and the new abbot read aloud, in the presence of the bishops, and in the audience of the convent and of the clergy and people assembled, the following oath and engagement: 'I, John, abbot of the monastery

(a) Steriles et infructuosas.

' of St. Alban, will, from this hour, be faithful and obedient unto
 ' St. Peter and the holy apostolic church of Rome, and to my Lord
 ' the pope, and his successors canonically admitted. I will not be
 ' of counsel, either by consent or deed, to take away their life or de-
 ' prive them of limb or liberty : but the counsel which they shall en-
 ' trust to me, either by themselves, by others, or by letters, I will
 ' make known to no person, wilfully to their detriment. The pa-
 ' pacy of Rome and the sovereignty of St. Peter I will aid and
 ' assist to keep and defend, without prejudice to my order, against all
 ' men. The legate of the apostolic see, in coming and returning, I
 ' will treat with honour, and, in all his necessities, relieve and assist.
 ' When summoned to a synod, or council, I will come, unless hin-
 ' dered by some lawful impediment. The thresholds of the apostles
 ' I will visit every third year, either in person or by my messenger; un-
 ' less absolved by apostolic licence. Moreover, the possessions of my
 ' monastery I will neither sell, nor give, nor pledge, nor infeof
 ' anew, to any person, without consulting the pontif of Rome. So
 ' help me God, and these holy gospels.'

John II. the
 23d abbot.

One of the first occasions, wherein we discern our new abbot in his splendor, was, in the year 1236, at the coronation of Henry III. who, having just married Eleanor, the daughter of Raymond earl of Provence, thought proper to be crowned together with his queen. And here the solemnity was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishop of London; the other bishops being placed according to their rank, and, next to them, the mitred abbots, the first of whom was John of St. Albans: for, as Alban was the first martyr of England, so this abbot had possessed the first place in rank and dignity, until deprived of the same by the abbot of Westminster; the time and cause of which shall be related.

John was no sooner invested in his new dignity than he thought himself subjected to the yoke and tyranny of the Romish Pontif. He did not clearly understand what was meant by his visiting, in person or by deputy, the apostolic thresholds every third year; and, even in the first years of his office, he was troubled with many exactions and new demands, but especially by the novel and unheard-of oppressions of the Romish court: and he suffered the more vexation, because he found that this noble church, which had ever been ingenuous and free-born, could have no enjoyment of its liberties and privileges; and it was reckoned a presage of evil times and sad disasters, because, within the first three years of John's rule, the church had been twice set on fire by lightning. There was fixed on the tower an

T

Agnus

John II. the
23d abbot.

Agnus Dei (a), being the impression of the popes seal affixed to his rescripts and orders; and this had usually been thought, by the people and monks, to have virtue and power in it to guard the church from all calamities arising from the elements, but now they considered it as portending nothing but evil and mischief.

Soon after his accession, he presented to the church one crimson cope, for the use of the choir, ornamented with handsome gold fringe; and he gave, for the use of the refectory, one silver cup, gilt, of great value both for the workmanship as well as for the materials.

He built a magnificent apartment for the use of strangers, such as might be denominated a royal palace (saith my author). It consisted of one very superb room, painted; and of several chambers and small apartments, with a stack of chimneys; and, before it, were a court and lower hall. The court was spacious and noble, and had in its entrance a porch, or gateway (b); the chambers were very handsome, with chimneys and closets, for the honourable reception of guests. A large hall had stood in this place, but it was much decayed in the walls and the roof, was very dark and unseemly, and had been covered and mended with shingles; whereas the new building was covered handsomely with lead. The large room and chamber adjoining were painted, and in a delightful manner ornamented (c) by the hand of master Richard, a very skilful monk of this abbey. John built also, opposite the great gate, a very long house, or dwelling, of stone, covered with tiles, and with three chimneys: the sight and view of this building, being in the first approach to the monastery (d), added much to the beauty of the whole structure. This house contained two floors, the upper of which was assigned to the use of the upper servants of the abbot, and the lower was used for a larder and store-room. In the time of John, Stanmer, which had been one of the earliest possessions of the abbey but lost by the sloth of some of his predecessors, was recovered: and here John built a manor-house and also a very excellent windmill.

John suffered many oppressions from the great men of the realm; and was engaged in a very expensive and vexatious contest with Ralph de Chanduit; and in another with Geoffrey de Childwic on the right of Free

(a) This lamb is painted in all the compartments, or divisions, of the cieling over the choir and present consistory.

(b) *Horiolum*.

(c) *Delitiosè redimita*.

(d) On the east side and fronting Sopwell-lane.

Warren; but he had a judgement given in his favour, by the judges (a) ^{John II. the 23d abbot.} at Hertford, though not without an expence of 1000 marks and upwards. And the persecution from Geoffrey he took ill, the more, because this man was a tenant of the abbey and a neighbour, and ought to have been its defender and protector; being the son of Roger de Childwic, who held three hides and a half of land, and was bound to find a soldier for the king, on the part of the abbot. This Geoffrey had married the sister of John Mansel, who was one of the King's privy counsellors, and in great repute and authority at court; and, by virtue of his interest, Geoffrey presumed to commit many outrages and illegalities: for, if he met at any time the abbot's servants hunting, he would rob them of their nets, dogs, bows, and arrows; beating and abusing them, though they were hunting in the king's highways or in the abbot's lordships, or warren, where he could have no right. Because, it is to be understood, that the law had ever considered the game and all *feræ naturæ* as belonging to the king: and the right of keeping and preserving the same in parks or warrens, and the right to kill, were derived from the king; and was a right always given with manors and large extensive fees, by a writ called the *Writ of Free Warren*: and thus was a right belonging to the tenant *in capite*, and to none under him.

The influence of Mansel was so great, that no justice, or remedy, against such assaults could be had at Law: so that abbot John thought proper to send William, his steward, up to court with the complaint; where, in the presence of the king and of the baronage, (which was probably the assembly of the barons,) he openly declared the grievance and injustice which his abbey suffered: but the king's justices, who were present, whispered in his ear, that there were then two great rulers at court, namely earl Richard and John Mansel, against whom they dared not utter a word.

In those days, it is to be understood, the king heard complaints and decided at a word, and performed many of those duties and judicial offices which have since devolved on his judges, specially appointed. The king then acted in his proper dignity, as the fountain of justice and of mercy: whereas, now, he is approached, too often, as the fountain of honour only, if not of power. Nevertheless, though a crowned head may be liable to many errors in his decisions, and many impositions, yet it always reflects a lustre on the character and office of Majesty, when it shews itself accessible to the complaints and grievances of the subject.

(a) Justiciarii.

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It happened, one day, that this Geoffrey, being in the road from Bedford, met a servant of my lord abbot, coming from the arch-deacon of Bedford with a present of venison for the abbot; on which Geoffrey accosts him with very reproachful language, and much heat and passion; accusing him of having stolen the venison out of the king's forest. This the servant took exceedingly ill, having been himself one of the king's domestics as a marshal, or harbinger, to go before his majesty to clear the way. Whether this marshal made any resistance in his own defence, or not, doth not appear; but, in the event, he was thrown from his horse, and the venison together with the horse taken away by Geoffrey and his attendants. On this the abbot speedily proceeded to excommunication. This sentence was denounced on him by the abbot and whole convent, and proclaimed by the clergy belonging to the churches and lands of St. Alban, and likewise by the arch-deacon of Bedford, and by all the clergy in his jurisdiction.

Contemptible as this sentence may appear to many in these days, and although it is disarmed of much of its terrors now, yet still it puts a man under so many legal disabilities, that it is, at this time, a very serious denunciation. It is analogous to outlawry. And, as the latter deprives a man of the protection, and benefit, and use, of the law, so the former deprives him of the privileges and uses of religion; he being excluded from the public worship of God, and the company and society of the faithful. This sentence cannot now be pronounced against any person, but those who are proved delinquents in spiritual courts and in matters of mere spiritual nature, and for contempt to the orders and authority of those courts. But, in the days of Henry III. when the power of the clergy was high, it might be, that the abbots possessed this power of excommunication; though they had got themselves exempt from the jurisdiction of those in whom this power certainly did reside: I mean the bishops and arch-deacons.

It seems to have been a very hasty and rash proceeding, and argues great passion and animosity, for the loss of a horse and some venison: and it may be said, that it was a civil offence and breach of the peace, and a felonious taking the goods and chattels of the abbot, and therefore cognizable before the civil magistrate and punishable by common-law process: but the channels of law were stopped by the influence of Mansel, and, Justice not finding a free course, these injured parties proceeded in their own way. If, at that time, the abbots did not lawfully possess this power, the present sentence was begun and proceeded on by the arch-deacon robbed, and from him
was

was taken up by the abbot and copied in his dominions. And, to intimidate Geoffrey the more, a second denunciation of this sentence was made, and with greater solemnity, being accompanied with a grand procession, the great bell tolling, the candles all flaming, the shrine deckt out in all its splendor, and the abbot and monks attired in their gaudiest habits. After this, Geoffrey, who had scorned the censures of the church, was attacked by the king's writ. But the abbot was mollified by the intreaties of the king and great men about court; who all appeared, as intercessors, on behalf of Geoffrey. This had been done by the craft and address of Mansel: and the abbot, finding upon consultation that he was liable to a charge of irregularity in his proceeding, consented to drop the appeal to the king in person; and thus Geoffrey escaped.

John Ist. the
23d abbot.

Afterwards, by the procurement of this same Mansel, Geoffrey obtained a writ of free warren over all the lands which he held of the abbey, though in direct contradiction to ancient deeds and long established usage, and contrary to the very charter granted by the present king, and for which the abbey had given a great sum of money. The abbot, however, and his people continued to exercise their right of free warren over the lands which were included in Geoffrey's new grant, although the same were surrounded, and, as it were, inclosed, by the lands of the abbey. But a complaint of this was moved before the King, and, by the artifice of William, bishop of Salisbury, the abbot was intangled in law and lay at the king's mercy: for, by the suggestion of the said William, the king answered, that if, by his charter, he had granted the manor of another to any of his nobles or great men, though manifestly against law, it could not be allowed, 'that the rightful lord should re-enter his lordship, until 'the same was discussed at law and decided in court. In truth, that 'he ought to appear before the king and declare his right, in order 'that he might re-enter his manor with the more security.'

This sentence was deemed full of injustice: for, were this to be accounted law, it might be lawful for the king to enter the manor of any other person by violence, and, if that other could not beat off the invader with greater violence, he would be wretchedly dispossessed of his estate. All this was the contrivance of Geoffrey de Childwic, supported by the countenance and advice of Mansel, then counsellor to the king. But, in the year 1240, the abbot obtained of the king a writ to summon Geoffrey and his associates before the king's justices, to answer for this offence; the form of the writ appears in the Appendix (a): it came to trial at Cambridge, before a jury of

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23d abbot.

ten yeomen of common rank and twelve knights girt with swords, who concurred in giving a verdict against Geoffrey and his companions; and he was sentenced by the court to pay forty marks damages. This Geoffrey also gave the abbot incredible trouble about the estate of Newberry; for, though the abbot had bought it of the true lord and owner, in order to redeem him and his title-deeds from the hands of the Jews, yet Geoffrey so embarrassed the abbot in law that the convent were forced to demise the land over to Geoffrey, keeping and reserving only for themselves the old rent. Beside this, he obliged the convent to furnish a corrody to a young man of his appointment, before he would make any concessions to the church: which was like to prove a lasting detriment to the abbey.

Ralph Chanduit, another great man of this country, was very earnest in persecuting and troubling the abbot and monks: and, among many other enormities which he committed, (and which I here omit, says *M. Paris*,) one day in his field-sports, and near the walls of the monastery, in a place called then Derefold, he fell upon one of the abbot's principal attendants and companions, named Dunham, and beat him very severely: for this he was called to answer in Westminster-Hall, where, being asked by one, what was the quarrel between him and the abbey; *Oh!* says he in derision, *the monks have only excommunicated me, because my saddle will scarcely hold me, when on horseback.* But, soon after, he fell grievous sick, and, being near his end, he most devoutly entreated the monks to forgive him and to procure for him the pardon and aid of St. Alban; truly sensible of his fault, he promised to make retribution, and his executor, who was the prior of Missenden, saw this performed.

It has been already mentioned that the suit about free warren cost John 1000 marks; and, by these additional troubles, charges, and contumelies, he incurred a farther expence to the like amount; so that, upon the whole, he suffered a loss of no less than 2000 marks (a): but he added to the reputation of his virtues, by shewing that he bore these losses with great patience and good temper.

The church of Hertburn, in Durham, had been, for many years before, conferred on this abbey by Walter the bishop of Durham; and this, together with the church of Eglinham, given also by an-

(a) It is probable that great part of this sum was bestowed in *presents* to the courtiers and judges. This corrupt practice was introduced by the Normans, among whom there was no approaching the great, to solicit a favour or even to demand a right, without a present. It is known to prevail through the nations of the east at this day.

other

other bishop of Durham, was now offered to be rented, exclusive John II. the
of the vicarages, for 240 marks of yearly rent, by the prior of Tin- ^{23d abbot.}
mouth. The great tithes of the church of Norton, in this county,
were conferred on the abbey, and resigned by the rector, named Lawrence, in his life-time, for the special purpose of mending and improving the malt-liquor of the monks, and for the better entertainment of strangers. The church of Heckstan, or Hexton, which had formerly been given, the abbot now appropriated for the special use of celebrating the anniversary of abbot William and himself; and to be administered by the sacrist: and he assigned the church of St. Michael, in this town, for the use of the vestry and garments, under the care of the sacrist; for which holy wardrobe very slender provision had hitherto been made.

This same John repaired all the mills belonging to the abbey; which, having been let on covenant to be repaired by the tenants, were, by their neglect, gone to decay: these, together with the houses adjoining, he repaired with good oak timber. And because the water-mill, which was situate near the malt-house (a), was rendered useless and incapable of grinding a sufficient quantity for the house, by reason of the river being grown up with reeds and almost dry in summer, insomuch that they were obliged to send seven miles to have their corn ground, he thereupon erected a very good mill to be worked by horses, adjoining to the said malt-house. And all these repairs cost 100l. and upwards.

But the badness of the malt liquor, or, in juster phrase, the weakness of their ale (b), was still a detriment to them and also a reproach: and John, with great condescension and humanity, ordered an addition to their yearly consumption of one thousand quarters of malt (c), made of barley and oats mixed (d).

The pope had sent a legate, a few years ago, to reside in England, for the purpose, as was said, of reforming the monastic orders and regulating the church, but, in reality, to exact money of all the religious of all orders, under a pretence of sending relief and succour to the Christian princes, who were still fighting in the Holy Land. Otho, which was the legate's name, convened the abbots of the Benedictine Order, in 1238, to the church of St. Martin's (*Le Grand*).

(a) Braforia.

(b) Cerevisia supra modum debilis extitit. *M. Paris.*

(c) Bresia, or, Brasia.

(d) By another account, it appears that this was an augmentation made to the bread as well as beer, and did amount to the annual value of 463 marks, or 308l. 13s. 4d.

John II. the
2^d abbot.

in London, and there gave them such rules and regulations as he thought necessary to bring back the monks to their ancient rule and discipline (a). And the same Otho was likewise in England in 1249, and assembled the abbots of this order again, at Osney (b) near Oxford; but thither came only eight abbots. On which he appointed another convention, at the church of St. Mary Overies in Southwark, an Augustine abbey founded in 1106. Here the legate renewed and confirmed the former statutes, and added some others: which, or the principal of them I have exhibited in the Appendix, N^o III. (as already mentioned) and in their original language; for the subject would appear mean and low, if translated.

In 1242, the conventual church at Waltham, a Benedictine abbey founded by Harold in 1060, having been now rebuilt, was dedicated. This church is a very fine model of Saxon architecture; simple, grand, and uniform, with semicircular arches: and indeed, it is so excellent a pattern of the original Saxon before it received its variations, and additions, and ornaments, which came into general use in this reign, that it might well be thought much older, did not this passage in *M. Paris* set us right in the date of its construction. But, in this reign, were numberless churches built; for, that of Saint Paul had been dedicated, just before Waltham, and in the presence of the same honourable personages; that of Westminster, if not rebuilt, did at this time receive great additions and enlargements (c); and, in 1240, the abbey-church at Abingdon was dedicated, and that at Wells; and the churches also at Pershore and Evesham, and at Tewksbury, Aulcester, Winchcomb, and Gloucester, in that county, were built about this time; and many more in the kingdom. And that a spirit of building new churches and rebuilding others was very prevalent towards the middle of this century, appears evident from this circumstance, that cardinal Otho, who held a council at London, in 1237, made and ordained a decree; 'That all cathedral, conventual, and parochial, churches, which are completely built, shall be consecrated within two years, by the diocesan.' And then it prohibits 'all abbots and curates from pulling down old consecrated churches, under pretence of making them finer, without consent of the bishop; whose duty it shall be, to consent or not, as he

(a) See Appendix, N^o II.

(b) A monastery of Augustines.

(c) Ampliatur, dirutis antiquis cum turri muris partis orientalis, præcepit novos decentiores construi, subtilibus artificibus convocatis, et occidentali coaptari. *M. Paris.*

' shall

‘ shall see fit; and, if he consents, that he shall cause the new one to be finished forthwith (a).’ John II. the
23d abbot.

King Henry III. came to this abbey twice in the year 1244, and staid three days each time. The first visit was in the spring: and, during his stay, his pleasure was much abated by the vexatious rumours which were brought to him, relating to the insolent incursions of the Welch, and to the treatment of his new-appointed bishop of Chichester, who was put by and another thrust in his place without the king’s consent, this was done by Martin, the pope’s agent and clerk, and not without suspicion of having taken money for the advancement of this new man. The king’s second visit (b) was at the feast of St. Thomas, just before Christmas: and, during his devotion at the great altar, he made an offering of a very rich pall, or cloak, and three bracelets of gold to be affixed to the shrine, to the honour of the saint, and to the remembrance of himself: for, he had before, at different times, made offerings of seven more of these rich bracelets, or ornaments for the arm, which were worn by men of high rank and degree.

During this year also, the earl of Flanders who was uncle to the queen, and his brother Boniface just now chosen archbishop of Canterbury, made a visit to this abbey. They were the sons of Peter earl of Savoy: the count came over, under pretence of aiding and assisting king Henry against the king of Scotland and his invaders, and brought him an armament of sixty soldiers only, but above an hundred servants and retainers, whom, in truth, he meant to serve and provide for: the latter, named Boniface, signalized himself, afterward, by the most rigorous visitation of his province that could be made, injoining punishments and censures on his clergy, on purpose to receive money for commutation: and his exactions and enormities were such, that the clergy, by general consent, assembled at Dunstable, in 1250, and collected four thousand marks to pay the charge of an appeal they intended to make to the pope, against the impositions and extorsions of the archbishop. His visit to the abbey, at this time, was probably for entertainment; but he had a palace at Hayes in Middlesex, about seven miles, says my author,

(a) *Spelm. Councils, an. 1237.* In this Council also was confirmed an order of the council of Paris, forbidding the reading of the works of Aristotle, newly brought from Constantinople, and translated into Latin. The books were ordered to be burnt, and the readers to be excommunicated. *Dup. 13 Cen.*

(b) *Gratiâ hospitandi. M. Paris, p. 574.*

John II. the 23^d abbot. from St. Alban's; and at this he abode, in 1250, during his visitation of these parts.

Next year, 1245, the pope was residing at Lyons, and there holding a general Council: to this was our abbot summoned, but, being advanced in years and unable to travel, he procured an excuse; though not without sending two discreet brethren as proctors.

One of the most memorable events of abbot John's time was the compromise, or agreement, which was made in 1247, between the Bishop and chapter of Durham on the one part, and our abbot with the prior and convent of Tinmouth on the other. For, the prior had refused obedience to the bishop, and pleaded a general exemption from his jurisdiction, by virtue of that immunity by which the parent-abbey was freed from any subjection, or obedience, to the bishop of Lincoln.

This priory had been founded by Robert de Mowbray, the stout and warlike earl of Northumberland, who, in a certain hostile invasion made by the Scots under Malcolm their king, in the conflict and defence of his country slew the said Malcolm, and gave him honourable interment in the church of Tinmouth which the earl had newly built. He afterwards lost his eye-sight: and, choosing to retire from the world and quit its business as well as its vanities, he desired to be admitted a monk in the abbey of St. Alban; he accordingly assumed the habit and life of a monk, and abode here many years, and, at his death, was interred with suitable pomp, in a place not far distant from the chapter-house, on the very spot where abbot Symond afterwards built the chapel of St. Symeon; the body lying in the midst thereof, or somewhat nearer to the altar. This happened in the time of abbot Paul. But the earl caused the parish-church of Tinmouth to be erected into a priory, and sent a number of monks from St. Alban's abbey (a) to constitute a convent. In like manner, during Paul's time, the cell at Hertford had been founded and endowed by a great man, named Robert de Limisi, that at Belvoir by another potent chief, named Robert de Tothenei, and that at Wymundham by William de Albany (b), butler, or cup-bearer, to King Henry I.; and the cells at Bingham and Wallingford had been constituted by Paul himself, and annexed to the parish-churches.

(a) Tanquam ab electissimâ dñmo inter omnia cœnobîa Angliæ. *M. Paris.*

(b) William's son became earl of Arundel: and, beside other descendents, the last of all in the male line, named Hugo de Albineto, a very young man, was buried at this cell in 1243; and, at his death, the inheritance was divided among four sisters.

But to return : the prior of Tinmouth having rejected the authority of the bishop, the pope, on application of the bishop, issued a commission of inquiry with orders to adjudge ; and, the case being heard by the archdeacon of Stow and the chancellor of Lincoln, it was by them determined, that the west end of the church, where the people assembled for divine worship, and the prior also when there officiating, should belong unto and be subject to episcopal visitation ; but, when as prior at the other end of the church and at the head of the convent, he should then be exempt : that the priors should be placed there by the abbey, and be removeable by that authority ; but should be presented to the bishop for institution to the vicarage, and should swear canonical obedience : and that the rights of the abbey should remain unimpaired and inviolate. So that the exemption, which had been granted to the parent, was allowed to belong also to the daughters and offspring : though, without such original grant of exemption, the abbeyes and priories were subject to their diocesan, were visited and reformed by him, and reckoned a branch of the episcopal charge : the parish-churches also, subordinate to the abbeyes and priories, were subject to their respective bishops, if they had no monastic institution affixed to them.

John II. the
23d abbot.

Beside the several orders already mentioned as being established in England, and the two military orders, (the knights templars and hospitallers,) there started up, in this reign, two other religious orders, taking their rise about 1219, and surprizing all the world by their wonderful increase and advancement. These were THE FRIER-PREACHERS and THE FRIER-MINORS : or, as they were more usually called abroad, the DOMINICANS and FRANCISCANS. They had been raised by the encouragement and suggestion of the pope and court of Rome, in order to oppose the Albigenes and Waldenses who then combated, with great courage and much learning, the doctrines, the power, and the extorsions, of the pope. For this purpose they were directed to supply all the defects of the other orders : instead of leading a silent and holy life in the cloister, they were to preach and travel about, warning the people against the pestilence of those heretics, and they were to exhibit the perfect life in a course of poverty and patience, to work whenever they could, and, when otherwise, to support themselves by begging. Hence they were called *Mendicants* : and, though always begging, they were seen, about 1243, to be possessed of the most ample buildings, and dwelling in princely houses (a), and surpassing

(a) Hubert de Burgh settled the preachers at Whitehall.

John II. the
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all other orders in their wealth and full establishment (a). For, with all these professions of beggary, they found means to be admitted into all families, contrary to the monastic practice, and assiduously attended the death-bed of the rich and great; thus excluding the secular priest and the authority of the bishop, and extorting confession and urging the sick to make their will, with a certain recommendation of their own order, in preference to any other. Insomuch, that none of the faithful thought themselves in the way of salvation, unless they were ruled by the counsels of these frier preachers and minors.

They got admittance in the council of the kings and great men, and became earnest solicitors for new privileges: and their extreme success and sudden rise soon made them the objects of hatred and envy with all the other orders, and no less contention and animosity prevailed against these friers than against the seculars. They now began to be great masters of theology, and to dispute and hold exercises in the schools with a skill and ability before never seen, and with a degree of subtlety and depth that was neither becoming the subject (b) nor expedient for proving the truth. They were, in short, the authors of that scholastic jargon, which, as a new science, then pestered the schools, and which was so managed as to confound and perplex an adversary, whenever it failed to convince him. The frier-preachers had monasteries and abbeys all over England, being brought in about the year 1221, and placed first at Oxford; but, at the dissolution, they had forty-three houses in the kingdom. The minors, so called from their affected humility, came hither in 1224, and had their first house at Canterbury and the next at London; and, at the dissolution, they possessed no less than fifty-five houses, in this kingdom, under seven principal rulers and guardians residing in the chief cities.

(a) *Prædicatio per Prælatos, maxime vero per Fratres Prædicatores et Minores fiebat: et data fuit potestas cruce signandi & votum, datâ pecuniâ, relaxandi: sese multi, quorum non erat numerus, cruce signaverunt. Sed cito in tantam nobilitatem, ne dicam arrogantiam, elevabantur Prædicatores et Minores, qui spontaneam paupertatem cum humilitate elegerunt, ut recipi curarent in cœnobiis et civitatibus, in processione solenni, in vexillis, cereis accensis, et in dispositione vestimentis festivis indutorum. Et concessa est eis venia multorum dierum suis conferre auditoribus: signatosque hodie, cras, datâ pecuniâ, a crucis voto absolverunt. Parvoque tempore, facta est tanta commutatio, tam multiformis pecuniæ exactio, nec sciri poterat in quam abyssum tanta pecunia esset demersa.*

(b) *Qui non verentes tangere montes, nitebantur Dei secreta investigabilia temere perscrutari. Deo plus placet firmæ fidei simplicitas sobria, quam nimis transcendens in Theologiâ subtilitas: et cum tutius sit, simpliciter a Patribus tradita accipere et credere, quam probata experiri. M. Paris, an. 1243.*

These

These orders were not only well directed and instructed in executing the pope's commands, but they really did supply the imperfections of all the other orders. For, as teaching and instructing prevailed much among the heretics, it was a prudent injunction to cause these orders to make that their chief duty and care; and, by their assiduity therein, they crushed or cried down all their adversaries. Indeed, a new dawn of learning and ingenuity seemed now to be rising up, and some coeval circumstances, new but important, gave aid and encouragement to these men. The canon-law had been the principal subject of study for two or three centuries; but, about this time, the civil law was coming into repute and use, by the discovery of the Pandects, at Amalfi, in 1130; and the works of Aristotle, which had not been known in Europe except among the Moors and Arabian scholars, were now brought out and recommended by all public teachers: the last were probably brought from Greece by the Crusaders: but, as soon as known in England, they were translated and read, and became the standard of all philosophy. These two orders embraced this new learning, and, with wonderful diligence and study, recommended it by public lectures, &c. About this time also, colleges began to be founded in our universities; and the most learned men for two or three centuries were of these friers, as Bacon who died in 1292, Kilwardby, Grosstead, and others.

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Though the important events in religion, in learning, and in civil polity, which these orders either produced or were intimately concerned in, (for they meddled with every thing) would amply justify this seeming digression, yet the immediate reason of mentioning them here is this: they were not only the preaching defenders of the papal faith, and employed to infuse an universal prejudice against the heretics, who had appeared in the south of France and in the mountains of the Alps, but their business also was to exact money and goods for the pope. And some of them, coming to St. Alban's in 1246, demanded admittance and the liberty to receive the monks to confession: the principal of the company demanded also a privilege to preach, and, requiring silence for that purpose, the archdeacon stopped him and said; *Gently, brother, and forbear a little, until I shall have shewn your wisdom what my opinion is. We plain men, who have been accustomed to ancient and approved usages, are filled with wonder and astonishment at these innovations. You not only affect to be frier-preachers, but frier-confessors also: nay, you would extort a confession. But let me shew you what the decree is, on that head, made and ratified by one of the greatest councils ever known (namely, of Lateran, in 1215); and which has been held sacred and inviolable throughout Christendom.* And, opening the book, he read thus: 'And
' let

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‘ let every person of either sex make faithful confession of their trans-
‘ gressions, alone, and once in the year only. And, if any person
‘ shall choose to confess to a strange priest, let him first demand and
‘ obtain leave of his own proper priest; since, otherwise, the strange
‘ priest can neither bind nor absolve him. But let that priest be dis-
‘ creet and cautious, that he may pour wine and oil into the wounds
‘ of the guilty, and so wary, that he do not, by any means, betray
‘ or discover an offender; because, whoever shall presume to discover
‘ any thing confessed or spoken in the penitential trial, we not
‘ only decree that priest to be deposed from his sacerdotal office,
‘ but to be thrust into some close monastery, there to undergo per-
‘ petual penance.’

The year after in the beginning of lent, came a certain frier-
minor, named John, to the abbey: he had been employed on this
business all over England, and now he introduced himself here with a
demand of forty marks, by apostolic authority, to be paid at London
at the feast of the decollation of John the baptist; and he produced
new mandates from the apostolic see for this purpose: for, the abbot,
having had the like demand made upon him last year, had appealed to
the pope and cardinals on a grievance so insupportable. The minorite
then summoned the abbot to appear, on the third day after, at London,
or appoint a sufficient proctor, well instructed on his behalf and pre-
pared to make full satisfaction to our lord the pope, in the subsidy
now demanded. On the day, the abbot sent his proctor, namely,
his archdeacon: and the first thing he did was to demand a sight
of the new mandate, or commission; which having, with some dif-
ficulty, obtained, he found it to run in this form: ‘ Innocent,
‘ bishop, &c. to our beloved son John, the abbot of St. Alban’s in the
‘ diocese of Lincoln, health and apostolic benediction. The daily
‘ pressure of that secular persecution, wherewith we are surrounded,
‘ compels us, by its vehemence and danger, to make head against it
‘ in defence of the apostolic see, and, of necessity, to have recourse
‘ to the aid of its subjects. Wherefore, agreeably to the counsel of
‘ our brethren, we exhort and attentively admonish you, and by the
‘ sacred writings we charge you, that, so far as our beloved brother
‘ John, provincial guardian of his order and our messenger, being the
‘ bearer of these, shall propose or request, on our part, a subsidy for
‘ our holy see, you would give full credit to his words; and that
‘ you carefully observe, that the church, by supporting this opposi-
‘ tion, is effectually maintaining the general interest of the church
‘ and of all church-men; and that you will freely and liberally study
‘ to

‘ to fulfil your duty herein, in such a manner as will be most acceptable to us and our brethren; and that your actions, as the best evidence of the truth, may appear as the tokens of your devout affections. Given at Lyons, IV. Id. Oct. in the fourth year of our pontificate.’

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It is to be understood, that the popedom had been at war with the emperor for several years. The Emperor, named Frederic, did not take so interested a part in the Holy War as many other of the European princes, and, finding the popes encroaching on his sovereign privileges in Italy, he had maintained a vexatious war on the apostolic see: and, by the secular persecution which the pope here complains of, he means this imperial war. Indeed, every war was an occasion, with his holiness, to demand money; for, while he fought only as a sovereign prince of Italy, he yet considered himself as the head of a spiritual kingdom: and, though possessing the *whole* of the *other* world, he was not above contending for a *small portion* of *this* world. The Holy War had been a plausible ground for exactions and extortions, for near two hundred years; yet another urgent occasion or plausible opportunity was not to be missed: and, for this purpose, the pope had sent four cardinal legates, one into Germany, a second through Italy, a third into Spain, and a fourth into Norway, to solicit aid; beside some sham legates into other places: and, that he might not seem to infringe the royal privileges in England, he employed here the frier preachers and minors: they were pressed into his service much against their will, and esteemed it a scandal and detriment to the honour of their order to be made tax-gatherers and criers (a). It is farther to be remembered, that in 1239 the legate Otho had been at our abbey, and, in great solemnity, had excommunicated the Emperor, by virtue of an authentic then sent by the pope; but, for which act, the abbot and monks sent a letter of excuse privately to the emperor, alleging that the fact was not done with their approbation or consent.

The archdeacon having read the mandate above written, frier John enjoined him and his attendants to be and appear before him at the same place, eight days hence, then and there to satisfy him in three hundred marks of silver; otherwise the mandate of our lord the pope would be executed with excommunications and interdictions. The archdeacon answered, that the abbot was employed in sending some special messengers to the pope's presence, in order to lay his

(a) Telonarios et Bedellos. *M. Paris*, an. 1247.

John II. the 23^d abbot. grievances before him, and to make satisfaction in proportion to the abilities of the church and its dependences, but with no view of receding from the appeals preferred before.

Soon after, to depress and afflict the English church more and more, John produces a new authentic, or power, with enlargements of his authority, in this form, ‘Innocent, bishop, &c. having understood by the intimations which thou hast written, we charge thee, by the authority of these presents, that if the major part of the English prelates should make answer, on thy demand of the subsidy requested by us, that they are exempt or foreign, thou dost demand a greater sum from them, and compel them, by ecclesiastical censures, to withdraw their appeals: *any privilege or indulgence notwithstanding*, and although we mention not those privileges. Given at Lyons, XVI. Cal. Aug. 1247.’

Such demands, made so frequently and enforced with so much artifice and violence, against which neither the privileges of holy men nor the grants or indulgences of former popes could defend them, spread an universal alarm. A fear instantly arose, lest princes or great men among the laity, who had by themselves or their ancestors founded, endowed, and enriched, many churches out of their possessions, and had mutilated their estates in so doing, and had framed written grants of the same, should revoke those grants and resume the estates; having the pope for an example and the tenor of such and such a charter *notwithstanding* (a): especially when, contrary to the intention of the founders, these possessions were devoured by the pope or by such Italians and strangers as he sent over to fatten on the sweets of England. And, whenever the exactions of the pope were complained of, which was done in every public council or meeting in the kingdom, it was observed that the Italians enjoyed preferments to the amount of fifty thousand marks of annual value, and yet, by reason of their absence and negligence, their houses and buildings were falling to ruin.

The abbot and his monks, seeing themselves enclosed on all sides by danger, determined to send two proctors to quicken the appeal with the pope, and destined for this negotiation a monk, named John Bull, and master Adam Bearn, a laic; but John the minorite, pretending he should soon quit England and return to the pope, sent another mandate to the abbot, in this form, ‘To the most venerable John, by

(a) This clause of *non obstante* is the greatest usurpation ever devised, and subjects all law and all former assurances to the present will of the pope.

‘ the Grace of God lord abbot of St. Alban, frier John, our lord the ^{John II. the} pope’s messenger in England, health in the lord. Although we have ^{23d abbot.} written to you many times before, we have determined to write still once more, having received a strong mandate on this head; intreating you and admonishing, and, by virtue of our obedience to the pope, giving you to understand, that, all obstruction being removed, you be and appear, on the Thursday before the feast of St. Thomas, at Bereford, the dwelling-place of the frier-minors, there to make full satisfaction unto the church in the subsidy. By doing so, you will not oblige us (which God forbid!) to proceed according to the tenor of a former mandate; nor will it be proper to dismiss you, because we have received a special mandate thereupon. Fare ye well. But, what ye shall think proper to do in consequence of this, we will, that you write unto us by the bearer of these.’

The abbot pushed on the appeal, choosing rather to abide the decision of the pope, who was reckoned the most excellent of men, than of one, who, under the covering of so much humility and poverty, harboured such asperity and cruelty. The messengers to the Romish tribunal were ordered to be there by the fifteenth day after the feast of St. Michael. John doubled his threats: the arch-deacon and some others were sent to him, to moderate his rigor; he answered, that the strictest justice, which his authority would allow him to shew, he would fully employ and exercise; and for this reason, because, when he was at St. Alban’s a few years before, the monks had not shewn him so much reverence as was due to a papal messenger, much less to a legate; yea, that although he had been entertained in a civil and courtly manner with regard to his table (a), yet some of the monks had presumed to reprove him, as if he had changed his habit and run away from some other order. At length the deputies from the abbot, with bended knees and most suppliant words, intreated some respite and a kind of truce until some intelligence should arrive from their proctors at the pope’s court. This they obtained; but, in the expediting of their business, frier John promised them no kind of aid or favour, and it was discovered, that he had written to the pope, inflaming his mind, and alleging that the abbot of St. Alban’s was the only abbot of all England who kicked, with most perverseness, against the pope’s mandates and edicts. The deputies at Rome, on this, found great obstacles thrown in their way, and such difficulties created as made their longer stay necessary: At length, by means of presents,

(a) In esculentis et poculentis. *M. Paris.*

John II. the 23^d abbot. and bribes, and conduct-money, properly applied, they made an end of their business, and compounded with his holiness for two hundred marks. But thus, by the venality of the papal court and the necessary charges, three hundred marks were swallowed up in that insatiable whirlpool.

The whole sum raised in this manner, and remitted through the hands of the bishops of Winton and of Norwich, during this year only, amounted to eleven thousand marks; and no mitigation or favour was now shewn to the abbot, although he had, in the year before, remitted to the pope four-score marks.

There is nothing so remarkable, through this long reign of fifty-six years, as the vanity and levity of the royal character, and the crafty uses made thereof by the avaricious and griping hands of the popes. And, if the people then could have felt their strength, or could have found any principles of true liberty, they never would have borne the unjust extortions that were practised, by turns, by both the royal power and the church; for, they had the policy to act in concert, and, whenever either wanted money, a kind of consent was asked of the other: and, though the king seemed to take part with the great lords, and to favour all their complaints of grievance from the church of Rome, and to join in all their remonstrances to the pope; yet the latter ever found a way to divide the union, and, by drawing off the king, to leave the barons and the laity at the papal mercy. At this time it cannot be said, that the constitution of the kingdom had in it any free parts; it had indeed two independent powers, which frequently jarred, and were generally oppressive; but it was without a third, to balance the weight of either that might preponderate with excess: and these two were *the royal authority* and *the papal power*; which last, being planted in every parish and every corner of the kingdom, supported the interest of the Romish church in a more effectual and more active manner than all the king's ministers, officers, and placemen, could use in support of the regal authority. Parliament as yet consisted of only the greater barons, whose number probably did not exceed fifty; and as many of the lesser barons (a) as the king chose to summon; and of eighteen bishops, and twenty-eight abbots and priors. How weak then must have been the civil interest compared with the ecclesiastical, even supposing the king to be friendly, at all times, to his barons and people, and to the secular interests!

(a) That is, such as held of the great barons.

In the theory of the constitution, the king was but the first baron of the kingdom, and placed at the head of the rest, as the chief of a confederacy, or combined interest, and intended as their leader in war and their legislator, in conjunction with them, in peace: but, though this parliament, or great council, could and did enact laws for the benefit of the realm, yet the spiritual part had such an universal influence as to hinder the execution of the most salutary, when they chose to oppose them. And there were infinitely more assiduity, diligence, and energy, in executing the decrees of Rome, than the laity could employ in putting in force any laws of the great council. The æra of the first rise of the Commons, that is, in fact, the time when the king omitted the lesser barons, and summoned to parliament two knights of a shire and two burgeses for the cities and towns, was in the 49th of this reign, or the year 1265. And this might probably arise from a salutary hint given to the king, that such a step would enable him, if he took part with the barons, to resist with effect the papal and ecclesiastic influence. For, the barons, who were as much subjected to the grievances and impositions of the clergy and legates as the lower ranks, might think that, by adding to their own number, they might draw off the king from siding with the pope, and enable him to act with such a degree of weight and influence as would conduce to his and their honour and credit. It is to be remarked, that, whenever the parliament, or great council, was convened, the pope's legate, or commissioner, came to London to assist, and was as powerful to bring the lords to compliance as he was to master the bishops and clergy.

The current of court favour had run, many years, towards the Poictovins and the queen's relations, and they had experienced wonderful bounty and munificence from the king; while the pope, at the same time, was sending over all the necessitous Italians to be provided for with preferment in the church: for which abuses in government, the king met with the most severe, but just, rebukes from some of the barons, when assembled and consulting in Parliament. In consequence of these complaints, the king, in 1258, issued an order to every county, that the people should choose four knights, to take into consideration such grievances as the lower ranks felt from the oppressions of the higher; and that, having written down the same, they should inclose them under their seals, and bring the same to the baronage, or general council: and, in seven years after, these persons were called up, by writ, to have a seat in that assembly; where, from being considered as deputies to report the state to the counties, they now acquired

John II. the 23^d abbot. required a right to appear as the representatives of them. And this augmentation of two hundred votes, if adhering with fidelity to the king and civil power, would give a new turn to the decisions of that great body.

But this account, though attended with great probability, is not the whole truth : for, the barons had been in arms the year before ; and, in 1265, happened the battle of Evesham, wherein fell Simon Montfort ; and, though a parliament was called at Winton by the advice of prince Edward, the business of it seems to be only to disfranchise the Londoners, who had borne arms against the king. The war continued in 1266, though confined chiefly to the isle of Ely, where the disinherited and fugitives from the city had taken refuge, but were compelled to surrender ; and, in 1267, my author expressly says, that the king caused the earls and barons, the archbishops and bishops, the abbots, and all who owed him military service, to come armed unto St. Edmundsbury, to concert measures against those who, contrary to the peace of the realm, had seized the isle of Ely : and, in this number convened, are thought to be comprehended the above-mentioned knights of the shires. It appears not who it was that suggested this expedient to the king, or whether he intended by it only to strengthen his own numbers ; but certain it is it tended to add strength to the nobles, and laid the foundation of rendering the king and the civil power more independent of the pope and the clergy.

The king's excesses had indeed subjected him to great necessities, and he had thereupon taken part with that power and influence which bore a sway in every part of the kingdom, though to his disgrace, yet with some relief to his wants. For, when he called a general parliament in 1248, for the purpose of asking a subsidy of money, he was sharply reprehended in these terms ; ‘ that he blushed not to demand a relief, ‘ when he had given a written charter to his nobles, promising never ‘ to do them such injury as they had complained of ; that he was ‘ highly blameable in his indiscreet invitation of strangers, among whom ‘ he wasted, profusely and prodigally, all the riches of his kingdom ; ‘ that he contracted in marriage the nobles of the realm with ignoble ‘ foreigners ;’ with many reproaches on the waste and extravagance of his household.

And, in 1249, when he came to this abbey, (on a kind of progress by way of Huntingdon, whither he called to him the abbots of Ramsey and of Peterborough, and had begged a sum from them,) he intreated abbot John to let him have sixty marks ; *for*, he added, *it was as great charity as to give an alms at the abbey-gate* : yet, in this same year

year and in the last, he had obtained a good sum of the abbot by his artful pretences. And, having succeeded thus with our abbot, he sent Simon Passelaw, a clerk of his treasury, with a circular letter, to all the abbots and priors in the counties of Essex and Hertford, to ask money for the defence of his civil rights, both at home and abroad. These requests, though so much like extortions, could not be refused by this abbey; because the king honoured this place frequently with his presence, and presented habits and ornaments of great value, and, in 1251, he came down twice, and made an offering of three robes made intirely of silk, which, with others before given, amounted to thirty in number: he gave also at this time two necklaces of great value, directing them to be fixed to the shrine, as a memorial of his liberality.

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And, to shew what shifts the king, urged on by his necessities, had in contemplation, I will relate the following interview. In the year 1252, the prior, or hospitaller, of Jerusalem, then dwelling in Clerkenwell, taking an opportunity of speaking to the king, made complaint of some grievous injury he suffered, and cited the charters of protection which former kings, and even his majesty, had granted; on which, the king, in great heat, and with a high tone of voice, accompanied with an oath, cries out, 'You prelates and religious, especially the templars and hospitallers, have so many liberties and charters, that your superfluous possessions make you proud, and your pride makes you mad. There wants a prudent resumption of what hath been so imprudently granted; and there ought to be a deliberate recal of what hath been given without any deliberation. Doth not our lord the pope sometimes, nay oftentimes, revoke his deed? doth not that little bar, called *non obstante*, vitiate and annul all former grants? In this same manner will I break this and other charters, which my predecessors and myself have rashly and inconsiderately granted.' To which the prior, with a high look, answered spiritedly: 'What doth my lord the king say! far be it from you, that any word so absurd and unseemly should come out of your mouth: as long as you observe to do justice, you sustain the character of a king; but, as soon as you infringe justice, you cease to be a king.' 'What means that?' said Henry, 'what! you English mean to serve me as you did my father; first turn me out of my throne, and then worry me to death?'

In 1255, he affected to make war on the king of Scotland, and, having assembled some soldiers, harrassed the borders of that country; on which, the monarch of Scotland thought proper to purchase peace, by giving Henry a great sum of money: yet, on his return, he stopped
at

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at Durham, and caused all the money and plate, belonging to the abbey and cathedral church, to be taken as spoil, and carried away for his own use; though he afterwards did make some restitution. In the mean time, Rustand, a deputy from the pope, was demanding money from all the bishops and abbots, and six hundred marks from our abbot, on pretence that it was for the king's use; during which, letters came to the abbot from the pope, directing him to pay to certain merchants five hundred marks within one month, otherwise the abbey would be put under a sentence of suspension: and thus, if they consented, the abbots were put under a pretended obligation, to which they had not agreed. But it is likely that the pope or king had taken up this sum of the merchants or usurers, and then gave the lenders such a sort of authority to indemnify themselves, if they could. The bishops were convened at London by general consent, to make answer to Rustand's demand, and at first were ready to divide and separate; but the barons encouraged them to be unanimous, and offer a sum to the king; meaning thereby to save themselves. And this artifice satisfied Rustand. In 1256, the king issued a proclamation, directing that all persons, who possessed 15l. a year in land, should learn the use of arms; otherwise redeem themselves for a sum of money. And, to mention one instance more of the king's dissipation and want of faith, he promised the young earl of Gloucester, who was going to betroth his majesty's niece, the daughter of Guy earl of Angouleme, five thousand marks; and he demanded of the abbots of St. Alban, Reading, and Waltham, that they would pay down the money: they answered that they were not able, nor, if they were, could they justify such an act. Then he applied to the templars and hospitalers; but they refused: and from that time he plotted against them.

I have said thus much of the necessities and the exactions of the king and the pope, in order to shew the prudent zeal which the barons felt, and which excited them to take up arms in defence of their rights, and to establish a more just government. The good effects of which zeal and courage we see in the regulations and improvements that took place in the next reign, under one who had been an eye-witness of his father's excesses, and had fought in support of him. The king's debts amounted at this time (1256) to 950,000 marks or 633,333l. 6s. 8d.

This year, the king and queen of Scotland came into England, to visit the English court, the queen being the daughter of Henry and his queen. They came with about three hundred attendants on horseback. The place of meeting was the royal mansion of Woodstoke, which

which not being sufficiently capacious for such a retinue (for, Henry ^{John II. the 23d abbot.} brought a thousand persons with him), the ground adjoining was covered with tents and pavilions. They proceeded to London by different routs, for the better convenience of entertainment and lodging. At London these royal personages were met by prince Edward, and, after much royal festivity, they were entertained, together with many others and the chief of the city, by John Mansel, at his house in Totale (since call *Totbill*) fields.

Some other material events of John's time, which particularly concern this abbey, or which (though but remotely connected with it) serve to display the manners and customs of that age, I will relate in the order in which they happened, without attending solicitously to the immediate connection of the detail.

In the autumn of 1247, a pestilence, or epidemical illness, raged so much in the town, that nine or ten corpses were interred, every day, in the church-yard of St. Peter.

In 1248, the bishop of Bangor, with many of his clergy, took refuge in this monastery, finding it dangerous to stay in their own country of North Wales, where the disputes of the sons of Llewellyn had spread war and desolation, to the terror of all pacific persons (a). In this year also, Matthew Paris was requested by the decayed monastery of Holm, in Norway, and directed by an authentic from the pope, to go and put in order the business and rule of that abbey, which had been founded by Canute, on his return from England, and which, out of veneration to St. Alban, he had furnished with monks and relics from this abbey: the high character, which Matthew bore with the pope and among all the benedictines, caused him to be chosen for this purpose; and, having passed the summer in Norway, he returned safe.

This year, the king's brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, who had taken the vow of the cross and had provided for his departure, came to the abbey, to request their prayers and intercession with Heaven for his success, and, after a few days, departed. This man bears a great

(a) The bishop of Hereford had done the like, about twenty years before, and died in the year 1245: his name was John, but his surname is unknown, and he is not mentioned in Goodwin's catalogue. He seems to have been the bishop that had the contest with Peter Egelblanke, who, being a Savoyard, was favoured by the king, and excluded John the lawful bishop. This John, in consideration of the reception and kindness shewn him for twenty years, left his books and some church-ornaments to the abbey, and also some benefices: he was interred just before the altar of St. Amphibalus. *M. Paris*, p. 604.

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character throughout history (a): and, as he was the owner of Berkhamstead castle and lived there, and was a benefactor to the cell of Beaulieu then belonging to this abbey, it is not improbable but that he was well acquainted with the abbot, and that the cause of his visit was in friendship to him as well as devotion to God. In 1250, the lady of this earl, named Cynthia, was delivered, at Berkhamstead, of a son whom they named Edmund, and in honour of whom the father, in 1257, founded and endowed the monastery of Askridge, in Bucks, for thirteen friers of the *Benhommes* (b).

The priory of Beaulieu (*de bello loco*), at Moddry, in the parish of Clophill in Bedfordshire, had been founded by king John, but left incomplete: and, in Henry's reign, this abbey replenished it with monks, by removing thither those of Melbrook cell in the same county; and it was afterwards farther endowed by the above-mentioned Richard, the king's brother, in completion of a vow which he made in extreme danger abroad. But, in the year 1250, it ceased to be a cell under the management of this abbey; and, in consideration of some equivalent, it was conveyed over to the said earl, who obtained of the king and pope a charter of incorporation under the name of an abbey, and placed therein thirteen poor brethren and twenty monks of the Cistercian order from Winchcomb, in the county of Gloucester, which he had before augmented with new endowments. Richard paid this reverence to Beaulieu, through a motive of piety to his mother, whom his father, king John, had caused to be buried there (c).

The frier-preachers had settled themselves in a large and commodious house in Holborn (d), then called the suburbs of London, and, in 1250, they held there a general chapter of their order, at which appeared about 400 abbots and principals; for, they were convened from all parts of the Christian world, and some came from Jerusalem. Their poverty and wants were so great, that the nobles, and bishops, and some of the abbots, sent them large supplies of provisions: among the

(a) He was afterwards chosen king of the Romans, and died at Berkhamstead in 1271, for grief at the death of his eldest son Henry, who was murdered in Italy. He directed, that his *body* should be buried in the church of the frier-minors at Oxford, and his *heart* deposited in the monastery of Hailes, in Gloucestershire, which he had built and endowed.

(b) On the death of Richard, this Edmund was created Earl of Cornwall by Henry III. and, in 1283, he enlarged and farther endowed the religious house at Askridge, founded by his father.

(c) *M. Paris.*

(d) Holborn was never paved till the time of Henry IV. from whom issued an order to that purpose. *Rymer's Fæd.*

rest,

rest, abbot John and the abbot of Waltham sent a large portion. On the first day of their chapter, the king entertained them at his own charge, and, having entered their assembly, prayed them to remember him in their supplications. The next day, they were entertained at the expence of the queen; and, on the third, by the bishop of London; and then by John Mansel. John II. the
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In this year, 1250, the church of Westley belonging to the priory of Binham being vacant, the pope sent thither an Italian, and gave him possession, to the great loss and vexation of the abbot and brethren. Another vexation was, that the manor of Aldenham (which had always belonged to this abbey, and had been so confirmed by many kings and by Henry himself, and was, at this very time, *leased* to the abbot and convent of Westminster) was now conveyed, by a new grant, to the said abbot, in perpetuity, to the great loss of our abbey: and, more than this, although Geoffrey of Childwic had been cast in the suit about free warren, yet the king now granted him a charter to that effect. And Matthew Paris remonstrating to the king boldly on these matters, on visiting this place, the king answered, "Why? doth not the pope this very thing, subjoining in his letters "*notwithstanding any privilege or former grant* (a)? however, I will "think of it." Yet nothing more was ever heard of it, nor did the king's actions correspond with these promises.

Robert de Gorham, who had been elected abbot in 1151, had granted certain lands, contiguous to Westwic, to one of his family and name. That man settled there and built, and the place obtained the name and appellation of, *Gorham Bury*, that is, the house and dwelling of Gorham: and here a good family had continued: William Gorham, the last who died here, left a widow, named Cecilia Sanford, sprung from a good family, dwelling at Sandford, one mile from the town of St. Alban's. This lady, having been well educated, was chosen in her younger days to the office of preceptress to Joan, the sister of king Henry, who became the wife and relic of William Marshal the younger, afterwards earl of Pembroke, and was married to the earl of Leicester, Simon Montfort. Cecilia, together with this countess of Pembroke, being both widows, made a vow to continue in this widowed state, and, together with the sponsal ring, assumed that mournful garb, then called *Ruffet*, from the colour and plainness. The countess, being wooed by the earl of Leicester, applied to the pope

(a) *Non obstante*. This dispensing power was creeping into the civil transactions. *M. Paris*, in an. 1250.

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to be absolved from her vow; which having obtained, she left her companion alone. Cecilia continued single, and, on her death-bed, the priest, who was Walter, abbot of St. Martin's in London, spying a valuable ring on her finger, ordered the attendant to draw it off, as no longer necessary, and indeed superfluous to a dying person. Cecilia, though dying, recovered breath enough to say, '*No, good father! I will never quit this ring, either living or dead: I will carry this ring with me to the tribunal of God, as a pledge of that continence which I swore to my husband, and there demand the retribution which we covenanted; for, for his sake, I have refused many offers of high rank and great fortune.*' Then, grasping the ring, she breathed her last.

In the same year, 1251, died Paul Piper, a man who, from a small beginning and humble origin, raised himself to a great office at court, called the *Regis Dapifer*. When he first began to taste the sweets of the court (a), he had only two hides of land; but in a short time he had gained, by some means or other (b), fifty hides. He had shewn himself a great builder of mansion-houses, and had now nearly completed a magnificent dwelling at Teddington, with all conveniences of use and splendor, such as raised the admiration of the beholders, having employed so many men and artists, that the weekly wages came to one hundred shillings, and oftener to ten marks (c). He left a widow, but no child: and John de Gray, a knight well-bred and of distinguished courage, married the widow, and came into the sudden possession of that place and all the fortunes of Paul Piper. The ruins of this great house are still to be discerned.

This same year, and about the feast of St. Michael, notice came to the monks, by letter, that a visitation was intended to be made by Theobald prior of Hurley in Berkshire, and James the sub-prior of the Augustines church in Canterbury, who was also one of the pope's chaplains. Our abbot demanded a truce, as it was then called, that is, a delay, or respite, until the Sunday next before the day of all saints, promising to amend all defects and correct all enormities before that time. The two visitors appeared on the day appointed: and, the next day, the sub-prior entered into discourse with the monks, in the chapter-house; then he shewed his creden-

(a) *Lambere curiam.*

(b) *Licenter et illicenter.*

(c) Allowing money to be then twenty times more valuable than at present, this weekly expenditure will amount only to 133l.; a sum not greater than is often seen in modern days.

tials,

tials, or commission from the pope, called his authentic; and, lastly, ^{John II. the 23d abbot.} caused the statutes to be read in public, which had been enacted at the last general provincial assembly, held at London, of the Benedictine abbots. And, having found nothing amiss, although they made very strict enquiry of the monks in private, after a stay of four days, they departed. Soon after, some of the monks of this abbey were directed to make the like visitation to the abbey of St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk. And, in the end, abbot John made the like kind of satisfaction to the convent, in the matters promised by him, as his predecessor William had done, when he was visited by the abbots of Boxley and of Begham. But neither of them made good their word: for, they had both promised some amendment to the monks table, in detriment to their own; and that the portions of meat, which they had denied to the sick and changed into an allowance of wine, should be restored. But, when the visitation was completed, these amendments were no longer thought of by the abbot.

In 1252, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning happened, at a time when the queen was regaling herself and children in this abbey. The lightning struck the chimney of the queen's chamber, and shivered the same to pieces, and shook the whole house: it set fire to the laundry, and left visible marks of its effects on the walls. Some frier-preachers, who were accustomed to be entertained or lodged here, in their daily travels, and would not be restrained longer than to receive refreshments, did now set forth in the midst of the tempest, and were extremely terrified before they quitted the town, thinking they saw, in the path before them, a flaming torch or a drawn sword. Three large oaks, growing in the church-yard, and of such circumference as three men could not grasp, were torn up by the roots: and, in Windsor Forest, thirty-five large oaks were overthrown or shivered to pieces. About this time Alan de Zouch, the king's chief justice of Chester and of the Welsh district near Chester, was travelling to London, and stopped at this abbey, for rest and entertainment. He was bearing to the king no small treasure, which he had collected, on his account, in Wales and Chester: and the same was conveyed in carts drawn by two horses.

In this year also, died John de Basingstokes, arch-deacon of Leicester, a man of great experience in common and uncommon learning, and fully accomplished in the Greek and Roman literature. This John had intimated to Robert (Grossthead) bishop of Lincoln, that, when he studied at Athens, the Greek doctors had shewn him something that was quite unknown to the Latins; and that was a

John II. the ^{2^{3d} abbot.} book containing the testaments of the twelve patriarchs, a work of great repute in the Greek libraries, though the Jews, through envy of the manifest prophecies therein contained concerning Christ, had endeavoured to hide and conceal it. On which, the bishop sent into Greece, and, having obtained the book, translated the same from the Greek into the Latin tongue (a). This same John was the first man who brought into England the knowledge of the Greek numerals, and shewed their meaning and signification: in which, says my author, this is most wonderful, that a single letter may be made to represent any number; which obtains not, adds he, either in the Latin or the Arabic tongue. This learned arch-deacon translated also a Greek book into Latin, wherein was comprehended the whole power and mystery of grammar; and which the Greeks called *Donatus*.

About the same time Richard de Wendover, a physician of note and eminence at London, died, and bequeathed, as a legacy to this abbey, a curious crucifix of ivory; it acquired its value from having been the property of pope Gregory, to whom the said Richard administered and served in the office of physician; and the dying pope bequeathed to his dear friend what was, and had been, most dear to himself.

In this year, also, the above-mentioned bishop of Lincoln obtained a rescript from the pope, directing him to augment the vicarages to a proper maintenance: for, the religious, who had been the authors of all vicarages, still took the whole tithe to their own use, that is, of their monastery, and made no provision for the officiating brother: and this was the case, whether the gift of the vicarage was in the bishop, or the lord of the manor, or even in themselves. This rescript is dated at Lyons, the eighth year of the pontificate of Innocent. After this, the bishops obtained a power of making adequate provision for a brother or a secular priest, to enable him to reside; and, by degrees, they procured, that no vicarage should be instituted, or any church served, *vice alterius*, unless an endowment was made, out of the tithes or of land, by the lord of the manor: and this was not done without licence from the king and the bishop. And, at a synod held at London, in 1268, under Othobon the legate, it was decreed, that all the religious, whether exempt or not, who enjoyed an appropriate church, should, on a vacancy, present a clerk to the bishop within six months; and, in failure, that the bishop should appoint a vicar (b).

(a) Printed at Paris in 1549, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; thought, by Drs. Cave and Dodwell, to have been written in the first or second century.

(b) *Coll. Ecc. Hist.* I. 475.

The king visited this abbey, together with his eldest son Edward, ^{John II. the 23d abbot.} at the feast of St. Bartholomew: they entered the church with great solemnity and made offerings of rich palls, bracelets, and gold rings, and of twelve talents beside (a); the king directing, that they might convert these valuable articles into money, if they pleased, provided the same was laid out in ornaments for the shrine. And this same year, on the first day of October, was the church of Ely dedicated, after the venerable bishop Hugo had constructed, at his own charge, the presbytery and the fine tower adjoining.

On the translation of the Holy Edward, now the 13th of October, the king convened all the bishops of England to London, and there laid before them a papal mandate, signifying, that his holiness had conferred on the king the tenths of all ecclesiastic benefices through the realm for three years, to provide the king all necessaries for his peregrination to the wars in the Holy Land; the tenths to be raised, not according to the old valuation, but by a new estimate, to be formed according to a strict enquiry, made by the king's officers (b). This demand raised the admiration and surprize of all present; and the bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grossthead, gave vent to his indignation, with a spirit of freedom, honesty, love to the church, and loyalty to his prince, that would have done honour to a man in any age, when kings and popes were most powerful and assuming. It is foreign to this history to relate the progress of this contest. But the result was, that the bishops, by a steady opposition, maintained their refusal; and the king discovered, that the season was too far advanced toward winter to allow his peregrination. The bishops had told him, 'that he had taken the mark and vow of the cross with no other view but, as his father had done, to extort money on pretences; that, although *his subjects* in Gascony had complied, *they* could not, since it had appeared, that an act, once repeated, was next called a custom, and would give sanction to a third and fourth deed of the like kind.'

While these grave matters were transacting at London, scenes of a ludicrous kind were exhibited by the king's half-brothers at Hatfield and at this abbey. William de Valentia, who lived in the castle at Hertford, broke into the Park at Hatfield, then belonging to the bishop of Ely; and, having diverted himself in the chace, he came to

(a) *M. Paris*. It is not easy to ascertain the value of this sum; but, as the word *talentum* occurs, in the writers of the middle age, to denote sometimes a pound and sometimes a mark, it is very probable that *Paris* here uses it in some such sense, and not to express a sum of higher value.

(b) *Satellites et extortores.*

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the house, and, with his companions, broke into the cellar, and committed great riot and waste. Another brother, named Geoffrey de Leizine, came, in a very imperious manner, to this abbey, and, together with his attendants and horses, occupied the whole monastery, and, during his stay, utterly subverted the order, regularity, and solemnity, of the place. My author says, who then lived on the spot, that the strangers stable, which would hold three hundred horses without inconvenience, did not suffice this riotous prince's retinue.

In the year 1253, a clerk and special counsellor of the king, named Walter de Satindon, made a donation to this abbey of the church of Hartworth in Nottinghamshire, valued at 300 marks a year; in consideration of the great expences maintained by the abbey: and, this year, the abbey discharged a great debt wherein they had been bound to a Jew of London, named Elias, on behalf of Richard de Oxhaie, a knight: and it caused great joy to recover their bond out of the chest of Elias.

Boniface, the arch-bishop, had gone to Lincoln to attend the funeral of, and pay the last duties to, that good bishop, Robert Groshead, deceased; and, returning, intreated the abbot to give him entertainment on his journey. He had been refused admission at the priory of Belvoir, because it claimed exemption; the petition therefore was for rest and refreshment, to which the archbishop was admitted, and was entertained; but he entered not the cloister, nor made the least pretensions to the authority of visiting the abbey.

In the year 1254, while the king was in Gascony, the kingdom was left in the hands of the queen and earl Richard. These regents ordered a fine and amercement of 100l. to be restored to the abbey: this fine had been imposed, by the king's justiciary, on the abbey and the liberty, because some persons of this jurisdiction did not obey a summons to come to Cheshunt. For, by the charter which constitutes the liberty, no man was obliged to go out of the liberty for justice, or to appear before other justices than those of the liberty, and who were made and appointed by the abbot. This grant of remission (a) is a clear proof that the liberty did exist, as a distinct jurisdiction, in this year 1254; although *Sir Henry Chauncey* says, it was created by Edward IV. But the true time of its creation was in the reign of Henry I. by grant to abbot Geoffrey, as already mentioned. However, as I am now on the subject of this liberty, I will mention the following instance as a farther proof of its existence at this time. In 1269, some persons of Dunstable, who had been accustomed to robbery and plunder, stole

(a) See the Appendix, No V.

twelve oxen from the farmers dwelling at Colney, and drove them away. The owners pursued and took one of the robbers at Redburn, and, having brought him back to this town, charged him with the crime before the bailiff of the liberty, (the same who is called the seneschal in the grant of Henry I.) who, having read to him the king's grant and the power vested in himself, caused him to be tried, and he was convicted and suffered death as a felon (a).

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The bishops at length consented to grant the king the tenths, on conditions: one was, that the regulars, or religious, should pay and contribute a tenth of their goods and movables: and another, that the money should be faithfully applied to the relief of the Holy Land. The bishop of Norwich, named Walter de Suffield, and who had long been an exactor of the taxes, &c. for the king, came now to the abbey, and convened before him the rectors and vicars of all the churches belonging to the abbey, and the wardens, or guardians, of all the churches, even of St. Julian's, of St. Mary de Pré, and of Sopwell. He required also all the officers of the abbey, and even the almoners, to appear before him; and charged them, on pain of another more strict inquiry, to set a value on all the goods and movables under their respective care, the tenth of which he caused to be paid instantly. And, about this time, the tower of St. Peter's church was struck with lightning, and the timbers shivered to pieces.

The king had given three of the most pre-eminent churches in England to his wife's relations and his own; but not one of those was worthy or fit for such a rank. The queen's uncle, named Boniface, had been made archbishop of Canterbury for some years, but lived chiefly abroad and engaged in the secular affairs of the continent. Hereford had been given, in 1239, to Peter de Egleblanke, a Savoyard and near relation to the queen. And, at Winchester, the king had caused, by compulsion, the monks who composed the chapter to choose Æthelmar, one of the king's half-brothers. This man quarrelled with his chapter; and, with a wanton sort of folly, shut up some of them in the cathedral, and kept them without food for three days. When he released them, they all left the convent and church; and the bishop made choice of the meanest wretches he could find to supply their places. But some of the exiles took refuge

(a) About the same time, the cell at Merkgate-street, called *St. Giles de Bosco*, formerly built and endowed by abbot Geoffrey, was assaulted in the night by fifty robbers, and the nuns pillaged and robbed of every thing valuable; but, the alarm being given, some of the robbers were taken; and the country-people rose, with great zeal and diligence, to apprehend and bring to justice the rest.

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in the abbey at Reading, and many others in our abbey of St. Alban, and were here sheltered and protected. Indeed, the violence, which raged in those days, and which the wanton humour of the great was pleased to exercise towards their inferiors, and especially towards men of a religious character, made such places as abbeys a most comfortable refuge for the persecuted: for, all places that could afford sanctuary, though sometimes abused, were yet necessary and prudent retreats, while powerful men were fierce, savage, and revengeful. Our abbot John had a brother Thomas, who died archdeacon of Northumberland; who, with Richard, late bishop of Chichester, was eminent in rank, and they were of the like fame and merit (a). These two had been educated, with Edmund the pious archbishop of Canterbury, at University college in Oxford. The life of Richard was composed by Matthew Paris, and laid up, he says, in the library of the abbey; he being a man of eminent piety, and canonized, in 1247, five years after his death. Thomas was famous after his death, as was likewise the bishop of Lincoln, for the miracles said to be performed at their tombs; an account of which was reduced to writing, and also deposited in the said library (b). But both these books have been lost.

In 1256, an extraordinary tempest, accompanied with great and uncommon rains, had so swelled the river Ouse at Bedford, that the banks were overflowed, and many houses, mills, and bridges, demolished. Among the rest, it is supposed that the church, in which the illustrious Offa had been buried, with all its contents, was washed away. The abbot and convent, on the day of the martyrdom, (viz. June 17, which day they had always observed with some solemnities, and caused the priors and clergy to assemble here for that purpose,) passed a decree, in full chapter, that, for the future, a more solemn service, with a particular prayer for the rest of Offa's soul, should be celebrated. And here I must remark, that it is somewhat strange, the abbots and rulers of this great and religious institution could be content to suffer the body of the founder to rest, for near 500 years, in a very obscure church, liable to the fate which at length snatched it away. But their attention was entirely confined to Alban, whom they loaded with honours; while they forgot their benefactor and friend, the author of all their enjoyments.

In this same year, the pope's instruments and exactors made some demand on the abbey, and enforced that detestable clause *non obstante*,

(a) *M. Paris*, 1253.

(b) *M. Paris*, anno 1255.

in opposition to all the pleas, rights, and grants, which John could ^{John II. the} allege: on which the abbey was put under an interdict, the service of ^{23d abbot.} the choir ceased, no bell was tolled, and morning and evening prayers were read in private in the chapter-house. This lasted fifteen days, when, probably, the abbot complied or a compromise took place.

About the end of this year, it was found necessary to repair or rebuild the east end of the church; (now contiguous to the passage;) and, in opening the ground, the workmen discovered a stone-coffin, which, by the inscription, contained the true remains of the pious Alban. It was discovered between the altar of Oswin and that of Wulstan, where the matins were usually said, and where had stood an ancient painted shrine, and under it a marble tomb, or coffin, supported on marble pillars, and which place and tomb had been called the tomb of St. Alban. Here had the holy martyr been interred on the day of his death, about 970 years before: by which it is plain that the prosecution, in which he fell, was in the year 217 of the Christian æra. And this discovery was made in the presence of the abbot, and of the bishop of Bangor, and of Philip de Chester, a principal counsellor of earl Richard: there were present also all the convent, (and of course the writer of this article, *Paris* himself,) and some noble persons belonging to Lord William de Valentia, and great numbers of pious people, who heard of this extraordinary fact (a). Miracles were said to be performed at the new coffin of Alban: and *Paris* relates, that a boy, on such a day, was raised from death, and then another; and that many were cured of blindness, and of the palsy. But this is not the way in which the miracles of Jesus and the apostles are related: nor doth there appear any reason, on this occasion, for any miracle, when no person was incredulous or hardened in old attachments and opinions. The variety of these miracles may also be suspected, because a profit was derived from them, and the more votaries the more offerings; contrary to the effects and consequences of the miracles related of Jesus.

In 1257, in the beginning of March, the king came to the abbey, and made great offerings to the shrine, of a curious and splendid bracelet, and valuable rings, and a large silver cup gilt, in order to deposit therein the dust and ashes of the venerable martyr; he gave also six robes of silk as a covering to the said old monument, and to cover the tombs of two famous hermits buried here, named Sigar and Roger. The king continued here a whole week, and conversed much

(a) It is probable that this discovery was, in reality, only a contrivance, with a view to gain credit to the pretended miracles, which began to be reputable with the vulgar, and gainful to the monks.

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with *M. Paris*; making him his companion at table, and in the audience-chamber, and in his closet, or private room: and, in discourse, he spoke much of the success which was then like to attend his brother earl Richard, in being chosen king of the Germans, or Romans; and who were the persons that would espouse his interest. He would also run over a list of former crowned heads in England, who for their sanctity had been canonized. He could name a long list of the baronies in England; and by his memory recite the titles of 250, which was thought to be the whole number.

During his stay here, there came from Oxford nine masters (a) of arts, deputed from the university, (which then consisted only of University college, for, Baliol was not yet founded,) with a complaint that the bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Oxford was, gave great disturbance to the scholars. The petition was presented to the king in the chapel of St. Oswin; where, Paris being present, he boldly besought the king to have regard to the church, now in a tottering state. 'The University of Paris,' said he, 'which hath bred so many learned prelates, is now grievously troubled: and, if Oxford should suffer the like, which is the second school, nay the foundation of the church, I fear the whole fabric will fall to ruin.' 'God forbid,' says the king, 'that it should happen in my time: I will prevent it.' And it is supposed he took the part of the university.

The disturbance at Paris was this: the frier-preachers, contrary to the usage and custom of the university and of the city, insisted on reading theology; and opened schools for that purpose. The king and citizens opposed this innovation: but the friers, being encouraged by the pope, and always testifying implicit obedience to him, succeeded in the dispute; and thus waged a verbal war with the poor Albigenes. The great success of the two orders, that had been set up by the pope in the beginning of the century, gave rise to other orders; a new one appeared now in England, cloathed in sackcloth: and *Paris* says, the number of orders was such, and so great, that nothing but disorder was seen (b). Henry had, some years before, founded the small abbey of Netley, near Southampton, for Cistercians, and another at Titchfield, not far off, for the same order, or for the Premonstratentians. The former now began to grow considerable; and were the first of all the ancient orders who disdained that contempt into which they had fallen, and who, having obtained of the pope the privilege of opening schools at Paris, began to rival

(a) Novem artifices.

(b) Tantis ordinum numerus, ut non nisi confusio videretur. Ad an. 1257.

the new orders in their studies of theology, and the exercises founded thereon (a). And it began likewise, about this time, to be a practice with Henry (which was adopted and extended by his successor) to grant protections to such monasteries as seemed too much borne down by the legantine power, or to be otherwise oppressed (b).

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About the decline of the summer, the extreme wet weather caused a general alarm for the safety of the crops, both of hay and of corn: and it was feared that both, being delayed longer than usual, would be spoilt: the abbot therefore, in full chapter, decreed a general fast and humiliation through every parish of the archdeaconry, with prayers for the special blessing of fair weather; and ordained, that a solemn procession should be made, attended with the shrine, from the church to the little church of St. Mary de Pree. This the abbot and convent performed, with all such pious persons as would join in the solemnity; and all walked barefoot.

Soon after, the queen came down, accompanied with the wife of prince Edward, daughter of the king of Spain, and made an offering on the altar of a rich cloth, called *Baldokin*, or tissue of gold.

In this year, 1258, the parliament having refused the king's request in asking for money, he procured a pope's messenger to come over, named Mansuetus, to get aid of the abbeyes and churches. This man goes to the abbot of Waltham, and by intreaties and threats obtains a security for 250 marks, which the king could procure of the merchants; then came Simon Passelaw, a counsellor of the king, to this abbey, pretending that he had rode all night and was just come from Waltham, and hoped our abbot would follow so good an example: at this instant came a messenger from Waltham, relating what had happened there, and to put John upon his guard. Our abbot therefore resolutely refused: and Simon Passelaw took leave; but he went to Reading and to other great abbeyes, though with what success it appears not. This was doing and transacting at a time, when, from the badness of the corn and scarcity also, a great pestilence was raging in London among the lower ranks of people; and in this spring there died 15,000 of them.

Another fraud of the pope's messenger was discovered at this time, by the death of Bernard de Nympha: this man, though a clerk and dependant of earl Richard, had been employed as one of the pope's collectors and exactors. And, at his end, there was discovered in his

(a) Ut scholas exercendo in theologia, legibus, et decretis, studerent liberius, ne inferiores viderentur. *M. Paris.*

(b) See Appendix, N° VI.

John II. the custody a chest full of Papal bulls, rescripts, and orders, already
 23d abbot. sealed, but quite blank.

The archbishop this year notified to the abbot, that he intended to come and hold an ordination in the great church. The abbot pleaded the exemption; and, especially as the see of Lincoln was vacant, it might be considered that his grace was representing by that act the ordinary of that diocese; and therefore, he hoped, his grace would hold him excused if he could not permit him. On which the archbishop held the ordination at Dunstaple: but, in going and coming, he was received and handsomely entertained at the abbey.

Soon after, the king came down, and, during his stay, a more solemn procession than ordinary was directed, within the walls of the church: the convent were habited in their best attire; the saint was borne, that is, the whole shrine that was moveable; and the king walked in the train. In 1259, the frier preachers, having received one small house as a gift at Dunstaple, took possession, and assembled in great numbers: though professing poverty, they manifested great wealth: and, though designed and pretending to be ever begging and wandering, they settled themselves at this place in a large convenient building, now erected by them; to the great loss and detriment of the prior and convent there, established in the time of Henry I. and by that king. On a sudden they prepared a place of worship, set up an altar, and, without waiting for any regular licence, performed divine offices. They were encouraged by cardinal Hugo, a brother at Rome, and great privileges were granted them. They continued to build, and engrossed much of the land which before had paid rent to the priory; and usurped all the oblations which had used to be made to the priory-church. But that which more immediately concerns our abbey is, that these frier-preachers, when they first settled at Dunstaple, besought the charity of the prioress of Markgate, who at that time was Agnes de Gubion; she relieved them with a certain portion of corn, and this continued during her time. When a successor came, the friers demanded it as a right: and, as the history mentions no contradiction, it is probable the charity was continued (a).

In the year 1259 died MATTHEW PARIS, the pride and glory of this monastery; second to none in his days in all reputable learning; and as conspicuous for his piety and virtuous conduct. He came early into this house, and might have been placed in the abbatic chair when John was elected, had he not declined the honour, through fear that it would involve him in care and trouble, and prevent him from recording and writing his great history. We are in-

(a) Cott. MSS. Claud. E. 4.

debted to his industry for all the intelligence of facts prior to his death; as we are to his example for a knowledge of what was posterior: for, in imitation of *Paris*, and to render his history and lives more complete, Wendover and Rishanger continued the same to the death of Henry III. in 1272; and Walsingham, who lived here in the reigns of Henry IV. and V. resumed the history of the abbots, and composed their lives, from John of Hertford inclusive, to the death of Thomas de la Mare(a). This history hath never been printed; nor was it ever seen by Chauncey, or Camden, or Dugdale, or Stevens; and probably read only by Hearne, who hath printed some slight extracts. It will therefore furnish us with much authentic new information of this abbey, from the death of Paris (b).

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The abbey had not been entirely without learned men to record their transactions, both before and after *Paris*: for, before his time lived William, a monk, in 1170; and Walter, another monk of some fame, in 1181; both of whom are mentioned among the learned of the English Benedictines. And, in the beginning of Henry the Third's time, Roger de Windfor had been appointed historiographer by the direction of the abbot, and with a salary from the king; an usual practice in all the great abbeys.

The historical collections of *M. Paris* contained all the notes and remarks of this Windfor; and he continued these to his own death, digested in annals: a fair copy of this is now in the MUSEUM, among the *King's MSS.* written in *Paris's* own hand, and was probably the original whence *Matt. Parker* printed in Elizabeth's time, and which *Dr. Watts* printed from in 1684; an exceeding good hand, but much abbreviated. Rishanger continued the remarks, but noted only civil and state events, unto the death of Henry III. He was historiographer unto Edward I. and II. and died in 1312; yet nothing more

(a) Cott. MSS. Claud. E. 4.

(b) *Walsingham*, the continuator of his history, gives him the following character. Eodem quoque temp. floruit et obiit dom. Matt. Parisiensis, Mon. Eccl. St. Albani; vir quidem eloquens et famosus, innumeris virtutibus plenus, historiographus et chronographus magnificus, dictator egregius, corde frequenter revolvens. Otiositas illuminata est splendore animæ; quem quidem ubi fecerat iniquum presentia cogen- tium partibus remotis. fama reddiderat divulgata commendatum: hic v. r. a multis retroactis temporibus usque ad finem vitæ suæ chronica diligenter colligens, gesta mag- natum tam secularium quam ecclesiasticorum, nec non casus et eventus varios mirabiles in scriptis plenariè redegit; mirabilemque ad posteros notitiam præteritorum, reliquis cer- tificationem. Inerat et tanta subtilitas in auro et argento, ceteroque metallo, in scul- pendo et in picturis depingendo, ut nullum post se in Latino orbe creditur reliquisse secundum. Igitur exemplo ipsius opibus insudemus salubribus incessanter, ut cum ipso premiis remuneremur celestibus. Cott. MSS. Claud. E. 4.

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of his writing has been discovered or has been ever mentioned: and, if he left nothing, this shews a reason why Walsingham, in the time of Henry V. took up the history from the death of *Paris*. There is also, among the same MSS. a most uncommonly fine copy of the *Historia Scholastica*, and probably the very same which, *Paris* says, had been written and procured at great expence, for the use of the church: and, subjoined to the same, is a copy of Grossthead's translation of the patriarch's testament, in the hand writing of *M. Paris* (a).

In the year 1260, and on the day of St. Alphage, (now the 17th of April,) John of Hertford died, having ruled the monastic body twenty-five years, and was buried in the church with a pomp suitable to such a prelate. This abbot conducted himself without any manifest partiality to his parents, relations, or friends; and, unlike some of his predecessors, forbore to enrich or even to gratify them by dissipating the goods or effects of the abbey, either in wanton liberalities or prudent donations. He had conversed much with all the other prelates of the realm, and ever shewn himself a mirror of religion, and an example of the most mature and sober judgement. He was given to hospitality and munificence, and had gained the love and esteem of all persons by his facetious and pleasant discourse: and many of the nobility, who lived out of the kingdom, recommended their children to his care and custody, to be educated and trained up by his directions.

He had lived in times of great trouble and vexation. Henry had often shewn himself very adverse to the nobility and prelates, in matters wherein *Magna Charta* had granted them great privileges: and, as we have seen, the king and the pope were ever thirsting for gold, and, on one pretence or other, harrassing the great for subsidies of money. Many of the prelates were much exposed to their exactions, and forced to live abroad: those of the king's kindred did this by choice. But John had always governed with extreme prudence, to be able to escape the vexations and afflictions which many others had suffered.

The crusades had caused great intercourse between England and the western parts of Europe with Palestine and Greece; through which last country the armies and leaders often passed, and sometimes made long abode there in their passage: and, in 1204, Baldwin, earl of

(a) King's MSS. 4. D. 7.

Flanders, by help of the Latin arms, was made the head of the Grecian empire. By this commerce and communication, many books and manuscripts were brought into the West; and many monks and new institutions of foreign orders were introduced into England, the monasteries abroad having merited favours of the leaders and commanders, from having given them entertainment on their long journeys to the East. And this accounts for the numerous foundations of monasteries in England, during the time of the Crusades; that is, in the period from the end of Rufus to the beginning of Edward I's reign, or from 1100 to 1272: during which time (if the great abbeys that were dissolved amounted to 200) above one half of that number are found to have been established. And it is ascertained, by historical record, that the Carmelites were brought into England, in 1240, by John Vesey and Richard Grey, and fixed by them at Alnwick in Northumberland and at Aylesford in Kent, having been driven out of their habitations on Mount Carmel by the Saracens.

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The thirteenth century produced many great events: it was distinguished by the high power and pre-eminence of the popedom, and by the institution of the two new orders who were intended to supply all the defects of all the other orders. Although the council of Lateran, in 1215, had decreed, with universal consent, *that no new order should be established or created*, yet the exigence of the times gave a sanction to the frier-preachers and frier-minors; and the world beheld these men, not like the drones who lived on the honey of the land, but active and busy, learned and ingenious; preaching and declaiming against heretics, and raising a degree of admiration and consequence which had not been seen before in any of the monastic orders. It was a wise institution for the purpose intended: and every possible encouragement was given to these men by the popes, to manifest to the world that they were as learned and as zealous for religion as the Albigenses and Waldenses. Many circumstances concurred to make them conspicuous. The Pandects, containing the renowned law of the Romans, had been brought into England in the time of king Stephen; Gratian's Decretals and the Canon Law, which had been studied at Bologna only, and was now taught at Paris, the only flourishing university in the West of Europe, found its way into England; and the works of Aristotle were new in this part of the world. The sciences contained in these books, together with the Fathers, furnished all subjects that were reputed worthy to be called learning, wisdom, and religion. Schools were opened by those friers for the instruction of youth, and they procured other universities to be founded: the bishop of Ely, Hugo
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de Balsam, now collected the scattered students of Cambridge, and founded the first college, by the name of St. Peter, in 1257: the like was done at Oxford in 1262 by Baliol: and future founders went on upon the same plan; all calculating for the furtherance of knowledge, and more effectual teaching of arts and science. Hence arose those many ingenious men, called the schoolmen; as, *Albert the Great*, at Cologne; *Peter Lombard*, at Paris; *Thomas Aquinas* and *Bonaventure*, in Italy; and *Frier Bacon*, at Oxford: all whose works are so numerous as to discourage a reader, and we scarce know what they contain; yet we are certain they were the standard of divinity and philosophy, until the revival of Greek and Roman literature. I have made these remarks on purpose to say, that nothing of this new-fashioned learning was yet admitted into this abbey; that it had not more than two or three ingenious men within its walls, in this century, beside *M. Paris*; that learning and science were foreign to their institution, and useless to their occupation, which was to renounce the world and all the concerns of the living, and to contemplate, pray, and intercede for the dead.

Now, whoever reviews what hath been here written, and it is written with a most faithful regard to truth, must be convinced, that these monastic institutions were not founded, in any age, with a view to ease, indulgence, and gratification: for, while they observed their rule and maintained the same strict form of worship, they could not be liable to a suspicion of that nature. Yet, when at length, in spite of all their public utility (a), any small deviation or remissness of duty was observed, this was enough to raise a charge against them, among such as envied their possessions; even though these lay reformers and zealous accusers were themselves guilty of more irregular and more criminal conduct. In the theology of those times this was reckoned the most perfect life, and probably men embraced it upon principle, and with a sincere dedication of themselves to the worship and service of God: but there is no part of that mystery of iniquity, which Christ and his Apostles foretold would work, more visible and conspicuous than the worship and devotion of these monks. Indeed, where no instruction was used or allowed, they faithfully believed, and zealously adhered to, such doctrines as they found already

(a) At first sight this expression may appear exceptionable: but, when it is recollected that these foundations instructed the young, entertained the traveller, fed the poor, and nursed and cherished the sick and aged, at a time when neither schools, nor work-houses, nor hospitals, were established, it will be agreed that their utility was considerable.

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taught. Their general duty was to mortify themselves : and, with surprising patience, they submitted to the painful duties of fasting and watching ; but their occupation they ever considered as being devoted to the service of the dead. And it is wonderful to behold, how much more diligent they were to serve the dead than to benefit the living : the latter they left in a great measure to the parish-priest ; but their own peculiar province was to be factors for the dead, and to render them all possible aid and succour by their prayers in this world. The popes and rulers of the Christian church at Rome had framed a very ingenious plan of doctrine to this purpose : and, setting out upon the pagan notion of an inherent and natural immortality of the soul, they had devised and established a system of proceedings upon all departed mortals, by which they had made the dead still subject to the laws of the church. They filled up that undefined period in man's existence with many and interesting events : they devised a state of purgatory, wherein all departed souls were supposed to be purifying by fire from the pollutions contracted in life : they assumed to themselves the power of the keys, or, as they explained it, a power of passing judgement on departed souls, and inflicting a heavier or lighter punishment on them. The passage of Scripture, that mentions the power of the keys, intimates no more than an admission into the church of Christ by baptism, or into Heaven by repentance ; and implies that the terms of admission, as practised by Peter or others, should be regarded and respected in the future judgement of those persons at the last day ; that whatever obligations of duty and obedience the apostles should lay on the converted, or whatever forgiveness and pardon of sin they should extend to the penitent, according to the promises and conditions of Christ himself, the same sentence should be regarded and inviolably kept by Jesus himself, when he had power in Heaven, or should come down to judge the Earth. The popes therefore, fancying themselves pre-eminent to Peter, and to be the vicars of Christ, assumed greater power and authority, and framed something of a code for the better governing these invisible and distant subjects. This power, of binding and loosing, they exercised in its fullest extent. They taught that men were unavoidably doomed to that place of purgatory, and, for their certain sins and infirmities, were bound to undergo the pains and penalties of it : and therefore they did not add to those severe inflictions, and bind on them stricter terms ; but they chose to exercise the more pleasant and gracious part of this papal prerogative, that of loosing and remitting part of their punishment. Hence arose the contrivance of

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indulgences, which are remissions of the pains and penalties there inflicted; and, if this act of grace was at first extended toward the dead, it soon found its way, in the papal chancery, to be useful and beneficial toward the living: and then indulgences began to be sold, and persons who were anxious of their future welfare paid money, to obtain a respite for a number of days. The first business was the employment of the monks, who acted as a kind of attorneys, to secure the interest of the departed; and for this they always received the payment first, either by a legacy from the deceased, or by a certain rent or pension payable out of his estate, and secured as a demand on the heirs. The latter method, that of obtaining a respite, and which is properly to be called indulgence, was practised by the pope on all emergencies when he wanted money. And this was a main expedient used against the Albigenses and Waldenses, who had affected to deride and to confute these impositions; yet he raised great sums of money by the sale of them (a), and kept down the growing power of those people: for, it seemed, that the purchasers set a greater value on a falsehood for which they had given money than on a truth which they might receive gratis. The next step to aid the monks in this business was to invent as many mediators as possible: and, for this purpose of having friends at court, they exalted the mother of Jesus, and some of the apostles; but especially many of the saints, or voluntary devotees, who had undergone extreme austerities! Very few of the Greek or Latin fathers were reckoned in this catalogue. Hence arose altars, and offerings, and particular worship, to these nominal intercessors. Then the popes pretended that in their possession was lodged a wonderful treasure of merits, which, beginning with the merits of the Redeemer, had been immensely augmented by the merits of the saints and followers of Jesus; all of whom having some portion of merit more than their own case required, they had thrown in the superfluity, and the pope had a power to apply this as he pleased, and retail it out to such as wanted. If their adversaries derided this venal traffic, then they said it was the treasure of God's mercy, and that Jesus had intrusted them with the key of it, and a power to give or lend as the case required. Hence arose the doctrine of merits and supererogation: and hence followed the practice of many to live in the most careless, if not profligate and abandoned, manner, when they were told that their

(a) The pope, Leo X. was selling these indulgences for the purpose of building St. Peter's church, when Luther preached against them,

salvation could be worked out by others: hence also arose a reverence for the dead, and a degree of worship; which was soon extended to the garments, or bones, or relics, of any sort; and this opened a door to numberless frauds, and imposed on the laity, but was ever gainful to the monks.

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It is impossible to revolve in our minds this corrupt system of doctrine and worship without shuddering at the extreme impudence of those who could invent and establish it, and at the gross ignorance and credulity of those who could receive and follow it. But this was the mystery of iniquity foretold by St. Paul, who, at the same time that we wonder at this system, furnishes us with the most powerful argument of the truth of our religion, when viewed in the purity of the gospel.

The monstrous impiety and blasphemy of Popery excite in us something far beyond indignation: we are alarmed at considering the future doom of these men, who taught devices, tricks, and other expedients beside a sober and virtuous life, to gain the blessedness of Heaven; who made instruction no part of the public worship; who thought they governed and fed the flock of Christ, if they could keep the people in subjection; who confined the church of Christ to the body of the clergy; and who taught that the grossest ignorance in their followers approached very near to perfect innocence.

In this period of my history the church had arrived at the meridian of its splendor and glory: or, to speak in more just language, the pope and clergy had attained the summit of their worldly power and grandeur, and boasted of having derived this pre-eminence from the blessed and holy Jesus, although *he* renounced all earthly greatness, and said, '*His kingdom was not of this world.*' The ignorance of the laity, the weak state of all governments, and the want of energy in the laws and of unanimity in the councils of princes, gave to churchmen an opportunity of mounting above the rulers of the earth. But in that spiritual kingdom, as they called it, or rather earthly dominion, in which the church held the temporal subjects of all princes, it is something curious to observe what resemblance the features of their rule and ordinances bear to the laws of the civil power. Thus the power of binding and loosing is analogous to a man's being bound by a recognizance, to forfeit so much if he does not comply; and loosing is a real respite of the penalty for a longer time. Excommunications (a) are a kind of spiritual outlawry: and, though at first

(a) Mosheim, vol. II. 64.

John II. the 23d abbot. they meant only an exclusion from the society of the faithful, they have since been followed with many disabilities and painful losses of civil privilege. An interdict from the pope, which was a total prohibition of all public worship, was borrowed from the Roman law, and prohibited the person from fire and water, and the enjoyment of all domestic comforts and society, and treated him as a vagabond and a Pagan. In the constitution of the church many things were appointed in full resemblance to the civil state. For instance, a benefice was copied from the gift, or donation, of land given to the old soldier: institution is authority given to exercise spiritual functions: but induction is analogous to livery and seizin, and is an investiture of the temporal rights and profits. First fruits, or annates, were an invention of the popes or bishops of Rome (for they are very early), and borrowed from the primer seizin of the feudal system; they were one year's profit of the land or benefice. Mortuaries also were required as ecclesiastic heriots. The species of trial by wager of law in the Saxon courts was copied by the Roman clergy in their canonical compurgation. Cathedrals and bishops sees, palaces and courts, were constituted with much resemblance to imperial courts, and with the same officers, alike in name and in power, as that of chancellor, treasurer, &c. And thus the church of Rome, ever emulous of imperial state, adopted similar titles and offices, and laid the foundation of a rival empire (a).

(a) Blackstone's Comment. III. 46.

CHAP.

C H A P T E R V.

ROGER NORTON.

THE prior, soon after the funeral of John, dismissed three of the monks to the king, to obtain licence to elect a successor, and to make fine for the custody of the abbey and its temporalities. The licence of election was granted without delay or debate, and agreement made for 600 marks to the king, in lieu of all his rights, privileges, and perquisites, during a supposed vacancy: by this agreement the abbey was enabled to retain all presentations to their churches, and to hold all waifs, forfeitures, reliefs, and escheats, that might have happened. The day of election drawing near, and all the distant members who could attend this duty being arrived, the first step, as had been usual, was to make choice of the electors, called *Compromissors*, who had the sole power of electing, and were now nine in number, though they had been twelve at the time the last abbot was elected. These nine were appointed, not in a general chapter, but by the three or four priests who had authority to take confessions, and were, on that account, the most pre-eminent of the priesthood. Their voice was unanimous for ROGER DE NORTHONE (or Norton). The election was declared the next day, and instantly the new-elected, taking with him the priors of Tinmouth and of Wymundham, and some of the brethren, hastened away to the king, with letters of election; and as speedily returned. The king then sent his own letters, with those of the convent, to the pope for confirmation. These letters were accompanied with letters also from the bishop of Norwich, then the pope's agent, &c. and with other letters from the bishop of Ely, and the abbots of Waltham and of

Roger the 24th abbot of St. Augustine in Canterbury, relative to this election, and probably to attest the good character of the elected. These were all sent by a messenger bearing a letter to the king's agent at Rome, called his proctor.

The pope, on receiving them, gave charge to the cardinal de Cornario, with two other cardinals, to examine the election; and, on their report, ordered bulls(a) to be prepared and sent to the prior and convent, confirming the election. These papal dispatches contained also many charges of duty and obedience to the elect, with letters to the bishops of London and of Ely, directing them to confer on the elect the grace of the holy benediction. Finally, the pope sent, as usual on these occasions, a letter to the king, intreating, on behalf of the abbot and the freemen of the land of St. Alban, that they may be allowed to pay obedience to the church of St. Alban; that is, that the king would not employ the civil power to diminish the rights and privileges of the holy church. These being received by the king and by the abbey, the benediction was conferred by the said bishop, the abbot of Waltham being present and assisting: this ceremony was performed before the great altar, on the Sunday before the Nativity, 1263.

The first thing done by Roger was to recover the abbey's estate at Childwic. It has been said how troublesome and vexatious Geoffrey de Childwic had been to the abbey, although their tenant and lessee: he had died lately, and given all his lands to his brother, including those within the manor of Childwic, which manor he had held of the abbey; the brother, sensible of a bad title to these, suffered the bailiff of the abbey, under the orders of Roger, to enter and recover the same; and, on petition from Roger to queen Eleanor, she caused the brother to pay all the costs and charges which Geoffrey had made the abbey to suffer, and to give a writing to quit claim, &c.

The priory of Wymundham gave fresh cause of trouble; for, the countess of Arundel, named Isabella D'Aubeny, claimed a right of appointing the prior at every vacancy; at least, that the abbey should not appoint any one whom she should not think to be *idoneus*. The convent would not agree to her having a power to reject, and said they were bound, by the charter of the founder, to defend, with the goods of the mother church, all injuries and contradictions made against that priory; and, the priory having saved some money, the

(a) So named from the Great Seal appendant, called *Bulla*.

abbot caused it to refund 200l. in order to defend this right : and the countess withdrew her claims and pretensions.

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In 1264, a great tumult and assault happened from the townsmen of St. Albans. They had been long accustomed to make woollen, though of the meanest kind ; but now they intended to full the cloth, and began to employ the mills for that purpose, and were content to grind their corn at home in small handmills. However advantageous this might prove to them, the abbot would not suffer his mills, four or five in number, to be applied to this use, and caused his bailiff to seize and distrain the handmills : great confusion arose, and violent outrage filled the town. The queen came down, and multitudes crowded the ways in expectation of meeting her and supplicating her on their behalf ; but the abbot took care to conduct her to the monastery by some private way. The people, thus disappointed, were more outrageous : however, by her mediation a compromise was effected, peace restored, and the mills converted to their former use. The town at this time was so barricaded at every avenue, on account of this insurrection within and the barons wars without, that it was called, from this fortified state and the positive refusal to any horseman to enter, Little London. During this tumult, the constable of Hertford castle, named Gregory de Stokes, came with three attendants armed, with intent to compel the seditious to observe peace and good order ; but the townsmen, pretending he meant to burn or to plunder the town, with extreme rashness and insolence seized them and cut off their heads, which they fixed on poles and set up at each entrance to the town. The king, hearing of this outrage, amerced the town in 100 marks, which they instantly paid.

In 1269, and during the life of king Henry, the church of Datchet became vacant by the death of Richard Green ; on which the abbot, who was the true patron, presented his clerk, William Blunden, to the bishop of Lincoln, then Richard de Gravesende, whom the bishop received, and made no objection ; but, before the institution, the bishop died. On which Sir Henry Pynkeney, knt. obtained from the Court of King's Bench a brief, under pretence that the advowson belonged to him, with a writ presenting William Eyton to that church. The king sent a letter of prohibition to the new bishop, commanding him to proceed no farther : Pynkeney urged his right, and moved a suit in the King's Bench, advising the abbot to forbear opposition, *because he was very familiar at court, and would be supported by all the body that surrounded the king.* At length Pynkeney came into court, attended by Alphonse, the governor of the young prince, and many

Roger the many other courtiers: the abbot pleaded long usage, unvaried right, and constant exercise of that right: the court adjourned and put off a farther hearing: then the abbot began to fail in his resolutions, and to foresee much trouble; yet he hoped the adverse party would delay so long, that the living (after six months from the avoidance) would lapse to the new bishop, that he should thus get rid of his adversary, and that, if the bishop should in future times claim the advowson, he and his successors would find a milder or a more just enemy to contend with.

In the midst of these hopes he received a gracious letter from the queen, saying how acceptable it would be to her, if he would present Eyton to the living. Pynkeney then declined the suit, said he should be well content if the abbot would comply with the queen's request, and, in short, began to think his claim not so good as he did at first, and would renounce entirely, if the abbot would gratify the queen. To this the abbot consented, and, resuming the former presentation, he made another in favour of Eyton: and all the parties met at Chesham, together with the archdeacon of Bucks; the abbot having sent Geoffrey Cambridge thither as sacrist. Eyton was instituted, and Blunden returned to the cloister, but not without some present to assuage his disappointment. Pynkeney, next year, renounced all right and claim, on viewing the deeds of his ancestors, and delivered the renunciation in a written form.

The next year the king sent down a letter, which was read in the consistory, in presence of the abbot, the whole body, and all the neighbouring gentry, requiring the abbey to elect a *coroner*, in the room of their seneschal, who had always exercised that office. Edward, in his third year, ordained that none under the rank of a knight should serve this office; and, though this letter was sent two years before the death of Henry, it seems to favour of that innovation and reform which Edward afterwards put more fully into practice.

It was now discovered that two of the monks, one of whom was collector of all the rents and revenues, had committed many forgeries, by affixing the abbey-seal to several instruments, as bonds, contracts, and obligations; whereby the abbey appeared to be borrowing money, and yet none came into the great chest. The usual custom was this; the prior, sub-prior, præcentor, and this chaplain, (who was collector instead of the cellarer, now charged with want of sobriety,) had each a seal; and whatever papers or deeds required to be made authentic, or, as we now speak, to be passed, were

were all brought into a secret parlour, and left there until the receiver could find time to affix the seal, which was to make them valid, instead of his writing his name. And this gave them opportunity to sign many that were not seen or known by the abbot. This discovery made it necessary to excommunicate the offenders, to declare the papers, from such a period, null and void, and to break the seal.

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In 1275, it was ordained in full chapter, and for their future observation, that, when any prior or monk became incapable of duty through age or infirmity, he should be allowed a small annuity, and permitted to return to his friends, if he chose it, for the rest of his life. Another ordinance was made also, by the like authority, decreeing, that, when any monk died abroad, or out of the monastery, which happened sometimes at Redburn, the keeper of the infirmary should provide a cart and horses (*carettam et equos*) to convey the body to the gate of St. German's chapel, where the servants of the infirmary should attend to receive the same and carry it to the infirmary, with the cross borne, holy water sprinkled, censers burning, and tapers lighted; the whole procession chaunting certain psalms: and that, in the infirmary, the body should undergo all the necessary washings, embowelling, salting, sewing up, and decent apparel, previous to its being committed to the dust. And thus a costly burial after death was to console the poor monk for a life of toil and watchfulness, and a course of painful duty.

The church of Chinner became vacant by the death of William Penne, and one Hugo, a goldsmith of London, presented, in prejudice of the cell at Wallingford; the prior of which asserted his right, and that he had before presented to it one Richard Sotwell, and he now cautioned the bishop of Lincoln against institution. The cause was delayed, but heightened into a law-suit; and the bishop, taking advantage of a lapse, collated to the church one Coleman, as if in full right: but, at the assize, the right of patronage was adjudged to the prior, and the king wrote to the bishop, injoining him, that, notwithstanding the proclamation of Hugo, he would proceed to institute a proper person. The church of Thirfield (or Turville, as now called) in Bucks had long been in the possession of the abbey: and, about this time, the abbot having neglected to send a proctor to the bishop's synod at Aylesbury, the officers of the bishop's court (*Ordinarii*) took possession of Thirfield by direction, and declared it to be sequestered. The abbot requested the vicar of Wycomb, who was dean of the synod, to desire of the sequestrators to withdraw, and he

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would make satisfaction for his error. The dean contemned the request and would not comply. The abbot then wrote to the vicars of Wynflow and of Horwood that they should declare the dean excommunicated for his disobedience. The vicars obeyed, and thereupon John de Luca, the official of Buckingham, issued a mandate to the vicars of Hugendon and Medmeham, that they should publicly pronounce, in the said church of Wycomb, that the above excommunication was null and void, and declare that the vicars of Wynflow and of Horwood had no jurisdiction, either ordinary or delegate, against the dean; and he commenced a suit against them for an unjust excommunication, and for issuing citations contrary to the privileges of St. Alban's monastery. The vicars appealed to the court of arches, or the archbishop's court, in which the sentence of the official was annulled and the sequestration taken off; but not until the vicars had obtained a prohibition from the king.

These sequestrations were much in practice, and bear a very near resemblance to distress at common-law. For, in 1281, Peecham, the archbishop, summoned to a council, assembled at Lambeth, all the exempt and non-exempt of his province; and, on the refusal of some, he ordered his suffragan bishops to take possession of certain churches, and sequester the goods and chattels to their own use; and charging those churches, if they could not prove a rightful exemption, to appeal. On which the abbots of St. Peter Westminster, of St. Alban, of St. Edmund, and of Waltham, protested unto the hands of a notary-public their exemption, and appealed to the official court of Canterbury, where the judge, Peter de Saint Maire, ordained them to 'pay the accustomed composition, that the sequestration, or distresses, should be taken off, and the appeals dismissed: that they should reserve their defence *intégrè*, and submit unanimously; and so comport themselves for the future, that these transactions might not derogate from the privileges of the abbeyes, or from the dignity of the archbishop, whenever he should call a like assembly.' A sentence that leaves open the claims and pretensions of all the parties.

A great contest and suit at law arose in civil matters also between the abbot and one William Merun of Sandridge; the latter having alleged, that the abbot, by his servants of the manor, had seized his horses and cows, and imprisoned his body, for not performing the services due and incumbent on him. The abbot answered that William was a *villanus*, and held his land subject to such services, which had not been performed, and that the abbot had pursued the remedy directed by the law. Merun valued his 3 oxen and 4 horses

at 11 marks. This suit had begun in the 54th year of Henry III. and the two litigants had been vexing each other ever since; Merun still pleading that he was a free man, and held his land free from any service: but now at the assize and by the sentence of John de Ryegate, the justiciary, he was proved to hold only in *villanage*: and thereon the abbot seized his land, and infeofed another tenant therein.

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In 1277, it was ordained in a general chapter of the Benedictines, that the psalm, which is called *Fides Athnanassi, Quicumque vult*, should not in future be recited at the prime, or first service of the day, except on Sundays: it used to be repeated in all the festivals, and made twelve lessons in a week. Many other omissions were also directed, in order to shorten the service. And Edward I. having, in the next Parliament, procured an act, or statute, forbidding the religious to hold or appropriate to themselves any lands, rents, or possessions, my author (a) says, he did this *in ultionem tantæ pigritiæ*. This was the famous STATUTE OF MORTMAIN, and the first ever made on that subject. It enjoins that the religious shall not receive *Fees* by purchase, by appropriation, by gift, or by any services, which, having been provided for the defence of the realm, have been unjustly omitted and withdrawn. It charges the chief lord to enter, and, by default of one year, the king shall enter, and infeof others in certain services for the defence of the realm: reserving to the chief lord his escheats, wards, and other accustomed dues. The pope's council at Lyons, held in 1245, had decreed that the religious should pay tenths of the just value of their goods and possessions, temporal and spiritual; and 200 marks of silver was imposed on this abbey, as a yearly payment, to relieve the remaining Christians in Palestine against the Saracens. Roger had been present (b) and consented; but the times of payment were not observed, and, for this default, the present pope inhibited the worship to go on; and the whole service ceased, until, by the intercession of John Darlington, a frier-preacher, they obtained an absolution; that is, probably, paid their money.

The falsifying the abbey-seal had caused great frauds, and, about the time of the abbot's death, there were discovered at London two deeds under these seals, declaring that a Jew had lent the abbey 1000 marks, and that the monks had pawned, for sums of money, certain of their valuable trinkets, &c. as golden crowns, and precious stones, two cups of gold of 24 pounds weight, beside 300

(a) Walsingham, MS.

(b) He had attended as one of the proctors for his predecessor, John of Hertford.
See p. 146.

Roger the silver spoons. The like fraud was found to have been committed on
 24th abbot. the abbey at Reading; where the Jew, being taken and prosecuted, suffered death as a cheat and impostor, confessing the fraud. And it was supposed that some Jew had corrupted the keepers of the seals here, and, by their connivance, had purloined the plate and jewels.

In 1278, the abbot visited Tynmouth, and abode six weeks at Durham, and, having received great civilities from the bishop, he invited him, in return, to Tynmouth; but here the prior objected, who, having some years since aimed at independency and shewn himself very contumacious, was preparing to revive his ancient enmities: however, at length, he complied, and admitted the two great men, and unanimity prevailed. After an entertainment of some days the bishop returned well pleased, and the abbot hastened back to his abbey, where he was received with great joy, and much applauded for his successful visit at Tynmouth, in reclaiming a disobedient brother.

In the next year, the abbot was summoned by the king's justices itinerant to Maidstone, to shew by what warrant, or right, he claimed view of Frankpledge over the tenants of the manor of Eastwell, and affize of bread and ale, and amerced them in his manor-court at Eastwell; and over such as used to follow the court of our lord the king. One William Tylingham prosecuted for the king, and said that king Richard was seized of these farms and liberties, as belonging to his crown; that John and Henry had holden the same in like manner; and that the abbot holds them by subtraction, and damnifies the king in 100l. a year. The abbot defended, by his attorney, and said, that Nigel D'Aubeney (*de Albineo*) held the said manor with all its liberties, &c. and gave the same to God and the church; and that he, the abbot, held, as Nigel had given, for the redemption of his and his parents souls; and produced the charter-deed. The prosecutor replied, that, whatever confirmation Richard might give, his predecessors had possessed this manor; and insisted that the abbot should put himself on his country. The jury found 'that none of the kings had
 ' been seized of this manor prior to Richard, that the abbot and his
 ' predecessors had from length of time (from which time there exists no
 ' memory or record) used the said liberty, or view of frankpledge, with
 ' affize of bread and ale, and had amerced the tenants, and had made
 ' no subtraction from the hundred court of Estre; but that the bailiff,
 ' and two men of the manor, did every year make suit at the hundred
 ' court on the two law-days; so that the king's court suffered no
 ' sub-

‘ subtraction. And farther, it is adjudged that the abbot depart *sine*
‘ *die*, and that the king is intituled to nothing for his brief (a).’

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24th abbot.

The king, by his justices, caused many inquisitions to be made concerning the privileges of his crown, and actually seized into his hands many of the liberties belonging to the religious. Our abbot was summoned to answer, by what warrant he claimed to have and possess divers liberties in divers manors and places, as well in what belonged to the principal monastery as to the cells; but, on producing the records and instruments, the justices were satisfied, and allowed all their claims. This was practised on the cell at Hertford, at which place the abbot was brought before John de Ryegate and others, on the morrow of All Souls, in 6 of Edward I. to answer to the claims of some others on the lands held by this priory; but the abbot claimed (under the grants of Henry II. Richard, and John) view of frankpledge, chattels of felons and fugitives, and free warren, in all the lands belonging to the priory; and, on view of those grants, the abbot's rights were approved.

The Edwards ruled all their subjects with a much stronger hand than Henry had used. For, the abject submission of John, and the concessions he had made to the pope and the church, had prevailed through Henry's reign, to the ruin and debasement of the crown, the impoverishing of the people, and the great exaltation of the clergy. But Edward I. had courage to institute better order, and to work a reform: with this view, he formed a second council, in Parliament, of the lesser barons, knights, and burgessees; by which the lower ranks of subjects were raised to some importance, and this second council was a kind of counterprize to the power of the barons, who composed the first. And now, having united these two branches in legislation, he used them in restraining the increasing wealth of the clergy, who, he perceived, were always acquiring but never alienated. In the seventh year he procured the Mortmain-Act, and the year before he had issued *quo warranto*'s to several bodies of the lesser clergy to shew their titles. Under these restraints, the clergy were less enterprising in the affairs of state, and Edward confined them to the peaceful discharge of their duty.

Our abbot procured many advantages in point of estate and landed property. He had obtained from Henry III. a grant of a market for Codicote, to be held on the sixth day of every week (or on Saturday) throughout the year, with all the privileges and free customs belonging

(a) Capiat nil propter breve suum.

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to markets; and also a grant for a yearly fair for four days. He obtained also of divers persons, who had leased small estates to the abbey, for the maintenance of an aged parent or servant, that they should, at the death of such persons, quit claim and renounce their right: of this sort of purchase, called *perquisitio*, there were more than forty, although the premises were often no more than an acre of land, or a rood, or, perhaps, a wretched cottage falling to the ground. And here we may discern the origin of that mode of conveyance, by lease and release, which prevailed for many years, until the last century, and which, though practised by the clergy as an evasion of the statute, yet came into universal use with the laity and others. Norton also extinguished many claims and latent rights, by giving an equivalent in money: as, for instance, he procured from John Lewis of Luton, a written grant, which John had obtained with much solicitation, for leave of common pasture in the abbot's pool at Luton near the mill: in all the manors he bought out the rights of the little tenants: and, at Watford, he procured or abolished the right of taking toll there, practised by the millers for grinding: and of these small redemptions the number was above twenty. He bestowed much cost in adorning the church and the monastery; which last was now deemed very splendid and handsome, (*speciosissima*,) for, he had furnished all the chambers (*cameras*) with chimneys and closets. He also rebuilt the infirmary, and gave 100 marks to the work; this was executed by the diligence of the prior, John Maryns, who, unknown to the abbot, took the timber out of the abbot's wood, and completed the work in two years. He gave to the choir seventeen copes of crimson, adorned on the shoulders with images, or figures, made of gold fringe, and in them was worked the name of the donor, for the perpetual record of his fame. He gave four altar-cloths, and one for the Virgin's altar, where mass was said every day and sung *ad notam*, that is, the service set to music. He gave also a pair of decretals; and the sums, or comments, of Raymund, Manfred, and Bernard, on the decretals: and, among many other choice books, he bestowed one in which was contained Seneca and his discourses. He caused a very large and deep-sounding (*sonorossima*) bell, to be made and hung up, to be struck every night at the time of Curfew; and two other bells in honour of St. Alban and St. Catharine: and he broke four old bells to furnish the metal, &c. for these three. He caused one censer to be made, of silver gilt, and very handsome, weighing 4lb. 11oz. and of price 11 marks, which is 2s. 6d. per oz.

In

In his last illness he caused all the plate to be brought before him, and made donations of the same to his secular friends, and gave money also to his relations. He gave likewise some corrodies, putting the chapter-seal to the grants with his own hands. He was suspected of conniving secretly at the loss and alienation of Stanmere and of Horwode, both of which were claimed under ancient grants or leases from the abbey, in which, it was pretended, the abbey had not observed the covenants, and thereby the right was forfeited; this might be; yet it was almost impossible to vindicate ancient rights, at a time when the crown and its judges called every thing, belonging to the clergy, in question. But, as he had done numberless things well, he was easily excused for some few that appeared ill; and he departed with the love and esteem of all, who gave great tokens of real sorrow and concern: at his death the church was not 100 marks in debt. After thirty years rule and strenuous exertions, he died in 1290, and was buried before the great altar; the bishop of Ely performing the funeral service, and the prior of Waltham with a great number of religious and seculars attending.

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24th abbot.

Having already mentioned the high hand with which Edward swayed the sceptre, and hinted at some of the means he took to restrain the power and consequence of the clergy, I will here add a few observations, that grow out of that subject or tend to illustrate it. The statute of Mortmain not only forbade the clergy to make purchases, but also to receive even by gift and donation. And Edward discovered, so early as the third year of his reign (1275) in what manner he meant to govern the clergy of his kingdom: for, in this year, he procured the statute of Westminster the first, which considerably lessened the privileges of clerkship. On this statute *Sir Edward Coke* observes, (3 Edward I. cap. 2.) that, before this act, if any clerk had been arrested, for the death of a man or any other felony, and the ordinary did demand him in the presence of the secular judge, he was to be delivered, without any inquisition to be made of the crime. But, after this statute, when any clerk was indicted of any felony, and refused to answer to the felony on the score of his clerkship, and was demanded by his ordinary; in this case, before he was delivered to the ordinary, an inquisition was to be taken, whether he was guilty of the fact or not, and, if he were found guilty, his goods and chattels were forfeited, and his lands seized into the hands of the king. But then, as *Fleta* reports, if the clerk was delivered afterward to the ordinary, and

Roger the 24th abbot. and stood the test of the spiritual court, and cleared himself by the customary forms of purgation, the king, on certificate from the ordinary, was bound to restore him his goods, chattels, and lands. Thus, by the interpretation of the clergy, the last judgement of the offence was left with the diocesan. This privilege continued with the spiritual courts until the reign of Elizabeth, when it was enacted (18 Eliz.) that no man, allowed his clergy, should be delivered to his ordinary (a).

It was not merely with a view to reduce the exorbitant power of the church, or to gratify the king's pique and envy, that parliament passed the Mortmain-act; there were other reasons, of a more public nature, which swayed with both king and Parliament: for, when estates were given to the church, many of the services incident to the fee were sunk: the lords lost their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and the public lost the military aid which was due for those fees. So that the number of fees, though by the appointment of the Conqueror they amounted to 60,000, was, by the negligence or refusal of the clergy, diminished to one third of that number.

The king also, in the parliament holden at Westminster in 1285, obtained another statute that affected the clergy, called the statute of *circumspecte agatis*; which was intended to distinguish the two jurisdictions, and to ascertain the limits of the spiritual and temporal courts; and was meant as a sort of a barrier between the church and the state. It set forth that causes *merely spiritual*, and therein specified, did come within the cognizance of the court Christian, and that no prohibition should issue from the civil courts in such causes; for that they have no mixture of the temporalities, and because they are corrections *pro salute animæ*. And this prudent salutary law endures to this day.

The king continued to act with much more rigour, and, from his former success, proceeded to greater severity. For, in the parliament, holden at St. Edmundsbury in 1296, the laity granted the king a large supply, but the clergy refused to contribute any thing, alleging, that their late payment of half a year's profit ought to excuse them. The king rejected this excuse, and ordered all the barns of the clergy to be locked up. On which the archbishop Winchelsey directed the bull of pope Boniface to be read in all the churches; by virtue of which the clergy were forbidden, under excommunication, to pay any taxes to the king without the pope's consent; and all collectors of

(a) Coll. I. 478.

such a tax were put under the like censure. The archbishop convened the bishops and clergy to a synod at St. Paul's; and the king sent them a charge not to make any constitutions prejudicial to his prerogative or the public repose, or to disturb any person under his protection and government. The synod instantly entered on the matter of subsidy, and the majority refused to comply. On this the king's highness ordered his officers to seize the horses of the clergy and religious; he also forbade the lawyers to plead for them, and denied them the assistance both of the bench and of the bar; in fine, he commanded them to be outlawed, and put out of the protection of the government. In this situation did they continue, until four prelates proposed a temper and accommodation: but the archbishop refused any qualifying expedient; on which the king seized on all his estates, and he was reduced to extreme necessity; yet still he protested against all compliance. The four prelates proposed, that they should give one-fourth part of their goods, and deposit the money in the safe custody of some sanctuary, to be hereafter applied and expended, in the public service of church and state. The king was now engaged in a war with France, and, hearing that the money was collected and deposited, he made a seizure of the whole, in contempt of the sanctuary; after which he took off the outlawry, and restored their horses, &c.

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The pope was not a whit behind hand in this dexterous way of getting money; for, the next year he also practised on the Franciscans. These holy brethren sent a deputation of three brothers to the pope, to request that he would be pleased to empower them to purchase lands, and live like other orders, and renounce the scandal of begging; and they were to offer him 40,000 ducats for a bull to this effect. The pope inquired if they had the money ready? yes, they answered, it was at Rome in the hands of a certain banker, whom they named: he then desired three days to consider the petition, at the end of which time they were directed to return: he, in the interval, sent and demanded the money of the banker; and, in order to quiet his conscience, he accompanied this demand with an absolution for breach of trust. When the three days were expired, the holy friars waited on the pope, elated with hope. But he said, 'he could not suffer them to renounce the oath of poverty, nor was it advisable to dispense with the rule of St. Francis: and, as to the money, it must remain for the use of the Roman see (a).'

(a) Matt. West. ad. an. 1299.

JOHN OF BERKHAMPSTEAD.

John III. the
25th abbot.

The death of Norton being known, the king's escheator, named Malcolm, hastened down, and, demanding all the keys, made a very strict search into the chests and coffers of the late abbot. He made an inventory of all the effects which he thought had been the property of the abbot; visited all the farms and granges in hand; and proceeded to sell the crops then growing, the horses, cattle, and implements: he took no money, but agreed for price: the officers of the house remonstrated on this new proceeding; and, the king being apprized hereof, he came down, now in the 18th year of his reign. He made strict enquiry into the state and rule of the house, and, after some days, restored all the temporalities, and reinstated the monks in their possessions. The prior, John de Maryns, had procured the election to be made a few days before the king's arrival; and therefore the new-elected was now presented, and many expressions, full of approbation, passed. Four monks were dispatched to Rome, to procure confirmation; where they were made to undergo a very strict examination, relative to the form of the election. The prior, noting the activity of the escheator, went from one priory to the other, to give them warning of his visits, and to put them on their guard.

During the vacancy, the vicarage of Hoston had become void: and the prior and convent presented, and the archbishop approved and gave institution, without any interruption from the king, or any claims of prerogative being urged.

The new-elected abbot thought it necessary to go to Rome in person, although his four brethren had appeared there with all the usual credentials for gaining confirmation. This *John of Berkhamstead*, therefore, was the *first*, who, as Willis notes, went to Rome on this business *in person*. When he arrived at *Civita Vecchia*, called, in the language of Rome, *Urbs Antiqua*, he was met by two cardinals, and suffered to approach no nearer; but he was here interrogated, in the strictest manner, as to the forms of the election and his own qualifications; whether he lay under any canonical impediment; when and where the election was holden, to which it was answered on the 5th Id. Dec. Many questions were put to the abbot, of the most trivial kind; as if the court of Rome feared some collusion in the appointment,

ment, and would not be satisfied with the usual attestations. The abbot had gone to Rome, by the advice of his chapter, in order to obviate that probable severity which they were likely to experience from the king, and to make a friend at Rome: and, on the other hand, the cardinals made the most minute inquiry into the life and morals of the elect, as if to obviate any future objection which the king might make. The charge and expences of this journey exceeded 1300 marks, of which about 800 went in liberalities to the cardinals and to the holy chest.

John III. the
25th abbot.

The abbot, on his return, stopped at the priory at Hertford for some days, in order to attend the king, then returning from Northampton. On his Majesty's arrival, the abbot presented to him the instrument of confirmation, received at Rome; but, the king observing that it had its seal, or bull, of lead, he said it was null and void, and perhaps a counterfeit. This was an unexpected obstacle; but the abbot dispatched a messenger to the *camerarius*, or keeper of the records, then at Redburn, to produce other and more ancient bulls; these being of lead also, the king withdrew his objection, admitted the abbot to his oath of allegiance, and directed his escheator to restore the temporalities. On St. Alban's day, the abbot returned, and was received with great solemnity: the abbot of Waltham attended, a great mass was performed, a vast multitude was present, and the prior had provided with uncommon splendor for the joy of the day.

The abbot had taken up the 1300 marks, expended when abroad, of the foreign merchants, and given bills for the same; and now the time was approaching for payment, but no money could our abbot find: the treasury was empty, and the house impoverished. On this he repaired to the king, and besought him to direct his escheator to purchase the crops on the ground, and take them at the price he had set a few months before: the king complied, and the escheator sold the corn on the ground, and raised for the abbot 913 marks, 10s. 5d. This was in July, 1291.

It was now the year 1293 (21 of Edward), when the king directed the sheriff of Northumberland to order the abbot of St. Alban's to yield up to his majesty the advowson of the priory of Tinmouth, unjustly withheld (a) from him; and, in case of refusal, 'that the abbot do appear before our justices itinerant, at the next assize, and have 'you there this brief.' Dated, Robertsbury, November 30. The abbot presented himself before the king, but in great dismay and

(a) Deforciatus.

John III. the 25th abbot. trouble, and represented the impropriety and utter impossibility of gratifying his Majesty: the king at length forbore his suit, and gave the abbot a charter of confirmation; so that his view in this proceeding seems to have been the same as when he issued his *quo warrantos*, in the beginning of his reign.

But, a year or two after, a report came to the ear of the abbot, that the prior, Adam de Telbing, and the convent of Tinmouth, were ready to go into rebellion and to refuse all obedience to the abbey: the abbot hastened thither, and, at Newcastle, he applied to the mayor for an armed force and a company of followers to attend him, to suppress the rebellion: the mayor had heard nothing of this insurrection; but referred the abbot to one Henry Scott, a citizen of some note and a familiar friend of the prior; assuring the abbot of his good offices to compromise all differences. The abbot, by proper address and application, gained over Scott to accompany him; and away they marched, with a great posse, in the night. Next morning Scott appears at the gate, and demands entrance; which being obtained, the abbot and company advance, and, occupying the gate, seize the keys and post a guard: Scott then conducts the abbot and followers to the prior's chamber, where the prior is found just returned from chapel, and putting off his surplice; on hearing Scott's voice, he opens the door; whereupon the abbot enters with his guard, and instantly makes the prior prisoner. He was kept in custody some days, and then sent, under a strong guard, on shipboard, conveyed to some foreign monastery, and never heard of more. A new prior was appointed, and this rebellion crushed; and Scott was recompensed with many privileges and beneficial gratuities, to the loss and detriment of the priory. But it was learnt that the former prior, and John Thorblock, and some others, had put the king on that step of claiming the advowson; hoping and wishing to be thereby nearer the king's presence, who was then warring against Scotland.

It was now the ninth year of John's advancement, when he purposed to visit Wymundham; but a certain lawyer of the town, named Tatehall, hearing of the abbot's coming, entered the priory and barred the gate, refusing the abbot to come in or the prior to go out. The party within was too weak to resist and expel this violent usurper; and the party without too small and unprovided to support their claim of right, and force admission: so that the abbot was obliged to retreat, and make his abode at some other house. Here he prepared a form of excommunication against these malefactors, and ordained

ordained that the sentence should be read four times in every year, the bells tolling and the lights all flaming: after some time and much altercation between these contending chiefs, the discord was ended, and a compromise effected, between the conspiracy within and the excommunication without.

John III. the
25th abbot.

In 1299, the church of Datchet became void, by the death of Eyton, and the abbot presented a certain clerk; but, by his neglect and delay, (the bishop of Lincoln dying,) he could not receive institution. On this, one Sir Hugh D'Espencer sent his clerk with a presentation, to the archbishop, claiming the church as under his own patronage. This prelate ordered the official of Bucks to make inquiry if the church was vacant, and how; and he returned, 'By death, and 'that D'Espencer was the true patron, and that Richard de Stand was 'by him presented.' Richard himself accompanied this return to the archbishop, and obtained institution. This transaction was unknown to the abbot, until he was told that Stand had got possession. When he demanded of D'Espencer by what peculiar instinct he would presume to vindicate his claim of patronage, to the prejudice and injury (*lesionem*) of him and his church, D'Espencer attempted to give reasons in justification; but, on the abbot's producing the proofs on his part, D'Espencer believed his right now was not quite so good as he had thought it; and offered to drop his pretensions, provided his clerk was suffered to remain. Nothing more is said; and probably the clerk did not quit.

By a decree of pope Boniface VIII. anno 1290, the church and all its members were forbidden to pay any portion, or tax, of their goods to the king, or any noble or soldier, without the consent of the Holy See. The king, now meditating a war with France, was little attentive to this injunction; and exacted money of the bishops and abbots, locking up their barns and horses, as I have already stated. This was practised on the possessions of our abbot; but he gained a release, on paying down the sum required.

An agreement had been made, in the time of the late abbot Roger, betwixt him and John, the son of John ———, concerning the chase of Horewood. But this John had, of late years, done much mischief by cutting the timber, despoiling the underwood, and thereby starving the deer. The abbot shewed the composition above-mentioned: John answered *it was null and void, having only the abbot's seal*. This was answered by a prosecution, and the justices gave sentence against John, saying 'that both parties were equally bound, 'that the agreement was good and valid against him as well as for 'him,

John III. the 25th abbot. ' him, and it was necessary he should comply in every article that tended to save the timber and preserve the deer,' &c.

The former exactions of the king were not the only cause that afflicted the abbot: for, at this time, came from the court one Kirby, styled a familiar of the king; and this man, by threats and other arts of extortion, compelled the abbot to pay 1000 marks to Geoffrey de Verano, an executor of the Holy See, for the aid of the poor Christians in the Holy Land under the oppression of the Ottomans; and this, he said, should be considered as tenths paid in advance. Though this was a demand made by the king, under pretence of being for the pope and the Holy Land, yet it was in reality for himself. It was answered by our abbot, that he and his church had paid as much as this sum to the king, for this very use: the king said, he had used all that money in his expedition into Arragon: the abbot, thereupon, begged a truce on the occasion; adding that, though the king had given him a patent of indemnification for himself and his heirs, as he had done to many other monasteries, yet he could not comply with this new demand, without suffering a very great grievance. On this, the king promised a recompence, and directed the abbot to pay the money. At length the cellarer, having procured 1430 marks, gave the king 1000, and the recompence in the letters patent was this, 'that, whereas the abbey had suffered great expences and labours, and the abbot had brought the same to a conclusion, the abbey should, at every vacancy of the abbacy by death, continue to enjoy as well the barony as all other their possessions, with a power of disposing of the same; which barony and possessions the king had been used to hold, to the innumerable losses and grievances of the said house.' The king gives at the same time an acquittance, or release, to the abbot and his church, of all debts, however due to him or his predecessors in time past. In this patent of recompence he engages that the cells and their possessions shall be safe and inviolate, and that his escheator shall stay no longer than one day within the gates of the abbey or cell. This is dated in the 31st of his reign, namely, 1301.

The king gave them also a charter, confirming all the former grants made by his royal predecessors; one of which was free warren in all their lands, and even *Warrena Columbarum*; and another, to pay no toll in buying any thing for the monastery: he also confirmed another ancient grant, that the men of the abbot should not go out of the liberty, on any summons or on any occasion, to appear before any other justiciary; so that the seneschal had a power of oyer and terminer, general goal-delivery, of assize, &c.

The king, on his expedition into Scotland, had required the military aid, which was the service incumbent on the abbot as a baron, and consisted in the whole of six men only. And now Oxey and Crokesley found one man: Batchworth, Britewell, and Harpfield, provided another: Langley, Westwic, Rickmersworth, Burston, Garston, and Syret, raised one man: John de Gorham and Lau. de Broke were bound to find one man, for the fee they held in Westwic and Shephall; and it fell to the turn of Gorham to provide him: Chilwic, Myrdon, Bradelkye, Sisseverne, and Norton, found one man; and now the turn fell on Sisseverne: Sopwell lands, Titeburst, Wyning, Redburn, Hexton, and Blackhide, found the sixth; and it was now Sopwell's turn. Although these estates far exceeded six knight's fees, yet this aid had been appointed at first, and was still permitted to be, in foot-soldiers, armed and provided, paid and maintained, during the king's pleasure.

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A precept came from the king, charging the abbot to direct his cellarer, John de Stevenache, and his bailiff, John Greenstude, to examine and compare all the weights, in the markets here and at Watford, by the standard which had been long kept in the monastery; and to do this in the presence of a jury of twelve men.

Robert de Winchelsey (the archbishop) was making his abode for some time at Hawes, and requested to visit the abbot, now labouring under old age and infirmity, and be entertained in this abbey: but the abbot and chapter begged leave to decline that honour; and in a manner that was considered as a gross refusal. However, the archbishop came, and the abbot's *marescallus*, or grand equerry, gave him reception and entertainment in the town; but, the bells not ringing at St. Stephen's, he grew angry, and threatened to inhibit the church service, or put an interdict on the church: and, indeed, some trouble was feared; but, the abbot dying, his successor found means to appease the archbishop.

This abbot, after ruling the house ten years and a half, died, on the 15th of November, 1301. Having fallen under a sentence of excommunication, he lost the manor of Childwic, which his predecessor had recovered and dedicated to his anniversary. He had incurred the hatred of the priors; for, he had removed and changed them all, except the new prior of Wymundham,—and he was still very strenuously defended by Tatehall, who continued claiming the patronage and advowson. Although our abbot had possessed an ample revenue, he still added to it by great sales of timber and wood, to the prejudice of his successor; and yet he burthened his house with pensions and many

John III. the 25th abbot. many liberal benefactions. He was esteemed to possess many virtues, beside being social and good tempered: he was buried, on the 19th of November, before the great altar, the abbots of Westminster and of Wobourn attending the solemnity.

The sub-efcheator came to the abbey, *ad capiendam seisinam*, or to take possession for the king; but the prior read to him the king's grant, in the presence of two of the king's justiciaries, Henry Spriginal and John Aygnell, and of others. The two justiciaries had been requested to come down, to speak on the validity of the royal grant; and the sub-efcheator allowed the king's concession, and withdrew.

When we observe the unjust and base methods, practised by the sovereign, to get money, we cannot but think it a most noble struggle in favor of popular right and common justice, when, in the last century, the true patriots insisted, that no king had a right (although an usage) to levy money without consent of Parliament. And this is one of the most valuable ingredients in English liberty: it is a right of the people, built on natural justice; to be exercised in a certain orderly and regular manner; and to be applied for the good of the whole, not for the caprice or wanton humour of a few.

JOHN MARYNS.

John IV. the 26th abbot. The funeral being performed, three monks were dismissed to the king, then at Lilleston, in Scotland, to beg licence to elect. The king readily consented; and, the day being fixed, the chapter chose, and with great unanimity, *John Maryns*, who, for fourteen years, had served the duty of prior. No election could pass with more universal joy, except by the prior of Redburn, who, during the whole day, kept the chapter assembled, and would read his exceptions and objections. The elected went and presented himself to the king, and was graciously received; and, on the first day of Lent, set forth, with four brethren of the monks, towards Rome. In this journey he passed the mountains of Chat and of Seneise, as they were then called; and was forced to go to Anagnia, where the pope was then holding his court. When at length he obtained an audience, a long examination ensued, as before, into the forms of the election and the merits of the elected. He was then confirmed, and next day received the

the holy benediction, and returned on the Sunday after the feast of ^{John IV. the} St. Bartholomew, 1302. The charges and fees at Rome amounted to ^{26th abbot.} 3000 florins (a).

In the mean time, the body at home petitioned the queen that she would be pleased to remit a fee that used to be paid to her, called *the Queen's Gold*. But her treasurer answered, 'that this was a fine for the king's grant of holding the abbey on a vacancy, when he gave a compensation for the 1000 marks;' and it must be paid for this new reason *now*, as *formerly* for some old reason.

The king, in his charter of compensation, had reserved to himself a power to collate, as the abbot had done, to the churches which should be void during the vacancy of the abbacy: and, the rectory of Watlington becoming void in that time, the king's chancellor presented to it, because, he said, the taxation (b) of it was under ten marks: although, at the same time, P. Muntfichet, a great lord, claimed the right of patronage. Here is an instance of that privilege which the chancellors of England have ever enjoyed; and we may here see how it was derived to them from the first rights that had been exercised by the crown: and the privilege remains the same to this day, with the change only of the measure, or boundary, which extends now to *twenty pounds*.

But we may trace also other usages and present rights. It had long been a custom for the new abbot, at every election, to bestow a certain pension on some clerk of the king's appointment, especially of his chaplains; and the abbot hoped the king would forbear that claim, on taking one of the abbey's churches and giving it as above: but the king wrote to the abbot, commanding him to appoint the pension, and pay it annually to his clerk therein named; and insisted on the abbey-seal being put to the grant without delay. The abbot complied, and granted ten marks a year, to be continued so long as the clerk should live *in habitu seculari*, (for, he was not yet ordained,) and to be paid at St. Alban's, every year, 'until we can provide him with a competent church.' Dated *in pleno capitulo*, 19 Sept. an. 30^o Regni. (1307).

Peace was now made with Robert de Tateshall, the son, who no longer asserted those claims, which had been set up and maintained by the father, to the patronage and advowson of Wymundham. And, in the present compromise, it is stated that, the father having married a woman descended from the D'Aubignys who had founded the priory 200 years before, he had asserted the same to be part of

(a) Which, at 4s. 6d. a florin, is 815l.

(b) By this taxation was meant the first fruits, or first year's profit.

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26th abbot. her inheritance; and, on that foundation, he had got possession, and struggled hard to keep it; until death took him away, when the son renounced these pretensions.

When Edward I. made his first incursions into Scotland, the abbot of this church had furnished the established feudal aid of six soldiers; but, on his later incursions, towards the close of his reign, the abbot contributed, in lieu of this military aid, the sum of six score pounds at one time, and six score marks at another. And now Edward II. just come to the crown, and preparing war with Scotland, demanded of Maryns to be furnished with two carts, and proper horses and all appurtenances: the abbot pleaded his poverty and inability to comply: the king came down to the abbey, but refused either to converse with the abbot or to see him; on which Maryns, by the mediation of Peers Gaveston, gave the king 100 marks of silver, and they parted in seeming friendship. Soon after, Edward cut down a wood at Langley, called Westwode, in order to enlarge the royal mansion, &c. on which the abbot exclaimed at the invasion of his property, and asserted the wood to belong to the abbey: but the king ordered his foresters to enter, and, by ousting the abbot's servants, keep possession of the same. This palace, or royal mansion, had been begun by Henry III. and was the favorite residence of the sovereigns, for many successive reigns: and at this place Edward II. did afterwards found a small endowment of frier-preachers, and deposited in their church the body of his favorite Gaveston, when the barons, in 1312, without trial or ceremony, cut off his head. The church of this priory is now the parish church, and exhibits an ancient rude monument, said to be that in memory of Gaveston; (though the arms, sculptured on the stone work, denote quite another family;) and another to the memory of Edmund of Langley, son of Edward III. and of his wife Isabella of Castile.

Our abbot turned his thoughts to new regulations in the house, and framed many injunctions, or rules, for its better government; yet they went no farther than to a stricter observance of silence, to the more orderly wearing of the cowl, and to such kind of matters, in short, as denoted the power of the ruler and the subjection of the ruled; but which had no subserviency to real religion, or tendency to promote the moral duties.

Thus, after six years and three quarters, our abbot finding himself grow feeble, and his bodily strength to fail, he called the chief officers to his chamber, and told them the state of the abbey; that it lay under obligations of debt in the sum of 1300l. to sundry creditors, and to the king in 1000 marks for the last vacancy; and that he had only *seventeen* marks in his treasury, sent lately by the prior of Tintmouth: he advised that they would, at his decease, present to the king the great cup of silver and a ring; that they would not choose into his
6 place

place any man that was likely to be proud and pompous, but one who would be plain and honest: he desired, to meet his brethren once more in chapter; and, being conveyed thither in the arms of two monks, he intreated that his successor, whoever he might be, would suggest to the pope the great debts of the house, and the real want and poverty they laboured under: he besought the monks, with tears falling, 'if he had used any with harshness or with injustice, that they would forgive, and testify their love and reconciliation by giving him the farewell token of kiss;' they all addressed him with that mark of valediction: he then desired to be borne to the shrine, where, with his last breath, he uttered these words, *O Holy Alban! whom I have loved and addressed as my best aid, as I have existed and lived by thy help, so, O glorious saint! defend me from the pains of Hell!* He died on the 6th Cal. March 1308, and was buried, by the abbot of Waltham, in the choir before the great altar, and near to the two former abbots; in token of the love and esteem they had borne to each other when living: united by those principles which are everlasting, they wished to be as little separated as possible, in all the events of future existence.

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HUGO DE EVERSDEN.

John Maryns was succeeded by Hugo de Everfden (a), who ruled this abbey about 18 years, and died in 1326. He is said to have improved the revenues of the abbey, (but in what manner shall appear,) and to have purchased the manor of Caldecot, near Baldock, and other fair possessions. He procured from king Edward III. many great donations; as a crucifix of gold set with jewels; a cup of silver, gilt, of great value; sundry Scottish relics; timber for repairing the choir; and 100l. in money.

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abbot.

One of the first works which employed the attention of this man was to build a chapel to the holy virgin, in order to shew her a more especial honour: in this he was greatly assisted by one Reginald, a clerk of Rome; and with large sums from Walter de Langley and Alicia his wife. When this chapel was finished, an image of the virgin, richly habited, was set up. The true motives that urged Hugo to this work were such as, in those days, were called pious: and it was a frequent practice to build and dedicate altars and chapels to her worship. A chapel argued greater honour and piety than an altar; and, if the same was placed at the east end of the church, (as may be

(a) So called from a place of that name in the county of Cambridge.

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seen in some cathedrals,) it intimated the preference, or pre-eminence, which the founder intended above the Godhead. But, beside this, it is very probable that the Virgin's altar, which stood in the south wing, might be gone to decay; or might not be large enough to receive the devotion of all her votaries: and, as her mediation seems to have been much sought, and the oblations large, it was fit to give all possible accommodation to the offerers. It is likely, too, that the cost and charge of this work was so great as to create part of that vast debt which lay as a burthen on the abbey during the whole rule of Hugo. There is reason to think that at first the wall, which now forms the passage in the anti-chapel, was not built. This antichapel, which is 48 feet long and the width of the church, was the place to which the devout resorted, and where they waited till there was room in the chapel to receive them; which room, or space, could be but scanty and narrow, when the monks all attended, to chaunt the service (a).

In Hugo's time, great ruins of the church happened: the roof of the south wing fell in: great part of the south wall, over the long cloister, fell down, occasioned by the water from the roof having penetrated the top and loosened the work; by this sudden ruin one monk was killed: the cloaca also fell in, and one monk and a boy perished. So that great repairs became necessary.

The prior of Wymundham, William de Somerton, refused all obedience, and was quite rebellious, until at length brought to terms: and indeed the whole rule and government of Hugo received many interruptions, and was full of vexations and troubles. During the early part of his rule, the cells were disobedient and rebellious: and he was continually embroiled with the townsmen, and great dissension arose concerning their respective rights and jurisdictions. The townsmen were under an obligation, and had always been accustomed, to grind at the abbot's mills; but they now refused, (in the beginning of Hugo's government,) and furnished themselves with hand-mills; the abbot prosecuted, and probably exasperated them by his rigid proceedings. They had likewise been used to attend the abbot's sessions for the liberty, (then held at no fixed seasons,) as other men of the liberty did and had been used to do; but now, warm with resentment, they availed themselves of the general confusion of the kingdom, combined against the monks, revived old claims, set up new ones, and, at last, after a violent struggle, they obtained from the abbot a charter of privileges, in the last year of his rule. This is the sum: but, as it will serve to shew the temper and spirit of the times,

(a) See more of this chapel in the life of John Wheathampstead.

and

and discovers the beginning of the corporation, I will be more circumstantial in the detail of these contests and struggles (a). Hugo the 27th
abbot.

When the townsmen had furnished themselves with hand-mills, the abbot endeavoured to suppress them; and one, named Robert de Lymbury, resisted the bailiff, named William Peacock, who had orders to distrain, or seize, on his mill, and bring away the upper mill-stone. The bailiff forbore to proceed farther, and the abbot brought his action against Lymbury; and the king's writ (here inserted at large, and dated at Windsor, February 1, in the 7th year of our reign) directs Lymbury to appear before the justiciary (Leicester), to answer in a trespass, on a certain day and place. Lymbury appeared, and found sureties for trying the cause. His sureties appeared, but did not bring Lymbury; on which, a precept issues from the justiciary to four sureties (who offered) to bring his body to Barnet, on Tuesday, three weeks before Easter. He came not: and he was bound, by two sureties, to appear at St. Alban's, on the eve of Pentecost. Now began the trial: the counsel for the abbot pleaded a damage of 60l. by the use of these hand-mills: Robert answered, that he hindered not the bailiff in taking the mill-stone, but that the bailiff could not carry it out; on which he turned him out of the house, and shut his doors. When the charge, at opening the trial, was read, he put himself on his country (b), *ponit se super patriam*, (which hath continued as a phrase used to this day on the like occasion,) and alleged that he never injured the abbot, by using this mill, in the damage of 100 shillings. However, the jury gave damages to the abbot, in the amount of sixty pounds; and Lymbury was committed to goal (*gaiolæ*), whence he was discharged, on paying a fine of 20 shillings, and giving surety, with two pledges, not to offend in the like again.

Three other suits of the like nature the abbot prosecuted against three other townsmen: and, soon after, they ill treated a monk, named Henry St. Neot; they also broke open a house in the town, belonging to the abbot, carried away many of the goods, and threw down all the trees, &c. And the villains, or copyholders, of Watford, catching this kind of contagious love of mischief and insult, robbed the fishponds at Watford, that belonged to the abbey, to the no small prejudice, loss, and grievance, of the monastery.

The general state of the kingdom was, at this time, very dissolute: the people, from seeing great licentiousness prevail at court and among the great, were ready enough to follow their example, and to

(a) Extracted from Walsingham's MS.

(b) On a charge of felony, the prisoner says he will be tried by *God and his country*.
An appeal of too serious a nature to be made by the guilty.

think

Hugo the 27th abbot. think light of any enormity which they chose, in their wanton undacity, to commit.

And here (in St. Alban's,) great disorders, beside the above, were daily practised: but twelve of the principal men of the town came to the abbot, and intreated him not to relate to Thomas, earl of Lancaster, (then resting in the monastery, on his journey to London,) the crimes and trespasses committed in the town; for, they would rectify all disorders, and conform to the laws of the land. The abbot, trusting to these false promises, complied with their request; but, as soon as the earl left the town, a servant of the abbot was caught and very ill treated: and, to shew their enmity the more, they erected a gallows in the market, and affixed an axe to the same, fastened by a chain, with a written threat, *that whoever refused to consent and join in their contrivances should be beheaded.* Next day, the above-mentioned twelve principals of the town came to the abbot, claiming certain privileges: at first they were moderate and gentle in their requests; then more earnest; and, at length, proceeded to threats, and spoke in a high tone: the abbot, with short deliberation, requested them to put their claims into writing, digest them into articles, and bring them to him four days hence. The twelve could not wait so long, but, next day, came to the abbot, and presented an indenture, containing the articles, and demanded immediate answer. They were as follow.

1st. ' The commons of the town (*communitas villæ*) supplicate the abbot and convent, that they would yield up to them their privileges and a charter thereof, as they had ever used and enjoyed from the making of the said charter, until they had been hindered in the same by the last abbot; as the charter itself will set forth, and as is witnessed by a book in the King's Treasury, called *Domusday*, wherein their town is styled a *borough* and they *burgesses*.

2^d. ' Also they intreat, that leave be given them to choose two burgesses to go to the king's parliament, according to the liberty granted to any other borough, and as they had used in time past.

3^d. ' *Item*, that they might have leave to make answer, in all matters of inquisition and pleas before the justices itinerant, by twelve men chosen in the said town, without any admixture of strangers(a).

4th. ' *Item*, that the assize of ale and bread might be observed and kept by twelve men of their vill, or town, being burgesses and sworn, as hath been accustomed in time past.

(a) *Sine conjunctione forinsecorum.* By this it appears, that the first idea of a *foreigner* was a man not of our vicinage.

5th. ' *Item*

5th. 'Item, that they may have common, in the lands, woods, ^{Hugo the 27th} waters, fisheries, and other commodities, as is contained in Domus-_{abbot.} day, and as they had enjoyed formerly.

6th. 'Item, that they be allowed to have hand-mills, and be indemnified in the losses they have sustained by defending the same.

7th. 'Item, that the bailiff of the town (an officer appointed by the abbot) should be sworn, and should do and perform all executions (or king's writs) without interference or mention of the bailiff of the liberty.'

These articles were exhibited to the abbot in the consistory, and a ready answer was given to each article by word of mouth; but, because every answer was not put into writing, as they had demanded, the twelve left the abbey in great wrath, and returned to the town. This interview happened on the octave of the virgin St. Agnes, or on January 21, about one o'clock; and, about six in the evening, the townsmen, some on foot and some on horses, approached the gate at Holywell, (probably a gate near the water,) and began the assault with great clamour and casting of stones, while some were putting fire to the gate. The abbot foresaw this in the morning, and had brought in for defence, of servants, tenants, and dependants, to the number of 200, beside monks. This tumult and siege lasted about ten days, to the Cal. of February; and the defenders maintained their ground, and repelled the assailants in every attack, submitting, with great patience, to long watchings and much fasting: for, it was necessary to deal out the provisions with strict frugality.

The king, then at Windsor, shewed great concern for this affront on his church, as he called it, (for, he boasted himself the patron,) and sent a brief to the sheriff, to take with him the *posse comitatus*, and suppress, if necessary, with force of arms, the violence and audacity of these evil-doers, and make proclamation of his peace; and if, after the proclamation and inhibition, he should find any of these rebels on the spot, he should seize and confine them in prison, until he received a farther mandate from the court, how to proceed with them.' On the Cal. of February the sheriff came and read the proclamation: on which the assailants conceived some degree of fear, and no longer bore arms, or terrified the monks with appearance of hostility; but they supplied the defects of fighting with reproaches and invectives: they had also formed a sort of confederacy with some of the neighbouring towns, and with certain of the Londoners, and bound themselves by an oath, and collected money, to hire certain lawyers to defend them and procure their liberties.

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The abbot spared no pains to resist their malice: and, on the 9th day of February, six of the townsmen, with some friends out of the country, and others fit for mediation and treaty, came to the abbot, and requested him to appoint a day, wherein both sides might treat of a pacification, at London, and in the church of St. Paul. On that day the proctors appeared: but the townsmen renewed the attack on the monastery, and were again repulsed; though about 80 of them passed four or five nights, in traversing all round the abbey, and forming ambuscades, with intent to catch any of the defenders who might try to go out in the night; one poor wretch (a) of the town, being on this duty at the gate called Werngate, was surprised by the garrison, and, being made prisoner, was, like a thief, committed to prison.

The townsmen and their counsellors obtained a writ (b) of the king, directed to the abbot, commanding him to forbear farther molestations to the townsmen, and to place all liberties, privileges, and franchises, on the same footing as was set forth in the book of Domusday: and the king directed a brief to the treasurer and chamberlain of his exchequer, requiring them to search that book, and make report therefrom, what concerned the parties.

This book set forth (after recounting the land of the vill to be taxed at ten hides) *that there were four men freeborn, and sixteen copyholders (villani), and forty-six burghesses, or inhabitants in the town: for, the Villani and Francigeni were on the land, and the ten hides must have comprehended a great part of the country adjoining. It says also, There is one park for the wild beasts of the woods and one great fish-pool. Which park was the old park of Kingsbury, and comprehended all the land from that place up to the street and market-place, and the pool was in it. It says also, The burghesses have only half an hide.* This was produced and pleaded by the townsmen, but was perceived to make very little in their favor. Then the abbot's council produced the grant of Henry II. where he says, *He confers, on the church of St. Alban, the vill of St. Alban, with every liberty, or privilege, which a borough ought to have.*

It was instantly seen, that, by the word *Burgus*, they were in no corporate, or united, capacity, and not independent of the abbey, nor in any other light than as inhabitants and householders; and that their state and condition was confirmed, by writing and seal, to the abbey. The townsmen had nothing to reply: but the king's counsel, seeing that this very privilege and right was injurious to the church,

(a) Ribaldus.

(b) Dated February 8, 11^o an. regni.

and had been the cause of its great sufferings, they moved, to have the matter adjourned, for a further hearing at Westminster, to the 6th of the Ides of March, and there to be discussed by the more wise men of the kingdom. On this day the parties appeared, and, after much argument and disceptation, the three brethren, who represented the abbey, and Thomas Pyrot, professor of civil law and furnished with authority to consent, agreed and obtained the others consent, that twenty-four true and faithful men of the town should walk the bounds and describe the ancient limits; and, when the same were by them well marked and described, they should present them to the abbot, to be confirmed by him under the common seal; he first giving seizin, to the townsmen and their successors, of every thing within the said limits. This seemed a gracious condescension in the abbey council; but it was granting, in truth, what the town wished, and more than they could prove by Domesday to be their right. However, the church proposed this expedient, and thought they got rid of some burdensome duties and some very sturdy competitors. The twenty-four were chosen, and, assembling in the consistory, they made oath for the faithful walking and marking the true and ancient bounds; and this description (a), written in law French, was sealed in form, and preserved many years in the archives of the church. The substance was this.

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From Gonnerston to the sheepfold of Kingsbury, thence to the corner of Downehedge, thence to the corner of Tonman ditch, thence unto the Grange of St. Peter, thence to Bernate wood, thence unto Stone Crouch, thence to the corner of the church of St. Peter toward the left, thence unto the Grange of John, the son of Richard Baldewyn, thence unto Tonman ditch and Sopwell-lane, thence to the Croft of John Hampton, thence to Green Lane end, thence to Eyewood lane, thence to Holywell Brigg, and thence to Gonnerston by the water of the river. It was now agreed that the town contained within these bounds shall be a borough, and for a borough holden; and all the tenements within the said bounds shall be burgages; and all the good men, their heir heirs, and successors, within the said bounds dwelling, shall be burgeses, and for burgeses holden for ever; and that they may, out of themselves, elect two burgeses to go to every parliament. This limit comprehended in it the abbey, and all its buildings, courts, gardens, &c. and it was agreed, on the part of the town, that nothing in this grant (for it was considered still as a concession from the abbot) should turn to the prejudice of the said church, but the same shall have and use all its other franchises and rights, which to the church

(a) The deed calls it *renewing* the bounds, as if the limits had been formerly fixed, but till this time neglected and disregarded.

Hugo the 27th abbot. are appendant; it was also agreed, that nothing in this grant shall bar the abbot and convent from grinding at the mills on the said river, although they may belong to any of the good men of the town (a).

The abbot was willing to consent to this letter of concord, out of a prudent necessity, and in obedience and respect to the royal pleasure; having regard to the tempestuous condition of the state, and because the kingdom was almost destitute of all remedy of law. This is expressly said by my author, as an apology for many imprudences committed during the rule of abbot Hugo.

But, when the letter of concord was produced by Hugo, read in full chapter, and ordered by him to be signed and sealed, Lo! the articles made their appearance as part of the compact, and, these being read out distinctly, the monks began to mutter, and look on each other with emotion and astonishment: then, with one voice, they said they would choose to die rather than to sign and seal to such terms; and they besought Richard Paxton, the archdeacon, to pronounce, in the name of all and every one singly, their refusal to attest. The archdeacon entered his protest in writing in the name of all present, giving it as a reason of refusal, that such proceeding was betraying the interests of the body, would prove a dangerous precedent, and be followed by great losses.

The abbot then, fearing what evils might ensue from this refusal, produces a letter from the king, (which the townsmen had procured at the day when the compromise was made), commanding him to put the abbey seal to the said agreement. The archdeacon and monks refused, and shewed more indignation; and, rising from their seats, quitted the consistory. But at length, the abbot representing the danger of withstanding the king, and farther provoking the town, they, with great reluctance, consented to sign; though not without making a solemn protestation against the act, in the presence of John De Maidford, and John Le Hay, two notaries. This instrument is there set forth at length, and dated 15 Cal. Ap. anno 1327, reciting the objections made by the archdeacon, but ending with the full consent of the abbot, the seal affixed, and the attestation of John le Hay the notary.

In this state was the government of the town: that is, having the privilege of electing juries, not to be and appear at the abbot's session, but at a view of Frankpledge or Leet, with a bailiff chosen by the

(a) This deed may be found in the roll of patents in the Tower, in the 1st year of Edward III. part II. MS. 28; and likewise in the archives of the corporation.

townsmen:

townsmen: and this probably held and continued until the grant of ^{Hugo the 27th} incorporation made by Edward VI. in 1553. But this effort of the ^{abbot.} townsmen was intended to detach themselves from the rule and authority of the abbot, and to erect themselves into a degree of corporate capacity, for their better government at home, and the furtherance of their business in the great council of the nation.

But it appears also, by the archives of the said corporation, that burgeses had been sent into parliament as early as the 35th of Edward I. when Simon de Trewyk and Adam atte Stile were sent from this town, as representatives; and, at the same time, John de Sumery and Gerard de Brabroc were deputed as knights of the shire.

On the completion of this business, my author remarks, the townsmen were highly elated, and now thought themselves to be in the most compleat, if not new, manner, perfect burgeses; and demanded, in very threatening terms, the common of Bernate Heath, &c. The abbot gave orders to the seneschal to comply, but not in haste; and, after some delay and preparations made, the seneschal repaired thither, and gave them seizin by delivery of the branch. The townsmen followed in a great crowd, and began, on entering the heath, or wood, to break down the branches of the beech trees, and to take seizin for themselves: and, after some hours of enjoyment in this licentious way, they marched back into the town, bearing these branches as in triumph. They destroyed all the hedges and fences in Frithwode and Eyewood, in the name of seizin; and threw great branches into the abbot's fishpools, and also caught the fish; and, for five years after, they continued to hunt the hares, rabbits, and all game there found: they also set up their handmills, to the number of 80, in and about the town. They did infinite mischief to the timber, and did not spare to cut and carry away whatever they could; and this licence, augmented into mere malice, was not restrained till the time of the next abbot, who brought them back to their former state of moderation and order, and made them pay damages for these excesses.

But another incident added to the vexation of the poor abbot at this time; a knight, though unknown to him, requested one day to speak to his lordship, and, being introduced to the parlour, the old abbot entered, and the knight said he had a secret to communicate, that was of great importance to the abbey and the church; but it must be related to the abbot in private, and entrusted to him alone, and never be divulged again. The abbot conducted this friendly informer to his study in his lodgings; at which place the

Hugo the 27th abbot removed the domestics and chaplains, and, big with expectation to hear the secret, shut the door and sat down. The knight rushed on him, seized him by the throat, and, with the other hand, drew out a knife, or dagger, and swore he would cut his throat, if he did not give him instantly 20l. The terrified old man complied, and the knight took his leave, and passed through the cloisters and crowds below as an honest man.

The character of this abbot is, that he was very little feared and less beloved. He was reputed to be of a very poor spirit (a), as the above instance shews. He was of a tall and graceful stature, and reckoned a very handsome man; and he had no small tincture of vanity and affectation, which he gratified in great feasts and entertainments given to the gentry, and especially to the ladies, of the neighbourhood; the resort of which last was greater than decency allowed, or his dignity required. As an instance of his munificence, it is recorded, that being once at Wymundham, and visiting a gentleman named Symon de Heterfete (since called Herfeth), he was there splendidly entertained for some days; at his departure he took notice of an infant son of his host, lying in the cradle, and gave the child a pension of forty shillings for life, out of the house of Wymundham: which pension was paid, to the great loss of that house, during about 50 years.

He died with very little warning of his end, having suffered much anxiety of mind, from innumerable law suits and many cross events near home. However, he died, says the MS. *infelici nocte*: and the man, whose *character* is despised, will do no good by his *precepts* and *words*. This was in the year 1326.

The state of the treasury was such as alarmed the officers: a debt of 5000l. to sundry creditors; pensioners, who had a claim of 24l. 18s.; and corrodars, to the number of 54 or more; beside great waste of the woods, such as had never been before. He had received, for wood sold in his time, 7605l.; and 700l. (*de auxilio*) as aid to the monastery from the tenants; also from the priors of the cells, as aid, 6000l.; and 100l. from the king. He had received of talliage from the tenants 1000l. (b); as aid from the vicars 100l.; for corrodies sold at the abbey, 1077l.; and 1000l. for corrodies sold in the cells.

For the better maintenance of his splendor and shew, he first hit on the expedient of letting long leases, and taking a good sum in hand

(a) Vecordissimus.

(b) A kind of excise on their goods and moveables, when the abbey was assessed to the king or the pope.

for so doing : and here follows a list of such grants, and the sums paid. Hugo the 27th
abbot.

To Andrew de Medeste, the manor of Combes in Suffex, for the term of his life ; and 100l. laid down.

The manor of Pynefield to Symon de Perkote, for 16 years ; and 40l. to be paid, yearly, for the first 5 years.

The manor of Walden, with two mills, to William Legat, for 10 years ; and 50l. yearly, for the two first years.

The manor of Barnet, with some assigned rents in East Barnet, and the mill of Agate, for 10 years ; and 24 marks down.

The manor of Caldecot to John de Gavelock, for the term of 5 years ; and 40l. in hand.

The manor of Wynflow, with the market rents and a mill, for 100 marks yearly rent ; and 100 marks in hand.

The manor of Richard Alexander, in Langley, for a term of 9 years ; and 24l. for the 4 first years to himself.

A meadow at Richmereworth to John Windrugge, for 30 years ; and 20l. to himself.

The manor of Sandrugge for 20 years ; and, for the 10 first years, 180l. to himself.

For a mill let there for 20 years, he received, for himself, in 10 years, 30l.

For the manor of Northaw, he received down, for 6 years, 60l.

For the church of Concliff he received 40 marks for 5 years.

For the manor of Codicote, with a mill, 100l.

For 2 mills at Norton, 40 marks.

For the mill at Watford, 20 marks.

This caused a loss to the monastery of 647l. ; and he also gave away wood and timber to divers persons, to the value of 930l.

He is excused, in these excesses, from a consideration of the great expence and damage he incurred by entertaining and aiding the nobles, who rose up against the king ; from the great losses he sustained on the farms ; and from the many law suits he had been always involved in. It is farther said in his favour, that he was compelled to expend great sums in necessary reparations ; that many of these corrodies had been sold in the time of his predecessor, which had now got up to the sum of 299l. if valued in money, beside the necessary cloathing, equal to 14l. a year more, and an extra expence of corn yearly of 4l.

To these extenuating circumstances may be added the great expence of building the virgin's chapel, and, perhaps, the exactions made by Gavelston and Spencer : for, these favourites would scarcely spare the clergy,

Hugo the 27th
abbot.

clergy, who could not resist or oppose them, when they practised the boldest extortions on the lords and barons, who could resist. As the rapacity of these minions, and the general licentiousness of the times, doubtless called for uncommon supplies, so must our abbot have been obliged to devise uncommon means to raise these sums; and part of his unpopularity with the townsmen may have proceeded from a too rigid exaction of all the rights which a feudal lord could, in those days, demand: it was, however, attended with this advantage to the townsmen, that, whereas their rights were before vague and undefined, and seemed to depend much on the will of the abbot, they now got them ascertained and confirmed by a charter, and became a corporate body. It is observable, through the whole of the dispute, that the king, in this instance at least, pursued his father's policy, and sided with the people, in order to curb the power of the church: and the abbot's too ready compliance, as the monks thought, with the king's mandate, must have tended to lessen him in the esteem of his brethren of the cloister, who considered his concessions to the townsmen as sacrilege. He died therefore unlamented, and unesteemed, either within the monastery or without.

RICHARD WALLINGFORD.

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

This man was elected on the 30th of October, and ruled almost nine years, dying in 1335. He derived his name from the place of his birth, as was the common practice; for, no man was distinguished by his family name. He was the son of a blacksmith, and had been educated at Oxford, where he attained great fame for his early piety and learning. The particulars of his youth are these. He was bereft of his parents at ten years of age; on which the prior of Wallingford, named Kykeby, in compassion to the boy took him under his care, and, finding him to possess a docile genius, prepared him for the university of Oxford; at which place, his conduct and abilities growing conspicuous, he was, in due time, appointed to read in public that great standard

standard of divinity, *the sentences of Lombard*. After nine years passed in that duty, he came to dwell in this abbey, where he had been admitted a monk long before, though allowed to be absent as a public lecturer. He had been much encouraged in his studies by the last abbot, and, at his death, this young man was elected in his room.

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

The forms of the election being passed, he set out to the pope, to receive confirmation, and was absent nine months. He paid his duty to the pope at Avignon : and it is noted, that all his expences and donations amounted to 953l. 10s. 11d.

With the pope he had met with many delays, and objections were made that threatened to annul the election. It was said, he had brought no certificate of the vacancy, and no letter from the king to recommend or to allow : and, after intimidating our abbot many days, the pope was pleased to say, that he had, in kindness, thought of a way to expiate those faults, and to suffer the business to proceed—which was to go to his chamberlain and agree for a tax. Richard addressed himself to the chamberlain and officers of the Papal Treasury, who beginning to mention a tax, he answered, ‘ He knew of no tax, ‘ to which the monastery was liable, but one ounce of gold every ‘ year for its exemption. The officers said, ‘ they found marked in their ‘ register an arrear of 720 marcs, as due for a visitation, in the name ‘ of a vacancy : and, for the entertainment of these supposed visitors, ‘ 120 marcs more.’ Richard was struck dumb : but, when he recovered his speech, they compelled him to swear on the Bible, that he would pay these sums at certain stated periods ; and they added a threat of excommunication if he failed ; or if, in case of failure, he did not return to the pope’s court within five months.

On these terms, after being long detained, he was permitted to depart ; and, landing in England, he came to his manor of Crokefly, or Crosley, for rest and repose : here he found himself afflicted with a severe pain in his left eye, which brought on a total blindness. He went next, and abode some time at his manor of Hexton and Rykenham ; and waited on the king, then at Northampton, to do homage for his baronies, and receive the temporalities.

On St. Alban’s day, the abbot invited to a splendid dinner, as had been the custom, the friends and tenants of the abbey : and now comes one John Aygnell, and demands a certain silver cup, *in order that he may serve the abbot, and present the same when he was dining ; for that he held his land in Redburn by that service*. And, stretching out his hand to reach the cup, he could only touch it ; *but that was enough,*

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

enough, he said, *he was in the seizin of his office*; and began to be very troublesome. The company interposed; the abbot refused to be served by him; John claimed the cup as his perquisite, still maintaining that he held his land by the service of *Grand Butler* to the abbot; and the cellarer was called, who alledged that they had no such office, and no land holden by such a tenure: on this Aygnell pretended to be ill used; but quitted not his seat at the dinner. This man's name adheres to the land to this day.

Soon after this feast, the abbot determined on an examination of the convent, and the state and condition of its revenues and expences, and the proceedings of all its officers: he took to him, for assistants, two notaries, Richard Prior of Tynmouth, and John de Sullfull. He spent five days in making all proper inquiries, but completed not the whole examination in three years, as well because of the absence of particular persons as because he thought a little dissimulation necessary, fearing to discover too much. He therefore set himself to compile a tract (a), concerning the statutes enacted in the general chapters of the order, and from the decrees of the legates Otho and Othobon. These he digested in sixteen articles, and ordained that they should be recited in the cloister, that is, to the monks, three times in the year;—for, *aliquà erant notabiliter reformata*: one article taught the law and decrees against Symonists.

After some space of time the abbot enters the chapter-house, in full assembly; and calls before him, by proclamation, the underwritten officers, or *obedientarii*, namely, Hugo de Langley, the *sacrist*; William de Wynflowe, *coquinarius*; Richard de Heterfete, (or Herfeth as now called), *Almoner*; John de Woderone, *camerarius*; and John de Tywyng, *refectorarius*; and the crime laid to their charge was, that, in spite of the frequent admonitions of the abbot, they had neglected and refused to pay to him the tenths, which the king (now Edw. III.) had exacted of the abbot, and which had been granted by the clergy in convocation, during the vacancy on the death of abbot Hugo (b); and therefore, for their neglect, and obstinate refusal, he must now declare them deposed from their offices, as the penalty held forth to them at first. He then declared them degraded from their stalls (*à stallis*), in the choir, in the chapter, and in the refectory; placed

(a) Beginning thus, *Auscultate, obedientiæ filii, quæ statuta gratis et appositè publicavit et sancivit tenenda approbans, priusquam voluit visitationis suæ articulos publicare, sciens et prudens, &c.*

(b) These were the taxes granted to the king, at the same time that others were granted by the Parliament.

in a state of perpetual silence, rendered incapable of any office or any benefice whatsoever; and to continue in this condition, until, by humble penitence, they should merit to have their punishments dispensed or removed. He farther enjoined them to abstain from any communication with the brethren, until they should merit the benefit of absolution; and ordered them to undergo certain corporal discipline, every fourth and sixth holyday.

Richard II. the
28. h. abbot.

On this, a great concern was visible on the face of every one present: and, the abbot retiring to the parlour with the prior and some of the elder monks, he inveighed in strong terms against the contumacy of the offenders: those who were present undertook for them (a), that they would amend their conduct, and comply with the mandate of the church. The abbot then absolved them from the said sentence, enjoined a private and secret repentance, and directed them to make oath never to offend in the like manner again. From this day began a kind of combination, not to call it a conspiracy, to rise against the abbot: some wished to depose him, saying, that the leprosy had seized him and was making quick progress on him; some wished to ordain him coadjutor, or tutor: others contrived to subject both the house and the barony entirely to the king; but in hopes to have the care thereof committed to their hands: and, others, in order to create the greater tumult and disturbance, were proposing to take from him the daily pittances which were served to his table from the monks' kitchen.

The abbot was not in the least moved; but went on, with much seeming indifference, to rule and govern, or to yield and concede a little, as he saw necessary, and according to the reports which were brought to him; but gathering this lesson of admonition, that, if he relaxed or diminished any thing of the prelate, it would be with great diminution of the master. Yet, notwithstanding this seeming tranquillity, he was long after heard to make a solemn protestation, that argued how much he had been secretly moved with chagrin, when he declared, in the presence of the two priors and others, 'that he should ever consider those, who should attempt to impugn his state and rank, or the privileges of the abbey which the king had given him to defend, as conspirators against the state and throne.'

He proposed to the senior monks to make some grateful present to the keeper of the king's Privy Seal, named Richard de Byrclive (or Berkley): and, with their approbation and consent, it was agreed to give four of their choice books, namely, their fine *Terence*, their

(a) *Prestita cautione.*

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

Virgil, their *Quintilian*, and *St. Jerom contra Rufinum*. This was done, with a view to future favour in their business with the king, as well as for services already done: and, though these were inestimable books to a clerk, and the source of all consolation to the church, yet it was allowed that he should have power to sell them. On this, one present suggested that they should be sold first, and the money given to Berkley. But, after a diversity of opinion on the matter, and by communication with him, it was agreed to sell him 32 of their books for 50*l*. To this the chapter consented, and that the abbot should retain a moiety of the sum. When he received the money, he assigned, out of the same, 15*l*. to the refectorar, and 10*l*. to the coquinar, for the better discharge of their respective offices. The younger monks blamed this transaction, as bartering away the spiritual food, to serve the casual exigencies of a carnal kind. However, this Berkley was afterwards made bishop of Durham, and then he restored many of these books; and others were sold by his executors to abbot Mentmore.

Richard was very minute in all inquiries made on his visitation of the cells, and of the abbey's estates; and caused all the tenants and dependants to present themselves before him, and acknowledge his rights and their duties.

At Redburn there had been a sort of priory; though the monks were all on an equal footing, and lived in the vicarage-house; and it was rather considered as a place of recess for the sick than of devotion for the well and healthy. But now the abbot ordained, that three monks should be here on duty for one month, and then be relieved by three others; and that, in going and coming, they should be always conveyed in a handsome vehicle (*honestâ vecturâ*), to be provided by the chantor and the camerarius.

The townsmen still withstood the rights of the abbot, and, when he held a view of frankpledge, or (as now called) a court-leet, they would neither enter the same, nor suffer the court to make and appoint the assize of bread and ale, as formerly: on which, the abbot directed his seneschals, John de Munden, and Richard de Belishall(a), to appoint four constables for the respective wards of the town. He directed also, by his seneschal, that the bailiff should, every year, at the conclusion thereof, deliver to the treasurer a fair and distinct list of the gaol delivery; of the chattels of felons; and of every transaction that passed under the green wax, which denoted the authority

(a) These are styled *Servientes in Banco*, that is, of great rank in the law.

of the court. He directed also, that no person detained in gaol (which at that time was indeterminate) should be bailed, or delivered to Mainprise, without the consent of the abbot; and not then, unless the offence wasailable; and, if it was, that the prisoner should provide two, three, or more, sureties, to be bound with him jointly and severally in 10l. or 20l. each, that they would bring the prisoner into court on the day appointed; and that this obligation, or recognizance, should be lodged in the hands of the abbot. The first statute that directs and regulates bail was made in the second year of Phil. and Mary; but this point of history shews the nature of bail before that time, and how rigorous it was when left to the discretion of the justice or judge.

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

In his inquiries, the abbot found, that certain of the tenants of the abbey were bound, by their tenure, to find him a certain number of horses for his journey, whenever he should visit Thynmount (a): that William de Harpsfield-Hall was liable to find him one horse; John de London, in the Park of Idelstre, one horse; William atte Welde, one horse; Matthew de la Veche, in the Park, one horse; the vicar of St. Peter, according to usage and custom, one horse; Lawrence of Aycote, for two tenements, two horses; and the camerarius (by virtue of some land held by him) and John Aygnell, of Redburn, one horse.

At this time died the prior, Robert Norton. And the abbot, having assembled the chapter on the third day after his burial, addressed the brethren in a set and formal speech, setting forth the public loss, &c. and recommending to their choice Nicholas de Flamstede. The monks had never seen or known of such a decency and formal advance towards any election; and some consternation was visible among them, as not knowing what was to follow. The abbot rose, and proclaimed, that, if any man knew either crime or fault in Nicholas, they should now declare it: a perfect silence ensued. The abbot then addressed Nicholas, and ordered the sub-prior and the arch-deacon to arise, and conduct him, between them, to the side of the abbot. Nicholas pleaded his unworthiness, and his incapacity, and strove to be excused; and shewed more tokens of humility than of absolute truth; but, before he could be heard, he was placed at the abbot's left hand. The abbot then addressed him in these words, 'Mr. Prior (*Domine Prior*), I re-
' commend unto you the care of all my brethren; that you will at
' all times be anxious for the safety of them, for the necessary honour
' of religion, and for the strict obedience that is due to the rule of St.
' Benedict.' And, causing several of the provincial decrees to be

(a) Tynmouth.

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

read, he added, ' If these men have lived, hitherto, in the observance of religion, it becomes them to be more observant for the future; because you, O Holy Nicholas! are promoted to a station of eminence, in order that, by your example, all others may receive instruction.'

This character was afterwards amply fulfilled: for, the most affectionate concord ever prevailed between this man and the abbot; and it was the wish of Richard to have the prior for his successor.

The prioress of Sopwell, named Philippa, died; and, instantly, great caballing ensued among the sisters, who wished to have the choice of a successor; and in their minds they had fixed, with perfect unanimity, on one Alice de Hakeney. This coming to the knowledge of the abbot, (in whom alone was the power to make the prioress, without any consent or leave of the sisters), he dispatches thither the prior, with orders to appoint some other whom he might find qualified; accordingly, the prior went, and, calling a full chapter, proceeded to a nomination much after the manner in which he had himself been elected; and, to the disappointment of the female council, he directed that Alice de Pekesdene should be prioress: and she afterwards discharged the duty with great credit.

He thought it necessary, that every brother or sister, hereafter admitted, should repeat and sign a certain form, or declaration, obliging them, if possible, to a constant remembrance of the oath they were taking of their perfect submission to chastity, poverty, and obedience. And this was the more requisite, because, by omission, many of them were persuaded, that they were under the profession of no rule whatever. So necessary did he think it to guard and secure matters of great moment, by a punctilious observance of all the most minute circumstances that precede or concern them. Ceremonies in religious worship may, of themselves, and abstractedly taken, be of no use and of no moral tendency; but, if considered as appertaining to the mental act, they are not only the expression of that act, but they excite it, prepare the mind for it, and become also an useful example unto others.

There came to the abbey a company of the Franciscans and Dominicans, with a request to take confessions and to preach in his jurisdiction. The abbot thought some examination necessary, previous to his consent; he therefore asks one, whether he knew what were the cases reserved for the bishop or abbot: the frier could make no answer, and manifested utter ignorance; *Qui idiota fuerat* (says Walsingham) *uti plerique sunt qui confessiones audire mereantur.* The
4 abbot

abbot replies, ' Why, if you are so void of piety and knowledge, how do you know that you can give absolution ? ' And the frier departed, not a little chagrined and mortified. For, the general exceptions were well known, and had been long (for bad memories) reduced, like *As in Presenti*, to a few lines in verse; thus

Richard II. he
28th abbot.

Qui facit incestum, deflorans atque homicida,
Sacrilegus, patruī percussor, sic sodomita,
Transgressor voti, perjurus, fortilegusque,
Et mentita fides, faciens incendia, prolis
Oppressor, blasphemus, hereticus, omnis adulter,
Pontificem super his omnis denotus adibit.

None of this confessional tribe ever came again to abbot Richard.

We may here see the policy of the Romish Church: for, by granting these mendicants a power and authority to take confessions, it enabled these holy beggars to live; and, by the exceptions, the popes saved the credit of religion; for, beside these excepted crimes, there was very little to be either forgiven or confessed.

The townsmen, ever since the extorted grants from abbot Hugo, had assumed the title of burgeses; and were in some degree *sui juris*. But, not content with impugning his civil authority, they became so alienated as to refuse obedience in all spiritual matters. And, for want of the strict hand of civil power, as formerly held over them, it was now notorious how profligate the morals of the people were grown, in the most audacious fraud and cozening, and in the most shameful commission of adultery and uncleanness. Among the most conspicuous offenders was one named Taverner; and the abbot determined to punish him, if possible; which might be done either in his court-leet or by his spiritual authority: two monks were sent to serve on him the summons; and Walter de Amersham, the abbot's mareschal, or equerry, (a lay office), accompanied, in order to attest the service. This being done, a violent fray ensued; Taverner struck Amersham; a vast crowd assembled, chiefly of women, and fell on poor Amersham. He had resisted the first assault of Taverner with such success as to dispatch and lay him prostrate: but, fatal success! the vengeance of the women overpowered the mareschal, and he was killed. On this the townsmen rose; and, seizing the two summoners, and one Maidford, and others who came from the abbey, hurried them all away to the king's coroner, then dwelling in the town. On which the coroner, named William de Band, and his companions, assigned to keep the peace of the king in the county of Hertford, gave it in express charge to Richard de Pereres, the sheriff of Hertford, that

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

that he have, on a certain day named, the bodies of Maidford, and the two summoners now in gaol before them at Brantfield, to answer for the death of Taverner, and of Amersham; and to bring thither also Richard, abbot of St. Alban, and Nicholas Broom, a monk, to answer on the same charge. They issued a precept also to the sheriff, commanding him to summon 24 men of the liberty, and 24 of the town of St. Alban, *probos et legales homines*, by whom inquisition might be taken and the truth known. The townsmen refused to obey, and said they would not be joined with men out of their jurisdiction, nor should the strangers hold any communication with them, in such inquisitions. On the day appointed, the townsmen appeared, and produced a writ from the king in these words.

‘ Edward, by the Grace of God, to our beloved and faithful William de Band, &c. keepers of our peace in the county of Hertford, health. Whereas, in a certain writ indented between our beloved in Christ the abbot of St. Alban and the townsmen of the said vill, concerning divers dissensions there arising, and which writ, being made patent, we have appointed and confirmed, it appears, and among other things is contained, that the said vill is a free borough, and the burgeses thereof have a jury of twelve men (*Duodenam*) from themselves, so ordered that they should have no commixture with strangers, nor strangers with them; with this exception, that when they themselves shall plead or are impleaded, the cause shall go, by the king's writ, to the hundred court, as hath formerly ever been the usage; we charge and command you, that in all inquisitions of trespasses and felonies committed in the said vill, you allow the said burgeses to use and enjoy the said privileges, according to the tenor of the said letters patent.’

The abbot also, on his part, produced the king's writ for setting at liberty the men imprisoned. The men of the hundred had assembled at Brantfield, and also those (that is, such as the sheriff had summoned to serve on the jury) out of two of the adjoining hundreds; and, with wonderful applause of all these, was the writ heard. The townsmen were here greatly disappointed and mortified: and, in fact, this arbitrary proceeding of the king vacated and rendered null their boasted charter of privilege; and the countrymen of the hundred saw, with great pleasure, the upstart consequence of the townsmen taken down: the men who had been indicted, and who were all tenants of the abbey, were thus set at liberty, without any form of trial. And this is an instance, among others in this reign, where the king interposed with a high hand, and perverted the ordinary course of law: for, though

though he might have pardoned these men after a trial and conviction, yet he chose to keep within very strict bounds all the new powers which had been granted to the townsmen. The abbot also, and the archdeacon, who had been indicted as accessaries in the murder of Taverner, pleaded the King's pardon, and were discharged in their obligation to appear. But, at the end of ten days, the abbot indicted the townsmen before John de Cambridge and John Hay(a), judges, for the death of Amersham, and of one Elye, whom the townsmen had assaulted and killed in a fray, two or three years before.

Richard II the
28th abbot.

The townsmen now turned their thoughts very seriously to terms of concord; and, at their request, a day was appointed for a conference, and an amicable compromise of all their differences. On the part of the abbot, there appeared Philip de Aylesbury, the sheriff of Bedfordshire; master Richard Pereres; Richard Monchesy; John de Cambridge, the seneschal of the abbot; Sir William Symond, and John Slowmill, knights; John Poleyn; and William Louth; John de Haye, the sub-seneschal; and eight others, principal men of the neighbourhood. On the other side appeared only one citizen of London, named Symon Fraunceys; and one serjeant at Law, named Thomas Lincoln. The subject was no sooner opened than the townsmen renewed the claim of the handmills, and dwelt on this complaint with such earnestness and impudence that the business could not proceed. On that day nothing farther was done than to declare the right of the abbey, and to expose the insolence and obstinacy of the townsmen: and, on consultation, it was determined to proceed against them by a bill, without any favor or affection(b). It was now the year 1331, when, on the 15th of September the king's justices, Roger de Gray, and John de Cambridge, began to hold their session, called *trayle baston*, at Hertford, for the whole county: a third judge was master Robert le Bouster. Before which day the abbot provided a cask of wine, and good store of meat, fish, and other provisions: he sent his cellarer and some monks to prepare this, and to collect a quantity sufficient for a week's consumption, for the entertainment of the judges and the company assembled, who would choose to accept of hospitality at the priory.

The judges being seated in court, the king's letter patent was produced, addressed to the judges, and setting forth the sundry and manifold grievances and injuries done by the townsmen to the abbey and monks. The bill of indictment, contained in the letter, charges the

(a) In those times an indictment might be lodged with a judge, before it came to the knowledge of a jury.

(b) Per placitum sine amore.

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

townsmen with fundry cruel assaults made on the servants of the abbot; with wanton imprisonments; with wilfull mischief to any sort of property belonging to the abbey; and with some very forcible extorsions made on the abbot, such as threatening to cut off a servant's head, unless the abbot would enfeof a certain person in 50 acres of the land at Childwick; an exaction with which the abbot was forced to comply. The proof of these enormities was so full, that the townsmen made no defence, but petitioned to be fined only, and they would submit. One part of the charge was against the coroner John de Murden; who, in taking an inquisition on the murder of Amersham, had betrayed a manifest partiality or a shameful fear of the persons who were charged with that crime. A fine was imposed on each person singly and separately, with an injunction not to depart the court till security for payment was given, and not to approach the king's court, that is, to bring any complaint in future, until the fines were paid.

The handmills still continued a subject of debate; and the townsmen pleaded, that they were possessed of thirteen for time immemorial, and specified the particular houses to which they were annexed: but, on a hearing before the judges, the verdict was given in favour of the abbot: that his mills ever had ground the corn, that former abbots were seized of this right, that the writ to incorporate did not diminish this right, and that it was appendant to him as lord of the manor, and was a general and common right attached in the like manner to other lords. On this, four of the townsmen came to the abbot and offered to rent one of his mills, and proposed to give him 40l. a year rent, repair the same, and make the payments regularly at the four quarters of the year; and on this condition, they would give up the grant of all their liberties (a), and make void the same in the king's chancery and all his other courts; they engaged to grind at no other mill, except it was the article of malt, and for this they would continue to use the hand-mills. The abbot listened to this proposal, and spoke fair; but intimated that they had caused great expence and costs to the abbey, and he must ask an indemnification of 200 marks, to be paid in five years. The parties here separated, as it was necessary to consider these terms; whether they could be accepted by the townsmen, on the one part, and whether the prior and officers, on the other part, would approve and abide by the same. On consultation in private, the prior and sub-prior, the precentor and arch-deacon, were ready to approve and promise performance on their part. One of the

(a) As obtained under abbot Hugo.

monks,

monks, named Richard de Pyrton, bethought himself of an expedient to quicken the treaty, and to bring the other party to concord. Accordingly he goes out, in the evening, to one of the leading men, (who, for divers small offences, had made himself obnoxious to the law,) and, in secret, he advises him to consult his own safety and make terms of some sort, to avoid prosecution from the abbot; Pyrton told his mind very freely, some beginning was made towards a mutual confidence, and each undertook, at parting, to adhere to their opinions and their promises: the substance of this oblique treaty was soon known to all the confederacy.

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

It was now the month of May, exactly one year after the atrocious murder of Amerſham, when the townſmen came to the abbot, and made a voluntary ſurrender of the charter that had given cauſe to all this diſcord. They gave up alſo a charter of confirmation obtained from Edward II. which, with ſome fraud and concealment, had comprehended certain grants very prejudicial to the Church, having been obtained in an artful and crafty manner. They gave up, beſide, another confirmation made by Edward II.; likewiſe one made by Edward III.; and alſo the arbitration made by the knights ſent by the king to make peace between the litigants. They gave up, at the ſame time, the perambulation of their borough, and all their other briefs and records whatever. They brought all the mill-ſtones, and depoſited them in the church, in token of renouncing for ever the right of grinding at home: and they preſented to the abbot the three keys and the cheſt itſelf, as a token of ſurrendering all their corporate rights, and to aboliſh entirely all the hopes and proſpects of a community, or body, in future. On this free and liberal ſubmiſſion, the abbot began to note them with words of reſpect and eſteem, and the interview ended with an invitation to dinner at the abbey: mutual preſents began to paſs and friendſhip to take place, all departing with perfect ſilence as to their own faults and miſdeemeanours. The deeds were all ſent, by the abbot, to John biſhop of Wincheſter, then chancellor, to be kept and preſerved in the archives of the chancery.

In this proſperous ſtate of the abbot's affairs, he thought it neceſſary to have, from the townſmen, a formal renunciation of all their former rights, privileges, and immunities, which they had extorted from abbot Hugo. This was drawn very full and comprehensive, and enrolled in the common bench; and herein the townſmen renounce, for themſelves and their heirs, all private mills; and conſent to grind all their corn and malt (a), and to full all their coarſe

(a) *Omnimoda blada et braſia.*

Richard II. the 28th abbot. cloths, at the abbot's mills; and to pay for the same all the accustomed tolls and stallage, such as had been usually paid for time out of mind. This was signed by four or five of the principal men, and sealed with their respective seals; and is dated in the sixth year of Edward III.

During these commotions, the monks, and their tenants at Redburn, had refused to be assessed toward the fifteenth, which the convocation had granted to the king, and which was a tax on land and realty as well as on cattle and personals. These men pleaded an exemption, founding the same on a deed, as ancient, they said, as Edward the Confessor's time: but the abbot, on perusing the same, soon discovered the forgery; for, it contained words and expressions not known in England, till the coming of the Normans (a), and the style was very unlike the Saxon, or English, used before that period. Being convicted of this fallacy, they departed, without any degree of that confidence or defence which truth ever inspires; and the abbot ordered them to be excommunicated in all the churches of his jurisdiction, and the tax to be levied by the bailiff of the liberty. Here might follow a list of 63 names of persons assessed to the tax, which was directed to be little more than 5l. on the whole manor and possession of the abbot situate at Redburn; but I will select only a few, in order to shew the designation of persons, and the rise and origin of surnames.

Of Adam de Besteney (since Bisney),	6 marks.
Of John Botyler, _____	12 pence.
Of the land of William Pursleye, _____	11
Of Robert Atte Feld, _____	40
Of John Atte Chirche, _____	2
Of Emma Atte Grene, _____	12
Of Christ. Jacob Atte Ponde, _____	12
Of Thomas Atte Hache, _____	18
Of John Atte Dene, _____	11
Of Roger Christmas, _____	12
Of Phe. Palmere, _____	12
Of Isabella Atte Hulle, _____	12
Of William Atte Bekke, _____	6

The queen dowager Isabella had dwelt at Langley since the time of king Edward the second's death, and there held the manor, in grant

(a) Quando Idyoma nostrum fuit corruptum.

from her son. The abbot discovered that a certain mill in that manor was used, in former times, to pay 20 shillings yearly to the abbey; and now, by process of law, the queen was compelled to pay this rent, and all arrears so long as she had the manor. It had been lost to the abbey for many years, and was an instance, how insecure was all landed property in those days, by reason of the private alienations, secret demises, and fraudulent conveyances, which the rigor of the feudal law, and the high authority of the lords, put the tenants on practising.

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

At this time the abbot obtained a restitution of a messuage of five acres of land at *Sandrugge*, which had been seized by the king's escheator, William de Trussel, during a claim which the abbot of Westminster made to it. This office of escheator was in great vogue, and of great utility in these ages; and this man styles himself the king's escheator *citra Trentam*. When, by seizing for the king, he became a judge of the true right, he settled the property without much trouble; and in this case Trussel, on perusing the claims of each, in consequence of a petition from Richard, decided in his favour and adjudged the estate to the abbey. In like manner the escheator had seized on the summer-house (a) of one John Purser, standing, he thought, too near the highway: on which, by petition of the abbot to the chancellor, the escheator is directed to make inquiry (b) into the nuisance; and find, who built it and when, and of whom held, and what is the yearly rent; and to return this verdict into chancery. This was done, and the summer-house adjudged to the tenant of the abbey, who had built it. The decision is dated thus, *Teste meipso apud turrim London. 21 Maii anno Regni nostri 12^o. (1339) (c).*

The attention of this abbot was not so wholly engrossed by law-suits and external concerns, but that he gave much improvement to the inward government of the house. He directed, for the better support of the monks table, an addition of 100 quarters of better malt to be provided, and 50 quarters of better corn than usual, from the manor at Norton: he repaired the roof, and all other decayed parts of the monastery, in the first and second years of his prelacy. He repaired also at that time the mills at Codicote and Laton, Moor-mill, and Park-mill (d), the latter he constructed anew, and enlarged the

(a) Solarium.

(b) By the oath of 12 men.

(c) Though this fact happened after Richard's death, it is related here, to illustrate the office and power of the escheator.

(d) *De mora et de parco*: still in being.

Richard II the
28th abbot.

pool, or mill-dam, by raising the banks: he augmented the pool of the abbey-mill, after repairing the same; and the meadow adjoining the pool, called St. German's meadow, he raised. He caused the hedges, ways, and closes, about St. German's, to be repaired; and sowed a croft there, of four acres, with acorns, intending to make a wood. He had sown this land four years together, and never had a return of the seed again; but this year, after sowing the acorns, he caused seven bushels of seed to be thrown on the ground; and, in the following autumn, the crop was about ten quarters of very good wheat. This year is said by my author (Walsingham) to have been fruitful in all the Chiltern, and this increase he considered as a prodigy of fertility, and that the abbot had not the like on any of the lands which he farmed. He rebuilt the mill at Stankfield, from the very foundation; built a new one, at the passage to Verulam; repaired a mill in or near the town, used for malt only; and raised the banks of the pool. He repaired also the mansion (a) at London; rebuilt the hall, chambers, kitchen, stables, and chapels; and augmented the rent, of the part leased out, 15 shillings. And, by the help of Richard de Herefet, then almoner, he built a house and offices, within the monastery, for the future residence of that officer.

He laid the first stone of a new cloister (b), reaching from the abbot's chapel towards the great cloister. On this stone his name was inscribed, with the year of Christ; and, under the same stone, he sprinkled the foundation with small relics, and some of the earth found with the bodies of Amphibal and his companions. He paid to the workmen, concerned in these employs, thirty shillings a week; and this he saved out of his income, by living in a very sparing manner; for, otherwise, his rents would not have sufficed, and he refused to borrow and encumber the barony. He caused also some repairs to be made to the farms at Tydenhangre; and he adorned the private chapel and chamber with some curious carved work. The remark of my author is, that, instead of expending money in these useless works, he ought to have paid the debt of the abbey: but it is a common fault, in the abbots of every great church, to leave

(a) This is called *Manerium*. The word manor is of Norman origin, and meant the Lord's abode, *Manoir*.

(b) This is probably the dark passage now remaining under the south window, without the wall.

the

the burdens, incurred by former works, to their successors; and to study new works, and often such as are needless.

He obtained of the king the royal licence to hold the church of Appelton, in Yorkshire; without which licence, the Mortmain Act of Edward I. would have rendered it an impossible acquisition.

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

In the sixth year of his rule, he began to grow very weak and infirm, and was so far disabled, by the progress of the leprosy, that he was thought incapable of doing his duty: and a monk of Abingdon, named Richard de Ildesty, informed the pope of the same, in hopes to be elevated into his place, or appointed to be his coadjutor. The pope listened to the insinuation, and directed a letter to the bishop of Lincoln, requesting farther information, 'for, he had heard that the abbot had lost the organ of speech, and was wholly unable to assemble with the sound and healthy.' The bishop immediately sent to the abbey John de Offord, the dean of the arches, and Robert de Bromley, official, to fulfil this inquiry. The abbot, on hearing their business, dispatched the prior instantly to the king at York, where he was then holding a parliament; and the prior represented what an injurious invasion the bishop of Lincoln was making on the rights of the abbey, and how false it was to suggest, as Ildesty had done, that the abbey was suffering great losses, and that the buildings were all in ruins: he then presented a petition in parliament, 'that the king's council, or some of the nobles, would inquire into the truth of these charges, and why the keeper of the king's privy seal should affix the seal to a letter from Ildesty to the pope, to begin this charge and accusation.' The keeper, on being questioned, answered, he was so urged, pressed, and solicited, by some great men, to seal such a letter that he could not refuse it. And it is probable this was an artifice of some courtiers to get possession of the abbey's property.

It is not said what steps the parliament directed to be pursued in consequence of the petition, nor what reception or answer was given to the bishop's messengers. But, on the return of the prior, the abbot sent him to the chapter, to propose, from the abbot himself, a choice of a coadjutor, and named the prior, the arch-deacon, and two others, offering to appoint any one or two of them, as should be most agreeable to the chapter; on which they made choice of the prior, and signified this to the abbot. Then it was thought necessary to write a letter to the pope, to state the truth, &c. This being done, there was perfect peace and unanimity restored in the house.

But,

Richard II. the
28. h abbot.

But, in the year 1335, in the month of May, and before he had finished the ninth year of his elevation, the abbot died, and was interred, by the lord abbot of Waltham, in the presbytery near his two predecessors.

He had made great proficiency, at Oxford, in the new studies then become reputable, and excelled, as Leland writes, in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. As a specimen of his ingenuity, he is said to have invented a clock that was a miracle of art: it exhibited the course of the sun and moon, the rising and setting of the fixed stars and planets, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and, in short, the figures, operations, and effects, of all the heavenly bodies. He had begun this clock early in life, and then neglected it; but, being encouraged to proceed by the king when at the abbey on a visit, he resumed the work, and this royal exhortation made him very diligent in the execution; for, he would say, 'though the abbey wants repairs, my successors may be able to build walls and mend tiling, but none, I believe, excepting myself, can ever finish this clock.' As we have no scientific description of this piece of mechanism handed down to us, we can form no judgement of its merits, being ignorant of the principles that actuated the complex machine, and even of the materials whereof it was constructed: it would appear, however, to have been a master-piece for that age. He composed several writings that better declare his learning, though nothing more than the titles have come down to these times: he wrote of astronomical judgements, of demonstrative signs, of the chord and arch, of the eclipses of the sun and moon, of the right angle, and of arithmetic and computation.

There were but four colleges founded at Oxford prior to Wallingford's time, namely, *University*, *Baliol*, *Merton*, and *Exeter*: yet the resort to these new foundations of learning was very great, and, if we may credit Richard of Armagh, the number of students in Oxford, in Henry the third's time, was thirty thousand; but, if we reject the literal sense of these words, and allow them to mean only a great and unusual number, the reason of it was owing to the studious fame of the two new orders, and the emulation which sprang up among the old. These two orders had now been established in England about a hundred years, and all the men of any note, who had appeared during that period, were either Dominicans or Franciscans, as Roger Bacon, Alexander Hailes, Robert Grossthead, and many others; and this is very conspicuous on beholding the many voluminous works, compiled by them, and since published, compared with
such

such as issued from the monastic bodies. Now, the high pre-eminence, to which they had raised themselves by their learning and public superiority in all reputable science, proved a powerful incentive to emulation in the ancient orders, and first suggested the design of sending young men to the college then existing at Oxford, and, afterwards, of endowing new colleges both there and at Cambridge; for, it was soon found, that this desire to excel could not be cultivated with effect in the monasteries, because the continual duty of the choir occupied their whole time, and allowed no vacant hours for private study; it was there thought enough, if the abbot and his higher officers had a little Latin, and such farther instruction as enabled them to execute their office; and, if they had one or two monks, who could keep their journals in Latin, and occasionally write a letter in Latin to the pope, it was all that was thought necessary or attainable.

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

This difficulty, of uniting the monastic discipline with a course of close study, was a subject that struck the attention of some of the great men about Henry the Third: and accordingly Walter de Merton, then chancellor of England, founded a college at Oxford in 1264, two or three years after Baliol, King of Scots, had founded another college; and about the same time, (viz. 1257,) Hugo de Balsam, prior of Ely, and then bishop, founded *Peter-House*, the first college in Cambridge, and afterwards modelled this new endowment on the plan of Merton. They were instituted in the time of Henry the Third, with a view to train up young men for the *offices* in the abbey, and to give them that tincture of science which the abbey could not teach, and which the two orders only were found to possess. This emulation received countenance from Edward the first, and the two next kings, all of whom gave more encouragement to the new learning than to the old monkish orders (a): nor was the spirit, which the success and fame of the friars had excited, confined to the monasteries, it stimulated other generous patrons to endow colleges, and was the chief cause of the many new foundations that were made by the bishops and others, in the reign of the three first Edwards; in so much, that, at the death of Edward the Third, in 1377, there were seven colleges built and endowed in Oxford, and six in Cambridge.

(a) It had been the custom for two centuries back, and of course long before the new orders existed, to fetch even the engineers, and managers of the warlike machines then in use, from among the religious, who possessed all the learning of their time: but the old orders could no longer furnish fit persons, and the Franciscans had now the preference in supplying them, because they excelled both in abstract science and in all the arts of utility.

But,

Richard II. the
28th abbot.

But, beside the royal favour, and this rivalship for fame, there was yet another cause which operated very powerfully in promoting these foundations and endowments: for, it is to be remembered, that the ancient channels of liberality and charity to the monks were stopped and shut up by the statutes of Mortmain, and colleges became the prevailing objects of benevolence and piety. These seminaries were soon overstocked, and the monasteries could not employ all that were fit; then the rest were transplanted into the country churches, and became the secular clergy and the new endowed vicars.

The Benedictines, throughout England, roused by the motives I have mentioned, partook of the general spirit, and contributed largely to the maintenance of the scholars at the universities. In Edward the Second's time, the monks of Durham built and endowed *Durham College*, to train up their youth to be seculars or regulars (a): the monks of Gloucester, then also, built *Gloucester College* for the same uses, and it was afterwards enlarged, by licence of Mortmain, for other houses of the Benedictines, among which our abbey of St. Alban was one (b): *Canterbury college* was likewise founded and built, by Islip the archbishop, to educate youth for the supply of the abbey and cathedral at Canterbury, called Christ Church (c): these three were at Oxford. And, in the reign of Edward the Fourth, a prior was constituted, in a provincial chapter of their order, to overlook and direct the studies of their youth in the university of Cambridge.

It has been generally thought, and always said, that the monks were possessed of all the learning of their times. Now this can be true only of the times prior to the establishment of the frier-preachers and minors, or black and grey friers; for, these soon eclipsed all the monks, and left them with no other learning than some Latin, to enable them to understand what they chaunted, and a little more for their accounts and their correspondence: or, if some of the higher officers, and a few of the priests, had a tincture of science, still the great body of the monks were void of all instruction, except music, which was the only study either taught or used in the monasteries;

(a) This college fell at the general suppression; but, after lying in ruins sixteen years, it was re-endowed, in 1555, by Sir Thomas Pope, and then newly called *Trinity College*. Monast. II. 344.

(b) See more concerning this college in the life of John Wheathampstead, the 33d abbot, book VII.

(c) The famous John Wickliffe was here chosen second warden; but, being elected by the secular scholars and not by the regulars, he and they were displaced by archbishop Langham, and the monks put in their room. Wickliffe, while here, was tutor to Geoffrey Chaucer.

whereas

whereas the two orders not only distinguished themselves in all scripture learning and the favourite science of canon law, but cultivated every branch of knowledge then known; and we may see the whole extent of their erudition by the list of the sciences they deemed liberal; which were seven in number, namely, grammar, rhetoric, logic, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. Yet, narrow as this field is in comparison with our present acquisitions, it is wonderful to behold with what penetration, and acuteness, and subtle enquiry, they searched into the recesses of nature, and with what fanciful ingenuity they raised new questions when demonstration and proof failed. But, though their labour may be commended, and their zeal applauded, they erred from the truth, by beginning to build on the false foundation of Aristotle and Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Such was the learning in vogue when Wallingford was public reader of divinity at Oxford; at which place, and from the friars, he doubtless learned his mechanic knowledge and geometric science. But that the preaching friars, both at home and abroad, were the most celebrated scholars in the last age, in this, and the next, will manifestly appear to any who shall peruse the *Ecclesiastical History* of Dupin, and the *Antiquities* of Canisius, and the *Continuation* of Dugdale.

Edward I. had contributed other means, beside the two statutes already noticed, to curb the power of the pope and avaricious temper of the clergy, whom he thus endeavoured to make subject and obedient to him: for, he repeated and improved the *Mortmain Act* by three or four more, in order to obviate, with silent but sure effect, the many devices, by which the clergy still found means, though with a fraud, to be gaining estates, as by taking them in trust for the owner, for certain purposes and uses, and in a way of accounting to him, or with a pretence and engagement to provide for his children, &c.: these devices were considerably checked, though the clergy and dying testator called such checks profane and wicked; but, as this was a military reign, such proceeding of the king was prudent, in order to keep up, and prevent the utter loss of, the military aid: and, at length, this closed that immense gulph, in which all the lands of England were likely to be swallowed up. In the time of Edward III. passed the statutes of *Præmunire*, calculated to depress the civil power of the pope, and to break, if possible, the connection with Rome. Another very politic act of this Edward was to institute vicarages, and thus encourage a laborious parochial clergy, endowing the same out of the swoln possession of the regulars: for, though it was impracticable to deprive these bodies of lands or of tithes by force,

H. h.

yet

Richard I. the
23th abbot.

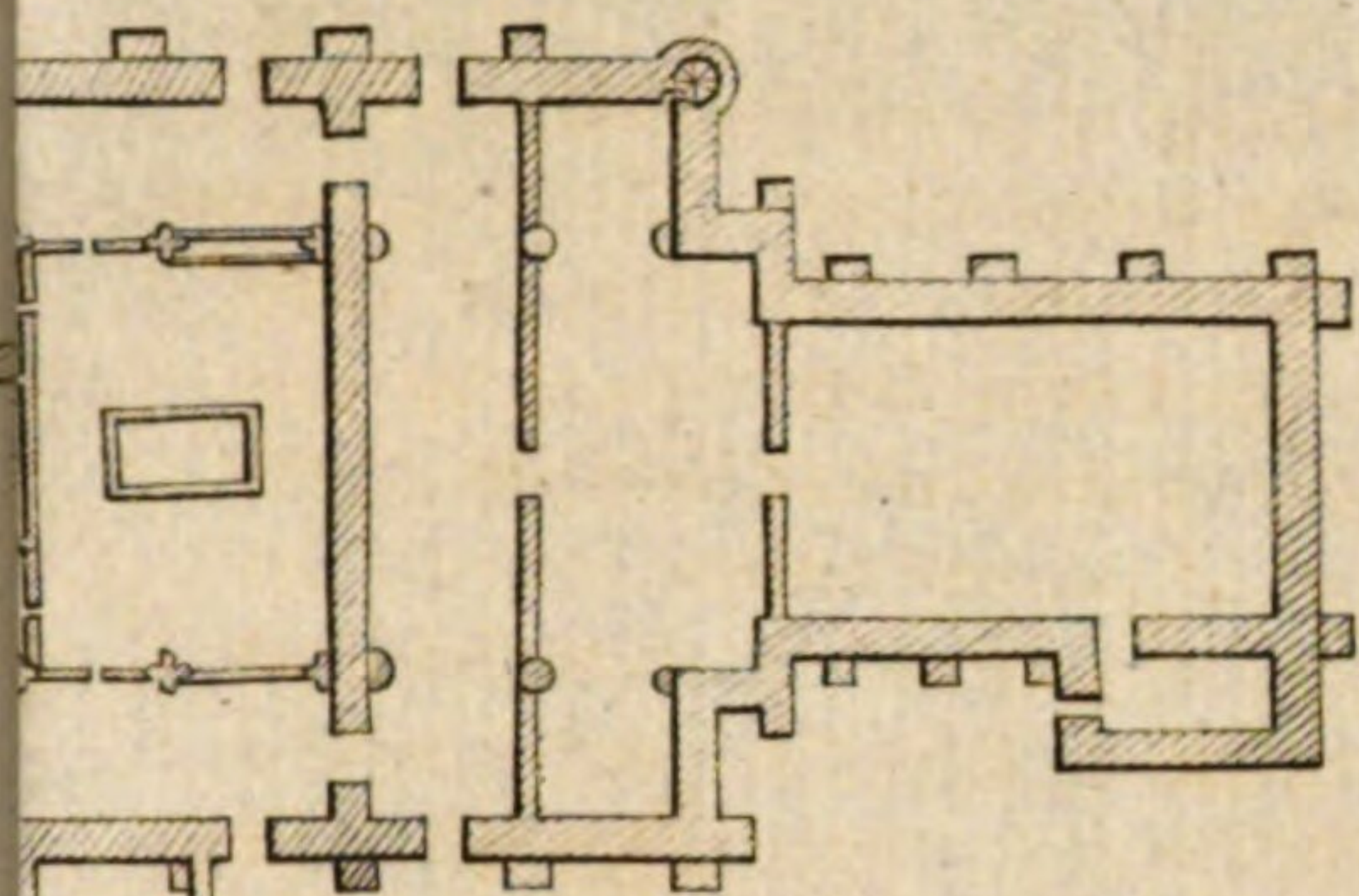
Richard II. the
8th abbot.

yet they would consent to endow a vicar, and provide for his residence, on condition he was one of their body; but, on other terms, or to suffer the patronage to pass from them, they still refused.

The strict hand which the Edwards held over the regulars, and the great increase of academic foundations in the two universities, kept this branch of the clergy in their proper bounds; and, for these reasons, we find no mention of them in a public and general character, or, as taking any part in the government of the kingdom, and interfering in the functions of royalty. They now were not heard, except in some ineffectual opposition they made to the king's demand of aid; and their private government was so quiet and regular that very little novelty happened among them.

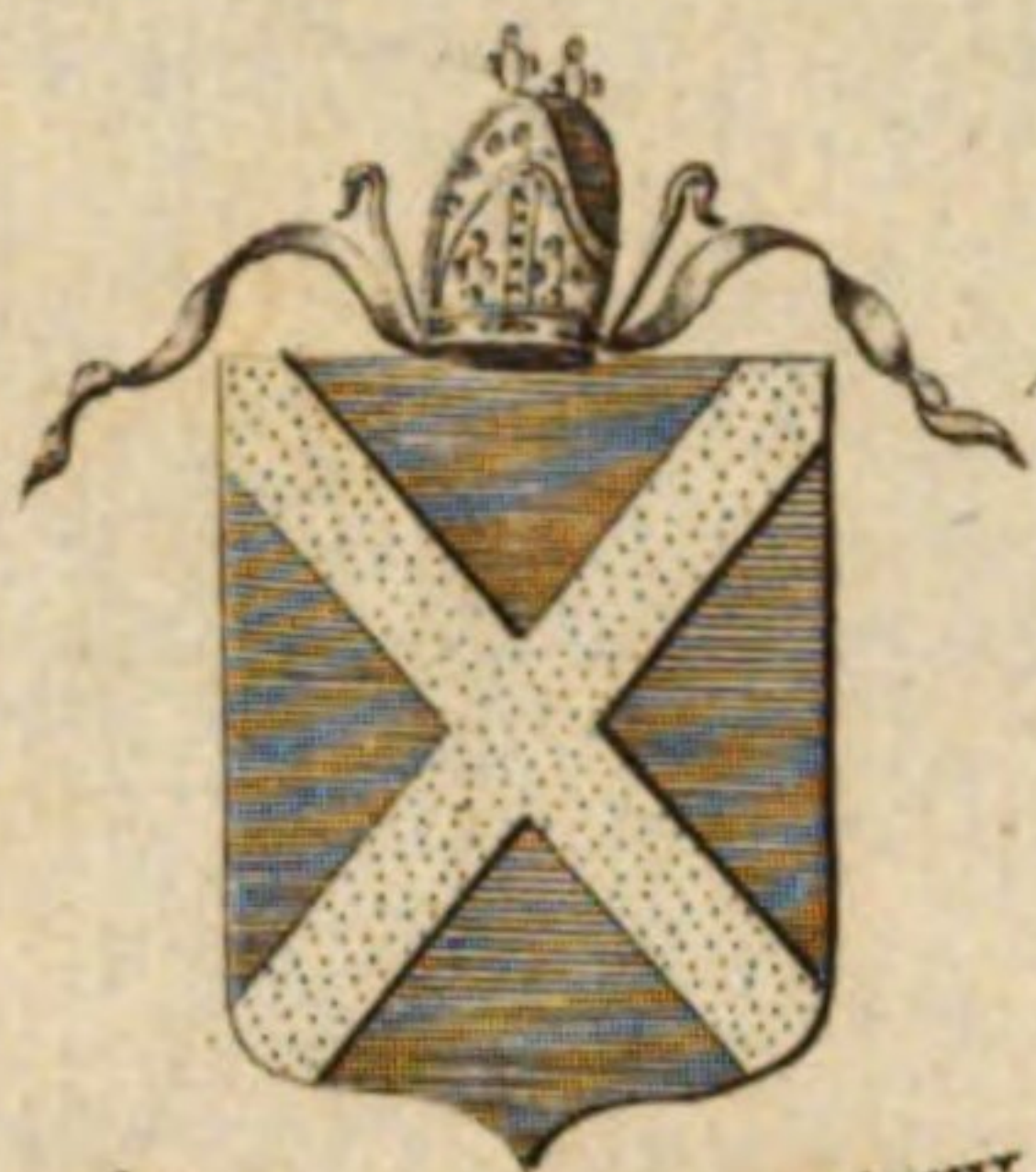
Such was the uniform and peaceable state of this abbey, except when interrupted by the disputes with the townsmen, which, indeed, lasted long, and were carried on with much animosity. In these contests, it is observable, that skill, management, temper, and ancient customs, were on the side of the monks; while perseverance, numbers, impetuosity, and the spirit of freedom (then spreading fast), befriended the townsmen. Both parties, however, as their scale preponderated, outraged justice; the people by open violence, and the monks by favour and secret perversion. For, when at length the former carried their point, they were intoxicated with their success, and could not enjoy their new condition with temper and moderation; and the monks, on the other hand, were still ready to resume, in the hour of prosperity and court-favour, whatever they had prudently given up in times of trouble and of tumult. Thus, after abbot Hugo, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, had granted the townsmen a charter of all their demands, they set no bounds to their licentiousness, and conducted themselves in a manner so wanton and so lawless, that, when the firm hand of Edward III. had restored domestic peace and good order, they furnished Wallingford, not only with an opportunity of punishing the evil doers, but with a pretext for depriving the borough of many of the privileges that had been conceded by Hugo. In short, though we may discern the rudiments of liberty in these exertions, they were so disfigured by violence, and the advantages gained so fluctuating, that it is obvious the principles of civil freedom were then but little understood: and, though we know, from co-eval circumstances of great moment, that the middling ranks of men were rising into consequence, and the lowest class began to be emancipated, yet the English form of government, at the period we treat of, was but a rude and imperfect cast of the admired and matchless constitution which we enjoy at this time.

End of Part I.



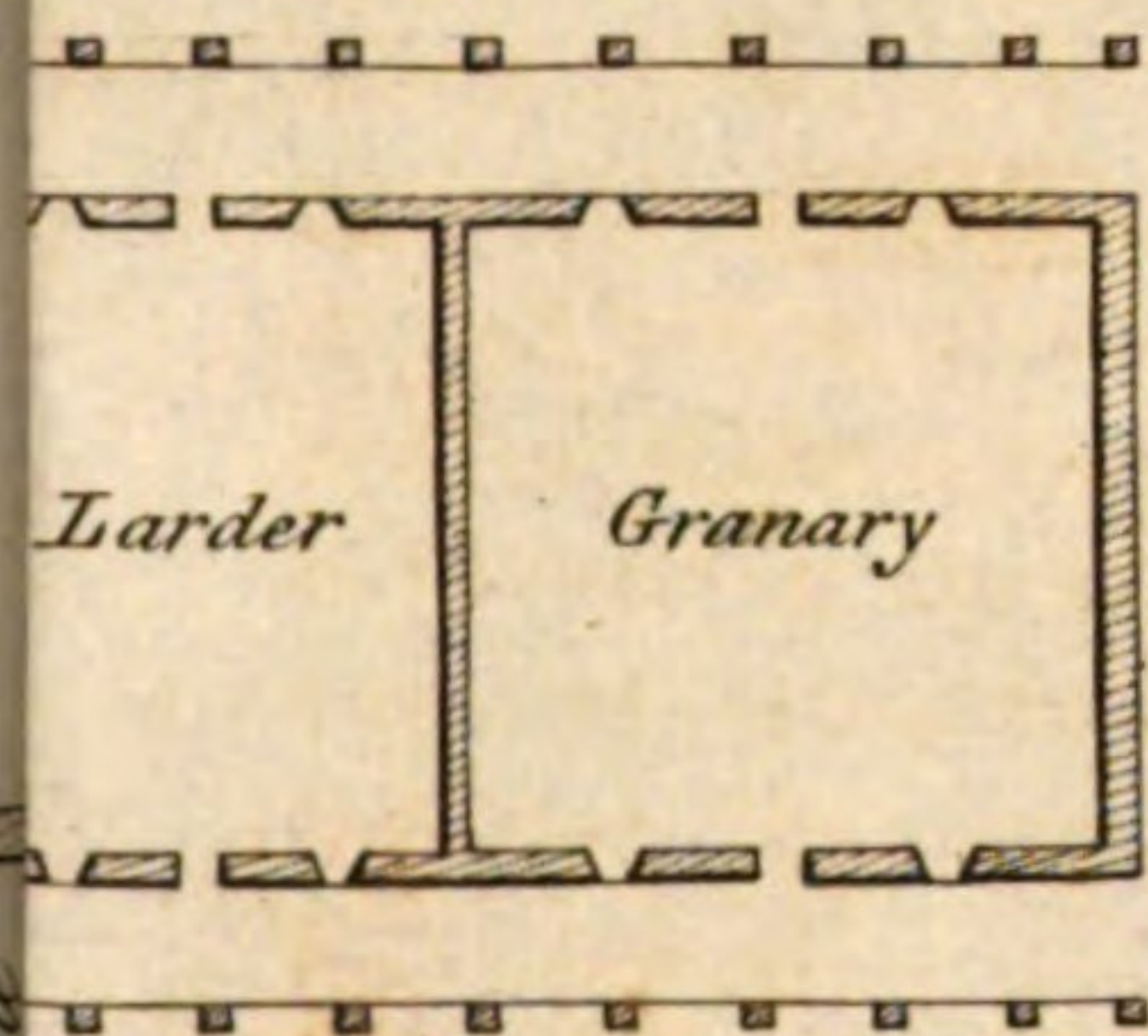
Chapel

Old Infirmary



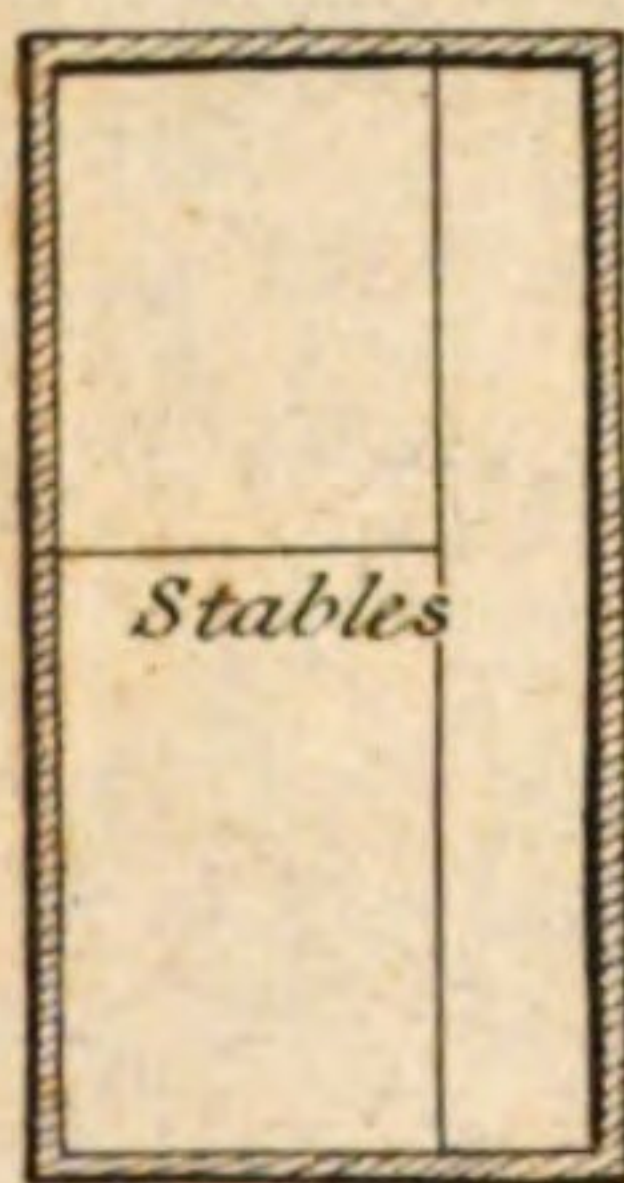
Arms of the Monastery

	<i>Feet</i>
<i>Extrem Length of the Abbey</i>	550
<i>Extrem Breadth</i>	217
<i>Height to the Turret</i>	144

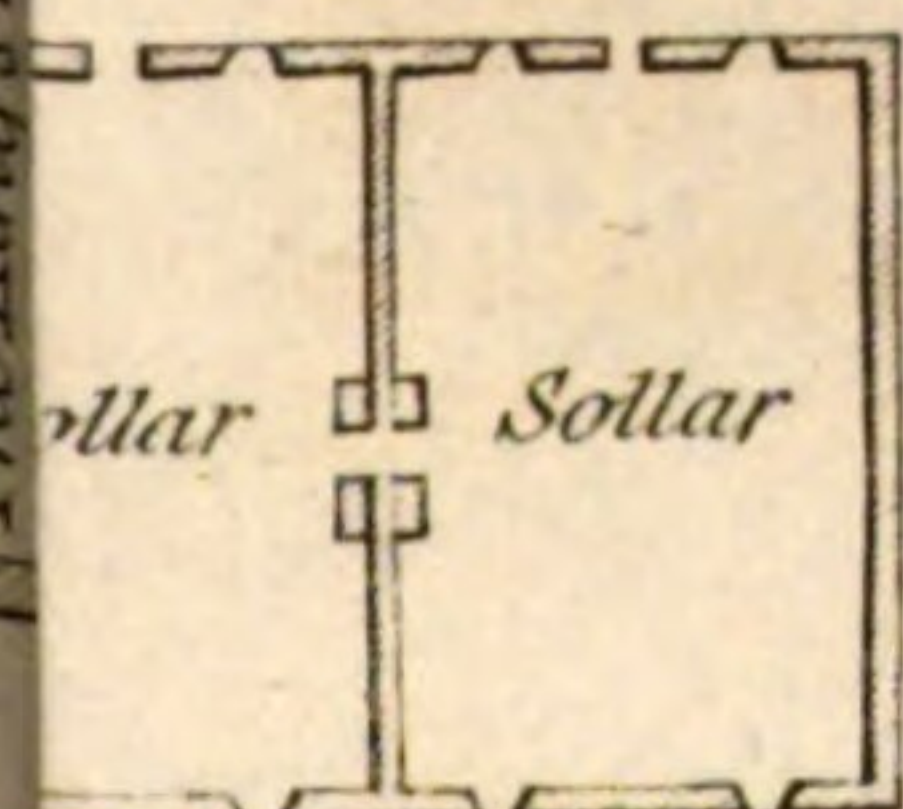


Larder

Granary



Stables



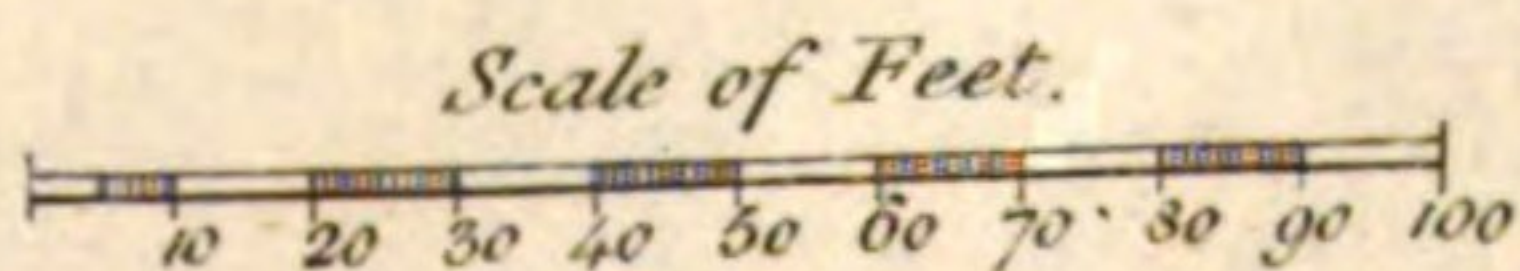
Sollar

Sollar



Laundry

Road from Sopwell Lane forming the grand Entrance



PART II.

CHAPTER VI.

MICHAEL MENTMORE.

ON the tenth day after the burial of Richard, *Michael de Mentmore* was elected abbot. He was descended of reputable honest parents (living at a village named Mentmore, in the vale of Aylesbury), who gave him a good education at Oxford, and probably among some of the Benedictine scholars: when master of arts, he was admitted, by abbot Hugo, to be a monk in this abbey, where he lived in the good opinion and estimation of all, but never was placed in any office. As soon as elected he hastened to the king's chancellor, at Nottingham, who was the archbishop John Stratford, the king then being in Scotland and at a great distance. In August he set forward to the pope, and, having been well received and his papers of election approved, he returned in winter.

Michael, the
29th abbot.

Michael, the
29th abbot.

His attention was wholly employed in devising rules and orders for sustaining and advancing the honour of the monkish life, and in particular of the Benedictine order; and this he did in consequence of a general chapter of all the monasteries here in England, held about this time at Northampton. He ordained that the monks should be divided at the time of dining, one half to dine at the gateway, while the other were dining in the refectory, and thus alternately; but this was to take place, on those days only when they were to eat flesh: and he directed that the conquinar should, on those days, provide two good courses. The reason of the first order doth not appear; but the second was necessary, from the very scanty diet which they had on the fish-days. He made some other regulations, for the benefit and advantage of the students at Oxford, and for the distribution of the alms at the gate. He directed that all the great officers of the house should give the treasurer twenty shillings yearly, out of their respective allowances, in consideration of his extra-expence on the day of a great mass. He ordered likewise that the refectorer should give to the treasurer eight shillings, for two quarters of wheat, due yearly from the manor of Childwick; which two quarters had been purchased formerly by archbishop Maryns (John IV.) of William Beneyn and his heirs, who had purchased the same of Geoffrey de Childwick when he had usurped this estate. He appointed also three collectors, to gather the rents and prevent arrears; and here he recovered 7s. 8d. of John Atte Hill of Oxeye, for one field held by him, above the old rent.

He ordained it as a rule, that a stipend of 20s. yearly be allowed to the prior, 13s. 4d. to the precentor, 10s. to the sub-prior, to the succentor and to each of the scrutators 6s. 8d. and to each of the monks 3s. 4d; these to be annually allowed, in consideration of their poverty, and of their necessary charges at great festivals: but to the other officers nothing was allowed. He directed some amendment to be made to the comforts of the dormitory, (where they never had sufficient clothing on their beds,) by allowing them rugs and night-caps (a). He also enacted it as a perpetual rule and law, that no prior, or any other officer, should be the proctor of another, or executor of any person defunct, or take on him any kind of office under an order from the king, without the consent and consultation of the abbot and chapter. He directed that none of the younger

(a) Pelliccas et caputias,

priests

priests should attend, to bear the censers and the wax lights, if ^{Michael, the 29th abbot.} there were nine of the monks present.

It was also provided, with the consent of the chapter, that the master of the infirmary should receive an addition to the money allowed him, and this out of the tithes of Sandridge; that the almoner should be allowed more, and this from the lands of Tydenhangre beyond the water, and likewise more from the manor of Apfa (a), and ten acres of land at Colney, and from nine acres situate in divers crofts near the mansion of Sopwell, and of the crofts lying within the inclosure of that meadow, and from a meadow lately acquired, and from other lands there, (excepting the lands of Gylefeld), and from four acres of land called Leneynlond. Likewise the Almoner (these are the words) ' Shall take all the ' tithe from the way which leads from to the grange of the ' cell; and so, as far as Colney; and so, from the higher Colney ' as far as the demesne lands of Park; and so as far as the water ' which leads to Park mill; and so by the river which leads to Stank- ' field-mill, together with Leneynlond; and from the land which, ' before the Exchange, belonged to the infirmarer, and was called ' Gardineslond.' And here is the first separation and distinct allotment of that portion of tithe, which, at the dissolution, went to the crown, with all the other estates, and was granted, by Edward VI. together with the estate of Tydenhangre, to Sir Thomas Pope. This allotment to the almoner shews how extensive their gifts and donations were, to stand in need of so large an augmentation: and my author gives this valediction to the appointment, *Valeat ista ordinatio, et inconcussa remaneat.*

This abbot, as hath been said before, made many new constitutions, among which he instituted some for the leprous brethren at St. Julian's, who, before, living under no rule or regulation, grew to be a nuisance to their neighbours and a scandal to themselves. He framed rules for the better government of the nuns of Sopwell; and these remained long in use, and in estimation.

It had happened, in the last year of Wallingford's life, that he had been in extreme want of money; and, to relieve himself and abbey, he sold or pawned eight sacks of wool, in the winter, to one Thomas Gentylicors and Christina Puff his wife, for 200l.; and gave a bond for the same to Thomas, promising to pay the money before

(a) Napsbury.

Michael, the 29th abbot. the Michaelmas following. This the abbot Richard performed, and took back the wool; but the bond, or obligation, by neglect was left with Gentylicors. And, on the death of Richard, the bond is produced, and demand of payment made, by that man and his wife, —with many threats of indemnifying themselves. In this perplexity it was in vain to plead the negligence of Richard or of his officers, some of whom could attest to the faithful performance of his contract. Michael was forced to compromise and to agree, under hand and seal, to give yearly, to one William Puff, a pension of 20 shillings, and one robe of the sort worn by the clergy, or 20 shillings in lieu thereof; and this to hold until Michael should provide for the said William some benefice, which William should think fit for his acceptance. This agreement and covenant being made and signed, Michael sent a trusty monk to Thomas to demand the bond. Thomas refused to deliver it, or to permit the monk to read, or to inspect it; but held it in his hand, and, after much argument and plea on the part of the monk, threw the paper into the fire. From this circumstance, and as the monk saw no marks of a bond, he concluded the same to be a counterfeit, framed in pretence by this foreigner Gentylicors.

In this abbot's time another fraud was committed by one William Attepenn of Barnet, who had forged writings, for himself and for many others, pretending that the lands and tenements, held by them in Barnet and in South-Mymes, had been made free by some former abbot. But, on inspection of these deeds, they were all found so much alike in the writing, and to have been smoked in the chimney, to give them an air of antiquity, and in this very trick to resemble each other so exactly, that a suspicion arose of their falsehood; and this was confirmed, when it appeared that, in the register of acts and deeds, no such transaction as an enfranchisement had been allowed. The abbot brought an action against the parties, and obtained a verdict and judgement; and Michael, by order of the judge, gave them a new admission to their tenements.

The prior of Ryshmead, in Bedfordshire, had complained, by his attorney, against Adam Flann of Newenham, that he unjustly withheld the manor of Caldecot, near Ashwell, from him, the said prior. To which Flann answered, that he held the same of the abbot and church of St. Alban; and this began to alarm Michael; but it was found that Hugo had granted this manor to Flann during his life; and

and the prior, finding strong evidence against him, withdrew his claim, &c. This was in the 14th year of Edward III. Michael, the
29th abbot.

In the 15th year of Edward, a great dispute and contention arose between the vicar of St. Peter's, named William Puff, and the infirmarer; each claiming the offerings made at a new cross, which had been erected in the church-yard by Roger Stoke, and carved with his own hand, and under which he had been interred. The vicar had taken these oblations, and the infirmarer claimed, under a grant and ancient ordinance, which allowed him all the offerings made at that church, as well as the great tithes of the parish. The parties were both cited into the consistory, held in the abbey-church; where, after much argument, the vicar was condemned for unjustly detaining the oblations, and directed to pay 40 shillings to the infirmarer.

About this time, a demand was made on the abbot from the king's exchequer, that he should pay a certain sum, on knighting the king's eldest son, and marriage of his eldest daughter; and that the manor of Greenbury, in the county of Bucks, stood charged with the payment. The abbot resisted this claim, and, the king's treasurer failing in proof, the abbot demanded a writ, setting forth the exemption.

The south wing of the church had been in a ruinous state, and in great want of repair, for 20 years past; and it was now undertaken, and restored to a sound state, together with part of the cloister, by the encouragement of Michael, and the skill of the sacrist.

This abbot finding he could not enjoy any repose at his mansion of Tydenhangre, by reason of the great concourse of people, who, both going and coming from London, would turn from the road, to pay their duty to my lord the abbot, he repaired a mansion, called Bradelkey, on another part of the same manor, and built a chapel, hall, chambers, and kitchen; he erected a bakehouse and a great gate; and inclosed the whole with a wall.

In the time of this abbot, the archbishop of Damascus (named Hugo, and of the Greek Church,) came to this abbey, and in his devotions and thanks, he set up three images, that of the Virgin, another of Thomas Becket, and a third of St. Oswyn, in the south wing, then newly rebuilt; for the repair amounted to almost a new construction. He also provided and dedicated two great bells, in the room of one which had been broken in sounding the curfew; this bell had been called Amphibal; and another, called Alban,

Michael, the Alban, was re-cast by the skill of Adam Wancastre the sacrist, and
 29th abbot. well known in the days of Walsingham for its melodious sound(a).

Michael presented many books to his church, namely, two good bibles, one for the use of the choir, and the other for the abbot's study. He gave also one ordinal, very beautiful to the eye, and very costly in the ornamental part; likewise a very fine psalter for the use of the choir; and many other books, all inscribed with his name. He gave also to the church a very beautiful vestment, of a scarlet stuff commonly called Taffety, powdered with archangels in gold, with work of embroidery; and for which he paid twenty marcs sterling. A brother, John de Bulfille, made an offer to purchase this robe: but died before the bargain was made, leaving, by will, a sufficient sum for the purpose; and the abbot took the money and delivered the robe to the executor.

In Michael's time, a knight, named Ralph Weedon, came to reside in the monastery, being aged, and very infirm; and promised to make recompence, by giving to this abbey, in pure alms, his manor of Heymondscote(b). But, as it was difficult to convey estates and appropriate to the clergy, by reason of the Mortmain laws then in being, he conveyed it over to a friend of the abbot's, one Henry Green, a man skilled in the laws; who, after the death of Weedon, sold the manor for 500 marcs, and gave the same to the abbey, as the only way of being benefited by Weedon's generosity.

In his time also, a certain lady, named Dame Parnel de Banstede, made an offering of several valuable articles; namely, a round altar cloth, adorned with jasper stones below, and surrounded with a border of solid silver. This lady, bearing good affection to the saint, desired to deposit, in the custody of the abbot, all her rich plate and other valuables, at this special time, when the county of Hertford (for she lived near this town) was very much harassed with robbers, and frequent outrages were heard of as committed by the king's disbanded soldiers. Accordingly, leave being given, Parnel fills a huge chest with gravel and lead, and causes the same to be conveyed through the town, on a market-day, to the monastery. Here it was received in due form, and put under the special charge of the treasurer. At length, when the country was safe, and the soldiers gone to the wars, the lady comes and demands her chest, and, having

(a) Sonoritate commendabilis.

(b) Probably Harmandsworth near Colnbrook.

of all an

called together the chief persons of the house, she opens it in their presence, and utters this rebuke and caution, 'I have nothing here but gravel and lead; and I have done this to deceive the robbers; but it behoves you never to take a deposit without a witness to its value: for, was I false, I might now charge you as the robbers.'

Michael, the
29th abbot.

In his time, queen Philippa was delivered of a son at Langley, and Michael was not only invited, but chosen to baptize this infant. He stood in so high estimation among the courtiers and nobles, that they thought his hands would convey with the blessing a more peculiar degree of sanctity and merit. The child was named *Edmund de Langley*, and the earls, John de Warren and Richard de Arundel, were the sponsors. The queen, after due time, (*expletis solenniis purificationis*), came to the abbey, and there made an offering of a cloth of gold of great value.

The very strict discipline in which the monks were held may be perceived by the following instance. At Tinmouth, a monk had administered the *viaticum* (as the sacrament was then called) to a sick woman, at her request, without leave of the vicar of the parish. The prior rebuked him for this presumption, by which he incurred a sentence of excommunication; the monk confessed and begged pardon. This availed nothing, and he was suddenly dispatched to this abbey, where he was told, that nothing could procure him absolution but the pope's grace; and, until that arrived, he must submit to a sentence of penance, to wit, 'that he must be confined in one of the chambers of the infirmary, and remain in solitude, having his food brought to him by a little boy; and, when it was necessary to give him a change of air, that he should be allowed to walk in the garden at a certain time, but only at such hours as nobody was present, and no conversation could pass.'

It was now the year 1349, and a pestilential disorder had appeared in the country, and the abbot was one of the first who felt the direful effects of that putrid corrupt air which was bringing with it the seeds of death. It was Maundy Thursday, when Michael had done the duty of the choir in person; and, on this day, the service was long, being the great mass, and attended with the ceremony of washing the feet of the poor. This token of humility, and most humiliating labour of love, the abbot had performed; and, retiring to rest, he complained of pain and sickness. This confined him to his bed; and, increasing on him, finished his life on the tenth day, when he was called away from the fallacies of this world to the truths
and

Michael, the 29th abbot. and substantial realities of the next,—from darkness to the true light.

The abbot of Waltham was called to perform the last obsequies, and Michael was interred on the Thursday in Easter week. This pestilence was very mortal; for, besides those monks who died in the cells, the number who died here about this time was not less than *forty-seven*, and these some of the most pious and holy men of the house. ‘There never appeared a man,’ says Walsingham, ‘of greater humility, piety, justice, and integrity; and, as was said of Moses, none so mild and gentle: and his death would have been greatly lamented, had he left brethren behind him; and the loss irreparable, had not such a man as Thomas de la Mare succeeded.’

THOMAS DE LA MARE.

Thomas I. the 30th abbot. This Thomas was descended from very respectable parents, and connected by blood to many great families. His father was Sir John de la Mare, knight, and his mother was Joanna, the daughter of Sir John de Herpsfield, knight. As relations of his father, there were reckoned, Sir William Montecute, an earl; Sir William de la Zouch, lord of Haryngworth; Sir Thomas Grandison, knight; and master Thomas Grandison, bishop of Exeter; all very conspicuous men and illustrious characters. Beside many relations of the same name, he had affinity with many knights, then rich in fortune, and of high military rank, as Sir Richard de Haveryng, John de St. Leger, John Argent, and Thomas Basingborne (a).

The father and mother had issue three sons and one daughter; and they all made choice of a religious life. They had an uncle by the father's side, named William, who had been bred among the canons regular at Missenden, and who had been chosen abbot. But the brother of Thomas, named Richard, entered among the religious at Thetford; John took the vow at this abbey; and the sister, named Dionysia, became a sister and nun at the hospital of St. Pree.

(a) He was probably a near relation of Sir Peter de la Mare, said to be the first speaker of the House of Commons. See *Louth's Life of Wickham*.

Thomas

Thomas had received some tincture of grammar-learning while a boy, though we know not where; but, as soon as he could judge for himself, he came to abbot Hugo, and begged to be admitted. He is said to have been a youth of extraordinary beauty; and, without much examination or enquiry, the abbot was so pleased with the ingenuity and plain countenance of the lad, that he consented, and sent him away to the cell at Wymondham, there to begin his monastic career, with directions there to assume the habit, and stay until he was sent for hither. At Wymondham, he devoted himself to a studious regularity and observance of all the rules and customs; and, though attentive to learn every thing, he shewed himself chearful among his brethren, and, at the same time, humble, patient, and quiet. But Hugo died while Thomas was in this state of discipline, and he received the benediction and made the professional vow before abbot Richard. In that cell he applied himself to learn the art of rhetoric(a), and made such progress therein, that, for the future, he could dictate or write letters, without any faults, even to the pope himself. He acquired a great degree of skill in this art; and, by this practice in it, he was thought the most worthy to be made abbot. He had been monk ten years when Richard Wallingford died: and Michael, hearing of the fame of Thomas, thought him a fit man to bear an office in the abbey. He accordingly sent for him, and appointed him one of his *bajuli*, or table-companions and privy counsellors. And here, the brethren requesting to have a coquinar, or steward, to direct and superintend their table, on a complaint from the former coquinar and his deputy, that they knew not how to get a supply of victual, the abbot appointed Thomas to the office of steward, and the keys were delivered into his hands. He performed the duties thereof for one year with great credit and satisfaction, and was then appointed cellarer; and, the prior of Tinmouth dying soon after, Thomas was sent thither, to take the government of that house. There he suffered great vexations and troubles, in endeavouring to recover the manor of Hanslow, then unjustly seized and detained by Gerard de Wythington(b), a potent knight in the north. This man used the most audacious threats against Thomas, and once plotted an ambuscade, in order to assassinate him. But this outrage made the gentry more favorable to Thomas; and the Lady Mary Percy, sister of Henry duke of Lancaster and the relict of lord

Thomas I. the
30th abbot.

(a) Ad sciendam retoricam.

(b) Perhaps the *Wythington* of martial fame in the north, and celebrated in *Cherry Chase*.

Thomas I. the 30th abbot. Henry Percy, supported him, with promises of aid from her tenants: she sent to him all her jewels, with an order to raise soldiers if necessary. The cause of Thomas gained to it more friends daily, and the iniquities of Gerard became more known; for, he had certainly killed a man some time before, though it escaped any farther notice. At length, he ceased his persecution against Thomas, and yielded up the manor.

About this time, when Edward was fighting at Cressy, in the year 1346, David le Brus, king of Scotland, invaded England; and the Scots being led by a bold commander, named William Douglas, this man sends a message to the prior *to prepare a breakfast for him and his men for two days*, intending hereby to terrify the prior. But, in a few days, this commander was made prisoner, and conducted to the priory, when the prior accosted him with much civility, and declared himself 'never more pleased or honoured than to have such a guest at such a time.'

Ralph Neville, then keeper of the marches, intended to send all the Scots prisoners to Tinmouth, under pretence of confining them there in the castle, but, in reality, to eat up the prior and live on the church. On this, Thomas hastened away to the king, who was just arrived at Langley, and petitioned Edward, that he would protect the priory and church of Tinmouth, and suffer no one, not even the prior, to lodge prisoners in the castle or make any orders to that effect.

Having obtained a little repose from these enemies without, he turned his thoughts to improvements and reparations within. He rebuilt the malt-house at the expence of 90l. he laid out 87l. about the dormitory; and he augmented the rents and profits of their estates to the yearly amount of 35l. 4s. 10d. He expended in the whole, in new buildings and repairs, the sum of 864l. during the nine years he presided as prior of Tinmouth: of which nine years the *three* first were wholly employed in combating his enemies; the *three* next he employed in peaceful study, and in *preaching the word of God*, which he not only performed (contrary to custom) in his own person, but he retained with him, for the same purpose, many secular clergy, and many of the mendicant orders, namely, the frier preachers and minors, who were most capable of aiding him in this work; and he encouraged this duty of the religious life, as perceiving it wholly omitted in the monasteries, used only in a small degree by the seculars, or parish-priests, and engrossed wholly by
two

two new orders, who professed and endured poverty and begging; —and the three last years he spent in improving the state of the buildings, and putting them in a good condition.

Thomas I. the
30th abbot.

At the time of Michael's death, the prior and sub-prior were taken off by the same sudden stroke of pestilence; and the surviving monks knew not how to proceed to fill these vacancies: but, on consulting the learned in the law, they instantly made choice of Thomas de Risborow for prior; and he, the same day, appointed John Wodrow the sub-prior. A day was then fixed for the election of abbot; and the priors were all cited to appear. Thomas, when he approached this town, chose to rest himself at Childwick, as a place of more safety; but, on the day of election, he entered the abbot's chapel, and found there *Henry Stukley*, prior of Wymondam, *John Calderwell*, prior of Bynham, *William de Belvoir*, prior of Belvoir, *Adam de Gwytenham*, *Walter de Caville*, and a few monks. It was agreed to conduct the election, as in former times, by the method called a Compromise (*per compromissarios*), which was to lodge the power in the hands of a few. The company agreed also in appointing, for this duty, all the priors, and the two brethren above named. The rest having withdrawn, the persons present cast their eye on the learning and rank of Stukley, and he was requested to retire, to give room for private opinion to declare itself; and, in this moment, something was suggested which drew a general declaration *that he was unfit*. Then it was requested that Thomas should retire, and, in a few minutes, it was agreed, with unanimous voice, that he should be the abbot. He was then conducted into the church, and one of the brethren made proclamation, *that Thomas was unanimously and canonically elected*. He next retired to the chamber of the prior, where it was the custom for the new elect to abide, until he went to Rome and received complete investiture.

He made haste in preparing for this necessary journey, and chose for companions *Henry de Stukley*, and *William de Derfyngham*; but this man, being ordered to set out before, was seized with a fatal disease at Canterbury, and there died and was buried. He then made choice of three seculars to attend him, namely, *William Purser*, of *St. Alban's*; *master Lawrence Stoke*; and *Stephen de la Mare*, a relation; but *Purser*, being taken ill at *Calais*, returned. Here it was directed by *Thomas*, that they should lay aside their clerical habit and appear in a lay-dress; and, dividing, should repair, by different ways to the pope's court, then at *Avignon*. The servants did the

Thomas I. the
30th abbot.

fame; and Thomas went, and returned with no other attendant than one clerk, named Burcote. The reason of this prudential step was, because the two nations were at war, and a large company might be noticed and stopped. The pope approved and confirmed the election, and the charges in fees, presents, and gratuities, amounted to 4000 florins, or 1000 marcs; for the payment of which the abbot gave security at certain times. At his return, he hastened to do homage to the king, and receive his temporalities; and here the king, having much conversation with him, was so won by the dignity of his countenance and manner, and the freedom of his discourse, that he, ever after, bore him a peculiar regard and good will. The fees usually paid on this occasion were five pounds and five marcs to the king's chamberlain and mareschal; and, these being discharged, he returned.

The place of prior of Tinmouth had been filled up by Thomas as soon as he had been elected abbot, by his choice of Clement of Wheathampstead. But, before Clement could get possession, the bailiff of some great neighbour, named Hugo Peregym, began to seize the goods of the priory, as the crops on the ground, &c. under pretence of a claim from the king for first fruits, &c. and which, during the vacancy, might bear some show of right to hold the temporalities. But, the abbot having now applied to the king, he obtained a writ to recover from Hugo, and to ascertain in future what should be law, and to prevent these unjust seizures (a). He visited the priories as soon as he could be spared, and was absent a full year, hoping also to find a more wholesome air in new places; for, the pestilence still prevailed near London (b). He caused some

(a) Willis, in his *Mitred Abbies*, says, that in 1350 (the 23d of Edward III.) the king released by deed the abbot and convent from an obligation to pay a yearly pension of 5l. to the king's chaplains, in consideration that the abbot had now granted to the king the advowson of Datchet. I know not when such an obligation commenced, but the reason given for its propriety was that the king's progenitors had been the founders of the abbey. Sir H. Chauncey says, that in 1347 the king granted Thomas and his convent licence to improve the waste lands on their estates, by leasing them to tenants for life, years, or otherways; but he quotes no authority for this, and, if he be correct in the date and fact, the grant must have been to Mentmore, Thomas's predecessor.

(b) This pestilence was the cause of death to 50,000 people in London, for whose interment the lord Walter Manny purchased a piece of ground without Smithfield-Bars, belonging to the hospital of St. Bartholomew; and enclosed the same, built a chapel, and laid the foundation of the present *Chariteuse*, or Charter House. *Stow's Ann.* 246.

alterations to be made in the performance of the choir service, enjoin-
 ing that in the psalter the readers or singers should make a pause at
 the end of each verse, and not conclude with singing out *ego dixi*; ^{Thomas I. the 30th abbot.}
 which was the usual and known signal for the next voice to begin;
 and thus he amended that practice, which resembled a company of
 blacksmiths at the anvil, who sang without the least intermission.
 Although the number of monks was greatly reduced by the plague,
 yet it was no small want in meat and drink that now afflicted the
 house, and very difficult it was to find a daily supply (a): on this, 16
 monks were sent to dwell at Redburn. And, as it had been ordained
 by abbot Michael, that the allowance for firing at that time should
 be no more than two faggots a day from Michaelmas to the Purifi-
 cation of the Virgin Mary, it was thought necessary some addition
 should now be made: and it was hoped that they could live easier,
 and in more abundance, than in the abbey. The monks had suf-
 fered such want, that they had been necessitated to wander and beg,
 and had sold any little goods or property they had possessed. To-
 gether with these monks he sent a great parcel of clothing, and also
 all requisite furniture for their hall and for their table. It was ne-
 cessary to build a new dormitory. He sent also books and ornamental
 hangings for the altar; and he built another house (with windows) in
 three parts, in which might be laid up their garments, or books, or
 any furniture not in use; and one part he reserved for himself to
 study in, whenever he should choose to make any stay at this place.
 He provided every convenience and necessary for this colony of monks,
 but they were in great want of good victuals; and, if they had not
 the plague among them, they were lingering under extreme hunger.
 In the monastery, he directed that each monk should be allowed a
 gift of 24 shillings, to find him necessaries, with orders to provide
 what they thought most needful. The prior and three brethren
 had been usually allowed, for their separate commons, to the value
 of 5 shillings in the week; but the abbot added one shilling more.
 A chapel also, dedicated to St. James, and situate below the prior's
 cloister, having been laid waste by fire some years ago, he now re-
 built and consecrated the same anew. When he was making his
 abode at Redburn, his practice was, to rise two hours before matins,
 and at that hour, if the bell-ringer was delaying, he would not scruple

(a) This scarcity very probably arose from the want of hands to till the ground,
 as great numbers must have been carried off by the pestilence that had now raged
 some years.

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to sound the bell himself; at the vespers he would do the same; and at the complin, or midnight service, his custom was to strike the bell thrice, as was the practice in the monastery. On entering the chapel he would repeat three prayers and the angelic salutations, and not cease his devotion until he made a signal to rise. On all the festivals, and in the mass on Sundays, he caused the service to be sung *cum nota*, that is, with musical correctness, and not by the ear only; and he was highly delighted with the harmony of his choir; insomuch, that he thought no monks in the world could be compared with them.

The poor women in the hospital of St. Pree had been of two sorts, one called *poor sisters*, and the other *nuns*; but so illiterate, that they could neither read nor sing. On this he sent them books and the ordinal, and provided for their necessary instruction, with orders that a poor sister should be promoted to the order and rank of a nun, when duly qualified; and, the service being there performed with more solemnity, it was given in charge to the arch-deacon to superintend their edification and devotion.

Our abbot was appointed president of the general chapter of the Benedictines; and, in that capacity, he summoned the monks and prior of Canterbury; but these men, on pretence of some claims of exemption, treated the messenger with insult and blows, and threw him into prison. It happened that Edward, the prince and heir apparent, was then at Canterbury; and, hearing of this indignity, declared, with some vehemence, that he would set the messenger at liberty (a); and, meeting the prior, disdained any other salutation than to say, *why have you imprisoned the abbot's servant*. The prior readily promised to make recompence (b), and such as his highness should appoint. The prince signified this to our abbot, and the abbot insisted on 100 marcs. This was granted, and the abbot gave the whole sum to the servant.

The prior and convent at Canterbury, submitted to the president, and sent two of their most respectable brethren to the general chapter, to pray excuse for the prior this time. To this chapter came John, duke of Lancaster, with a train of many nobles, and requested the president to treat the monks of Canterbury well, and with good humour, *benè et facètè*. This was promised by the abbot; and the duke took on him the fraternity of Canterbury; and, to the great

(a) Ego deliberabo.

(b) Promisit emendas.

pleasure of those monks, took his seat with them in this chapter. And ^{Thomas I. the 30th abbot.} here, although the abbot gained an advantage, yet the monks of Canterbury afterwards seized an opportunity of obtaining from the king the privilege, that they might not be compelled to attend at the general chapters. In this chapter, sundry constitutions, for the better rule and government of the Benedictines, were framed, for which see the Appendix.

Edward, although he had set bounds to the acquisition of the monks, and restrained their secular practice of dealing in land, and trafficking with the rich and the devout, carried his thoughts farther, and consulted with our abbot about reforming the internal state of the monasteries; and he assured Thomas, that, if he would go, as president of the general chapter, and view each abbey, he would be able to correct the irregularities of some, and the vicious depravity of others; and that, in such visitation, he should have every possible help from the royal authority. On this, Thomas made a visitation to Eynsham(a), and reformed religion there in a very laudable manner. He then visited Abyndon and Beaulieu, and in these he corrected some abuses, and rooted out some evil habits. With the like mandate from the king, he visited the noble monastery of Reading(b): and here he brought many back to the rule who had wandered far from it; and some of the monks, who had formed conspiracies against the abbot, he caused to be sent away to the cells; he also brought others thence to his own monastery, to undergo some sort of punishment, or penance, until they manifested a penitence.

At the request of the king and the prince, he visited the religious house at Chester; and did this with great courage and spirit, without any fear of the fickleness and wild behaviour of the Welch. Here he deposed the abbot, Richard de Synesbury, who had allowed and cherished great faults, and had let the buildings go to decay, and was in fact a great derider of the rule. He assigned him a competent maintenance out of a farm; and, with the consent of the bishop and of the brethren, he placed another in the office who knew his duty. He visited also, by the king's order, the principal monastery of the whole kingdom, that of St. Edmund de Bury, where he found all quite obedient; and on this he forbore to make a strict visitation, but directed the prior, Henry Bybsteed, to execute what he advised and thought needful. Thomas had borne rule for some years, when he

(a) An abbey near Oxford.

(b) Radyngia.

Thomas I. the 30th abbat. conceived an inclination to resign; which was, to renounce all the cares of the world, and to devote his mind to contemplation and devotion. And what gave him encouragement to do so was this circumstance, that he had, as prisoner in this abbey, John, king of France, who had been made captive at the battle of Poitiers, in the year 1356. The abbot had entertained him at his table, and in a manner that denoted his humanity as well as his courtly style of living (a). This secret wish of Thomas he made known to his royal guest, who applauded the resolution, and promised to write with his own hand to the pope, to obtain his leave. The price of the king's redemption was paid, and he returned home. Three men of this town (St. Alban's) were soon after made prisoners in France, travelling on their way to Rome. Though cast into prison and used with much harshness, they found means to inform the abbot of their condition, who procured a letter from the prince of Wales in favor of these men, and dispatched the same, with a letter from himself, to the king of France. This monarch instantly ordered the men to be set at liberty, saying, 'why doth my brother prince think it needful to intercede for these prisoners, when a word only from such a man as abbot Thomas would have been sufficient:' and he directed the men to return their thanks to the abbot.

Thomas, soon after, wrote his letter of supplication to the pope, and sent it to his friend Richard de Eccleshall, treasurer at Calais, at which place were assembled the king of France, Edward the prince, and many nobles, in order to conclude the treaty of peace between the two realms: and the treasurer was requested to deliver the letter to the king. But the prince, inquiring into the cause, and being informed of the business, forbade any farther proceeding therein; *for, such a man as the abbot could not be spared.*

Complaints were often made to Thomas by the sub-cellarer and his officers, and by the burfar, that the allowance made to the first would not suffice to purchase the daily supply for the tables; and that the second could not keep in repair the houses, buildings, and mills. On which he ordered the rents and profits of Perkfoken (or Parkward) and of East Barnet, to be given, in addition, to those two officers. This was in the 29th year of king Edward; and, some years after, he subtracted from the cellarer, and assigned to the sub-cellarer the pasture of Eyewode, which was worth 10l. a year; rents

(a) Humaniter et curialiter.

in London, also, he assigned to the said officer. The manor of Oxeye, which had been recovered by John de Whitwell, seneschal of the abbot, after it had been lost many years, he assigned to the said office; and also the manor of Wrobbeleye, which had come into the abbot's hands by escheat and forfeiture of Sir Richard Pereres, *militis seu latronis*, are my authors words. He assigned to the cellarer all the chattels of felons and of fugitives, and other accidental profits that should happen in the liberty, without the town, by forfeiture; and these were to be applied in suits and prosecutions; the custody of the gaol, with the charges thereof, belonging, as before, to the office of burfar. And, that the burfar might not complain of these subtractions, the abbot assigned to him the manor of Myrdene, which Thomas had procured of John de Myrdene, for 80l. of lawful money, paid to the said John, and for an annuity of ten marcs, together with a new gown (*cum robâ*), every year during life: and this the said John received, for 28 years, from the burfar. And the burfar was hereupon discharged from the expence of suits, and the payment of fees, and the office of hundreder, and other costs belonging to the hundreder's court. The pasture of the Great Garden had long been the official property of the almoner, on condition of paying 50s. a year to some particular use. But Thomas now discharged the almoner, and assigned this piece of ground, which was commodious *animalibus pascendis*, to the sub-cellarer. The almoner formerly had a mill annexed to his office, called Nichmill, and situate between Sopwell and Juglane; which mill he used to let for fifty shillings a year; and then the sub-cellarer held it, on condition of giving twelve quarters of corn yearly, called toll corn, of which the almoner was to make a parcel of bread, weekly, for the poor,—and this bread was a sort called Cobbes. But now this mill became useless, by neglecting the water course, and the stream was dry, on which the sub-cellarer was ordered to find the 12 quarters from Stankfield mill.

In this abbot's time there was a moor, or marshy piece of ground, long ago assigned to the almoner, and called Aumeneresmor. This was thought more necessary for the burfar, because it lay near the abbey, and close to the great garden; whereupon it was ordered that the burfar should take this, and give in exchange a small meadow that lay between Sopwellbury and Eyewode, being nearly contiguous to other land of the almoner's. There was also a small garden, where the almoner was bound to find herbs for the monk's kitchen; but, by the connivance of this abbot, the coquinar, or cook of the monks'

Thomas I. the 30th abbot. kitchen, got possession, and also of the buildings therein: but the fruit that grew there remained to the use of the sub-almoner, as it did in the Great Garden.

The tithes of Wynflow, which had always belonged to the almoner, were now assigned to the use of the little society at Redburn; and the tithes of Norton, Newnham, and Sandridge, were taken from the almoner, and assigned to other uses; yet he still supported all the burdens of the office, and discharged all debts and claims thereon.

In 1363 he caused a rule to be drawn, describing the duty of every officer of the abbey, and the portion of income allotted to him for the discharge of the same, which is so intricate and mixed that the whole is unintelligible.

The following is part of it.

The coquinar and charge of the kitchen was	46	8	4
The refectorer - - - was	15	5	10
The camerarius - - - was	59	5	8
The Infirmary's cost, - - - was	12	12	10
	133	12	8

For what time appears not.

The income of the manors is stated to be -	99	8	9
And the sum total of the annual receipt to be	181	11	9

These were the estates assigned to the kitchen.

And the charge of the kitchen, through the year, amounted to

255 8 8

The monks were now only 63, and 3 corrodies, yet it was found necessary to augment the allowance to the kitchen in the sum of 26l. 6s. 8d, more.

The office of the refectorer was augmented with 9l. 17s. 4d. The office of almoner was allowed 8l. 6s. 8d. more. In short, a new arrangement of all the expences, necessary in every office, was made at Michaelmas, 1363; in which the defects of some were supplied out of the overplus of others; and provision made for repairs, and other accidental charges. But it is impossible to compute the whole receipt of their rents, &c. at this time, or the whole of their expence.

Yet,

Yet, as all the books whence this history is taken were written in the abbey, some account is come down to us containing the large and general receipt, and the full amount of the expence, as shall be noted hereafter. But here follows the portion allowed to each officer, and whence it arose. Thomas I. the
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COQUINARIUS (*the clerk of the kitchen*) habet temp. Edward III.

Ab Ecclesiâ Sancti Stephani, -	8	13	4			
De Wyngrave, -	16	13	4			
De Sudbury in Epif. Norw. -	4	0	0			
				29	6	8

SACRISTA habet Ecclesiam de Bilend, quæ valet, -	16	0	0			
Eccl. de Hextonstone, quæ valet, -	8	0	0			
Eccl. de Northall, -	5	0	0			
Portionem de Eccl. Chesham, -	0	15	0			
				29	15	0

REFECTORARIUS habet portionem in Eccl. de Watford, -	8	13	4			
Eccl. de Norton quæ valet, -	6	13	4			
Eccl. de Walden quæ valet, -	10	0	0			
Eccl. de St. Michaelis, -	10	0	0			
Eccl. de Holborn quæ val. -	16	13	4			
Eccl. de Potsgrave quæ valet, -	10	13	4			
				62	13	4

CAMERARIUS habet Eccl. de Redburn quæ valet, -	17	6	8			
Eccl. de Winflow quæ valet cum Capellâ, -	18	0	0			
Eccl. de Langtele, -	11	6	8			
Eccl. de Turfield, -	8	0	0			
				54	13	4
						IN.

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INFIRMARIUS habet Ecclesiam Sancti Petri,
ELEEMOSYNARIUS habet Portionem ex priori

56 0 0

Eccles.	-	-	12	0	0
In Walden,	-		10	0	0
In Middleton,	-		10	0	0
In Eccl. de Brentham,			0	13	4
In Eccl. de Holborne,			1	0	0
de Heilake,					
(Essex),			0	10	0
In Eccl. de Gyrton					
in Epif. Ely,	-		1	13	4
In Eccl. de Trum-					
pington,	-		3	6	8
In Eccl. de Eversden					
Magnâ,	-		13	6	8
					52 10 0
Summa totius, (a)					284 18 4

In the time of this abbot, many of the monks, as if unable to endure the rigour of the order, and the strictness of the discipline, withdrew privately, and incurred the infamy and the sentence of apostacy. These were eight in number; and two others ran away; but, repenting and manifesting a true concern, they were re-admitted and pardoned. The other eight were never heard of, and perhaps

(a) The ancient record whence this is extracted (which is N^o 602 in the Harl. MSS.) is very miscellaneous, and contains notes and memoranda of things and incidents, for near 200 years back, and has,

1st. A steward's account of the manor of Tytburst, for one year, when the same belonged to Margaret, countess of Richmond, in the sixteenth year of her son Henry VII.

2d. Then follows the above account of the sums paid by the churches.

3d. This MS. shews also the lands belonging to St. Peter's church, called *Grangia St. Petri*, and the following, though belonging to St. Peter, were situate in Sandrugge; namely, Whyteleye,—Marshallscroft,—Walemondes feld,—Madys feld,—Bealmonds feld,—Tyle feld,—Gardens croft,—Beche feld,—Jannys feld,—Comyns wood, and many others.

4th. In the 15th of Henry VI. Dionysia, the prioress of the nuns of St. Trinity in the wood, (at Markyate), granted a lease of their whole rectory of Watford to one Henry Wenge, of Watford, for 19l. a year.

In the 9th of Henry VII. the abbot and convent demised, for 21 years, an inn, called the Tabard, for 5l. a year, to one Robert a Lee.

In the time of Henry VI. the abbey possessed, in Chilwick and Annables, 550 acres of land, in different fields, as therein named and specified.

not

not enquired after. Many also ran away from the cells, but they generally came to the abbey; on which the abbot forbade this, and directed them to be conveyed to the place which had been witness to their crime. There were some monks, who, under pretence of consenting to a more rigid life, prayed a licence to depart, promising to enter some other house of this order, or even any other *acrioris religionis*, of a stricter rule. This liberty was granted; Tho. Bansted went to the priory of Bradwell in ^{Thomas I. the 30th abbot.}, John Folygham to the priory of Rochester, Stephen Hertford to the order of the Frier Minors, Robert Aston to the White Monks of Wardon.

The martial exploits in France made these men very restless at home. Henry Spenser, the military bishop of Norwich, began a kind of Crusade, though not against the Saracens: he gathered men and arms, and collected forces to lead them into Germany and France. And many monks obtained licence to quit their cells, and bear arms. John de Bekendon went from Tinmouth, John de Westwick went from Wymundham, Will. York from Bynham, Rog. Bonner from Beaulieu. From Hatfield the prior himself went, William Everfdon, who died in Flanders, and William Schepey. The rest returned, and were thankful for quiet health and safety. At this time subsisted the schism in the popedom, and the true pope, Urban, was in such distress and necessity that he sought for supplies and gifts among the faithful in England, and had emissaries here to sell his offices of chaplain for a certain sum. This honor was sought for very earnestly, because it gave the privilege of being exempt from the authority of the bishops and prelates. But Walter Disse, a carmelite and doctor of theology, and confessor to the duke of Lancaster, being now employed by the duke, to collect money and raise men for his expedition into Spain, procured of the pope a licence to sell fifty chaplainships for the use of the duke. This being done, monks of all orders, of the white and of the black, canons regular, rectors of churches and vicars, friers of every mendicant order, sought this honor. Some of the monks of this house were moved by this temptation; and, getting together whatever sum they could, sent the money to Rome by the hands of Disse, to purchase a chaplainship. And here the boon, or grace, sold, was always in proportion to the money given. And some, beside being capellanated, obtained, *ultra gratiam*, a licence to be exempt from their order and rule, and to accept of a church as rectors, if any patron would give them one. Of the monks of this house, who engaged in this spiritual traffic, there were the aforesaid Bekendon and

Thomas I. the 30th abbot. and Schepey, and one Bodington, who, being young men, were the more open to the allurements of this temptation; but an aged monk of this house, named Whitchurch, who had lived 50 years in the rule, and been prior of Hatfield and of Wallingford, made a most disgraceful figure, when he was meditating to exchange his meritorious labours for so trifling an advantage. The abbot found that he could by no means retain these men in the profession, but they would be exempt; but the Lord Rhos took Whitchurch to Belvoir, and placed him there among the monks, and paid his charges; and soon after procured for him the cell of Grimsby; and there, as prior, he consented to live in honour and die in peace.

Thomas had ever shewn himself a strenuous defender of the abbey's rights; and, in doing so, had either made or found a number of adversaries. One of these was a famous knight, named Philip de Lymbury, who lived at Luton (a), a man of extreme pride and haughtiness, and of great interest with John duke of Lancaster. This Philip, on Monday, being market-day, in hatred to the abbot, and in utter contempt of religion, seeing John Moot, the cellarer, riding through, in his way from Hexton to the abbey, caused him to be apprehended; and, without any charge, put him in the pillory in the public market. The abbot prosecuted this insolent knight, and would have brought him to make satisfaction, if the duke of Lancaster had not interposed, and, by his authority, brought them to concord. It was agreed that he should make atonement in no other way than by an offering on the altar; at first he was not permitted to approach the altar; then, leave being given, as he stepped forward the blood gushed from his nose, and he retired; he advanced a second time, and his nose again bled; he requested to deposit the offering in a box, but this was not allowed; and after some pause he departed. The memory of this event (says Walsingham, who relates it) struck many with admiration; the number present was very great; and it was considered, among the superstitious, as a vengeance from the martyr; and, by all the sober minded and pious, as an event that should caution bold men against offending God, or those who administer in his worship.

He found also a most troublesome and implacable enemy in a man of lower degree, though of higher malice, one John de Chiltern; who, having been in the confidence and service of the abbot, was

(a) *In Sekâ de Luton.*

capable of more mischief, and of wounding the breast of a friend more deeply. His contest with the abbot began about an arrear of rent for the manor of Langley. The abbot distrained his cattle; John suffered them to perish for want, then harrassed the abbot at law, and fled to Calais, and in due time was outlawed. The abbot had him apprehended and lodged in prison, and offered to take security of his friends, if they would give it. They refused, and went to the king, assuring him that, if he would free John from prison, John would serve his majesty with very great advantage; for, he could raise 1000 pounds for the king on the abbot, for clandestine dealing, &c. The abbot then sued him for another debt of 250 marcs; John denied the debt, for he said the abbot was dead. On this the abbot, on the day of trial, was carried to London, in a litter, and presented himself in person in the Court of Common Pleas. And here, on describing the life and acts of John, and judgement being given against him, he was committed to the Fleet Prison, where he lay the rest of his life, indulging his malice and love of discord against the abbot and all his old neighbours. And, though the abbot sent him even food and raiment, the wretch exercised his wit in stirring up new enemies. For, he stirred up John, the son of William Aynell, to lay claim to many pieces of land, now in the possession of the abbey; and Aynell harrassed the abbot at law. The king's escheator seized them; but the abbot made his title good, and they were all restored, and seizin thereof given. The lands were in the manors of More and of Asheleys; and of Crokeley and Hamelshide, all in Rickmersworth. The plea against the abbot was, that they were held by military service. To which he answered, that he held them *per baroniam* and *de capite*. Many other claims of the like nature were made against this abbot; which was easily done, when the escheator was ready, on any information, to seize the lands; and the proof of a lawful tenure lay on the person disseized. The manor of Caldecot was thus called in question; and then Norton.

Among the many expensive works which this abbot undertook, one was to abolish a nuisance that had long subsisted, from the inhabitants who lived adjoining to the earth wall which was the abbey's boundary. This wall was no proper defence, and much less a security from trespasses and nuisances; Thomas therefore built, in the room thereof, a good wall of stone. This began from a stone wall, near Wernefgate, which was called Plumtree Wall, and ran along the south

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south side of their ground : and then passed up the hill, and round behind the houses, quite to Romeland, and contained in length 30 perches. The foundation of which is to be seen at this day, but most conspicuous on the south and west sides (a).

The insurrection, which happened in the fourth year of Richard II. among the people of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent, (headed by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, and on which occasion they had marched to London, and set fire to the duke of Lancaster's palace, called the Savoy ; and to the priory of the hospitallers ; and put to death Hales, the prior ; and Sudbury, the archbishop ;) had almost proved the ruin of the monastery ; for, a party of the rebels coming hither, under Straw, one of the leaders, (after having been at the abbey of St. Edmondsbury, and at Cambridge, and in both the places burnt and destroyed the charters and records) they were joined by one Gryncoombe, and one Cadynton, who, arming a number of followers, and marching into the abbey, threatened great mischief, if the abbot did not give them leave to hunt and sport in all the woods adjoining, and to fish in all the waters ; and, in short, give up that renunciation of these claims, which the townsmen had solemnly yielded up, and relinquished in form, under the abbot Wallingford. This Gryncoombe had been in some useful employment under the abbot ; and, being discharged for bad accounts, now lay under a prosecution for money due to the abbot ; but, finding himself supported by an armed crowd, he took up all the popular cries, and demanded liberty. He threatened also to burn down the Grange of St. Peter, and all the buildings at Kingsbury, if he was refused ; and to perpetrate the like mischief here as had been done at London. At this instant came news from London that Wat Tyler was slain ; and a messenger arrived from the king with a proclamation for peace, and promise of indemnity if they would lay down their arms, and a letter of protection to the abbey. Gryncoombe had assembled a vast posse, having summoned the people of Watford, Barnet, Luton, and all the neighbouring vills to aid him ; but these people, hearing the news and the king's offer, promised to abstain from violence, if the abbot would grant their request ; and Gryncoombe, fearing his people would quit him and depart, rushed in to the abbot with some sturdy followers, and extorted from him the privilege hereafter mentioned ; these petitioners standing over

(a) The royal licence for building this was dated 30 Edward III. A. D. 1357.

with

with drawn swords, until the officers came, and the writ was drawn, signed, and sealed. The tenor of it was, that the abbot granted to the burgeses of this town pasture for cattle, in the highway, as far as Stone-crouch; thence, in the highway, to Nodsaish; in the highway from the town to Mile Aish (toward Luton), and in Barnetwode, and in Frythwode, and in Dernwel-lane; in the whole path, or way, that passeth over by Oisterhille, as far as Kingsbury; and from Kingsbury to Gonnerston; and, in the road to Hertford, as far as the end of Gonwode-lane; and in a lane called Bermond-lane, as far the Red Cross (a); and thence, through the whole way by New-lane; then in Tonmanditch, and in the whole way as far as Gryndeflane; and as far then as Sopwell-mill; and near this mill in three green spots, between Flotegate-stream and Myl-stream; and thence in a way called Grene-lane, which leads to Fotes-place. 'We grant also,' saith the abbot, 'one way, for all persons, passing on foot or with an horse, through Eywod, to Parkstrate; and another from Parkstrate, through the tenements of John Eywode and Roger Hulkice, to Stankfield-mill; and one highway from the Red Cross to Cell Barn (b). We grant them also liberty, to hunt, and to fish, in all these places, and within these limits; using the liberty to fish from the Old Fullyng-mill, close to Eyewode, as far as the other Fullyng-mill, under the abbey; and from a place called Sisseborne, as far as the priory of St. Pree. We also will and consent that they have hand-mills in their houses or elsewhere, as it shall seem best for them; and this, without any contradiction or detriment to our rights. Given, June the 16th, the 4th year of Richard II.'

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On this success, the people of Barnet rose up with the like bold claims; and the abbot was forced to grant them the like privileges. It is directed to all the abbot's tenants of the parishes of Barnet and South Mymms; and confirms all the liberties and rights before allowed them by the King, Richard II. with all their lands, tenements, and free rents, so that they may sell. This grant is attested to Sir William Hoo, knt. Henry Frowyc, John Lodewyc, John Durham, William Nonny, &c. The people of Watford and Caisho also demanded a grant, to be relieved from a tax called Ale-penny, levied on their beer; and to be discharged from all tolls for pontage, carriage,

(a) Perhaps a sign to a public house.

(b) Horrenum de Celle.

Thomas I. the 30th abbot. murage, passage, and picage; and to be for ever free from all repairs of bridges and of parks. These demands the abbot granted under the seal of the convent.

Rickmereworth also made some claims, viz. for their cattle, &c. and the abbot allowed them free pasture in all the ground between Cowmore and the field called Parsons-field; and free right of fishing in the waters called Pickelsborne; and free common in Burymore and in Bacheworth. They demanded also free common in Heyghmore, Hallemore, and in Battesmore. It seems as if they had been accustomed to have common in the former places; but, being doubtful of the right, they now only sought to have that right clearly allowed; and, as to the pasture in the mores, this was a new demand, and they consented to pay three pence a head, for all cattle there grafed for the season, in lieu of all services and demands.

The people of Tring also demanded a remission of certain tolls, which had been long paid for grafsing their cattle, and never before complained of as a grievance: yet, as the abbot was now dispensing his boons, the people claimed a discharge from this toll; and the abbot granted it.

The tenants of Barnet thought they had not asked enough, and demanded of the abbot the book containing the court-rolls, and exhibiting the fines and description of every house, &c. granted to the tenant. They required, in high language, that this book should be burnt: and, to appease them, the abbot promised, which was assured by Henry Frowyc, to comply in three months. These tenants had forged deeds and admissions more to their purpose, and pretended they were framed in the time of the plague, when there was no seneschal, or cellerer, or officer, to inspect these matters. But they could gain no compliance, and the abbot refused them even the sight of the rolls.

The people of Redburn also came to the abbot, to demand a licence to hunt, sport, and fish, in all parts of that manor. The abbot begged time to consider; the tenants had got on their side some of the principal men of the place, as Edmond Cressey, William Eyle, and Thomas Norton. The abbot promised them such a degree of liberty therein as the king had granted him; but it was requisite to deliberate on the matter. The men went home, and gathered a crowd, and proceeded to the mill called Bettespole-mill; threatening to demolish the same, and to level the bank which parts the prior's mead, called Pondesmède, from the king's highway; affirming, that the same had formerly belonged to the commons of that vill,
and

and had been wrongfully taken from them. They proceeded to level the bank, cut down all the trees, carry them away, and reduce the boundary to level the ground; but did not attempt any mischief against the mill. These people had been encouraged to this degree of insult by the men of St. Albans; who, having imbibed the levelling notions of Wat Tyler and his party, made a boast, that, if the abbot would not gratify them in their request, they would gain the aid of two and thirty villages to assist them. And, in the event, it appeared that they had formed an alliance with all the abbot's tenants in all the manors, to make it a general cause. And the abbot thereupon, in the course of the summer, granted the like charter, or licence, to hunt, hawk, and fish (a), in all the manors; which, by the list, are now twenty in number, and only five of them out of this county. The charter or licence now granted was no other than what king Richard had granted 150 years before, and ran in these words: 'Richard, by the grace of God king of England, &c. to all his bailiffs and faithful servants: know ye, that we have, of our special grace, discharged all and singular our leige subjects of and from all manner of bondage; and granted pardon to all our subjects of all felonies, treasons, transgressions, and extorsions, and outlawry; and, if any such sentence hath been proclaimed, we grant them our peace.' These several tenants, on receiving these grants (which was all that the abbot had promised), were wonderfully elated, and thought themselves acquitted from all service and duty of every kind: and determined, among themselves, to work no more, and to pay no more rent. But, on the death of Tyler, and the execution of a few of the principal, as has been said, they returned to better counsels and other opinions; and remained, by leave of the abbot, in possession of their new privileges of common right, and of hunting, sporting, &c. The young king, after the death of Tyler, thought proper to go, with a large armed force, suddenly got together, and chiefly of horsemen, into Essex and Suffolk; and, hearing of great commotions at the abbey of St. Albans, had an inclination to march thither and suppress the disorders. But a courtier and knight, named William Atte Lee, offered to go down, and try the effects of his persuasions and advice; and, taking with him about fifty bowmen, he approached the town, when Grynecobbe and his associates consulted how to keep him out or to give him battle, and inflict on him either

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(a) De venationibus, aucupationibus, et piscationibus.

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a total overthrow or some severe punishment. Atte Lee, however, advanced, and took post with his bowmen in the field called Derfold; and, assembling the people, he harangued them on the occasion, and on the times, setting forth their mistakes, and the great mercy of the king. More people assembled, and he was heard without interruption. He repaired, at length, to the abbot's chamber, and sent for some of the townsmen, who, on coming, were told by Atte Lee, that they must deliver up those grants, which they had extorted from the abbot. Drawing a huge bloody sword, he swore not a man should ever see his home again, if he refused to comply. On this he hastened out, and locked the door, having charged, privately, some proper guards to keep that post, and succour the abbot, if any violence was offered. Atte Lee then repaired to Derfold with his Body-Guard, and, in very soothing language, asked their advice, what could be done with men who had offended the peace, transgressed the laws, and were preparing to starve the country, by refusing to work. He appealed to the town jury (*duodenum*), whether the ringleaders ought not to be attached, and brought to answer for these enormities, and hoped they would do their duty in declaring who they were. The jury met, and agreed in naming William Grynecobbe, William Cadynton, and John the barber, as the men who had taken by force the hand-mills out of the abbey's custody. Atte Lee exhorted them to proceed in their duty, and use their authority to keep the peace, and restrain all proceedings that tended to riot, tumult, and rebellion; and to notify to the abbot the names of the offenders. This being done, and sent to the old man, then confined with four or five of the townsmen, he sent word to Atte Lee, that his friends then waiting on him would comply with his injunctions, and that he would take their word for complying. And he instantly sent an order to his four bailiffs (already prepared by Atte Lee) to take into custody the three accused, and convey them to Hertford. This was done in the evening; and, being certified to be so, the abbot permitted his prisoners to take leave. The prisoners were lodged that night in the abbey jail, and next morning they were conveyed away, guarded by Atte Lee and his bowmen, all the gentlemen and principal persons of the town accompanying. And, in the day time, the murmurs and cabals of the town were such as to terrify the abbot, and induce him to send out into the country to the knights and squires, to hold themselves in readiness to succour him, in case the townsmen should proceed to violence.

The

The time of entering on these proceedings had been contrived to coincide with the time of the judges being at Hertford; who, probably, were now acting under a special commission, to punish the mutineers and rebels who had taken part with Tyler. And, as soon as the prisoners arrived at Hertford, they were led into the court, and placed at the bar. The abbot, in the midst of his fears, sends a message to the judge, that he would proceed with lenity, and arguing against a capital punishment. And the judge and prosecutors consented that Grynecobbe should be admitted to bail, and three of his friends bound in 300l. each, to produce him on some future day, if peace was not made with the abbot before. The other two were detained in prison. Grynecobbe had a brother, who could have access to the earl of Warwick; and, by his persuasion, the earl, together with Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, promised to come down and intercede; and it was agreed, by the townsmen, to give up their new charters, and send back the mill-stones. But the earls came not, being forced to go into the north to appease the discontents that had arisen among their own people. On which the townsmen refused compliance. Then the king proclaimed his intention of coming; and the men employed one William Croyser to plead their cause and intercede, and he prevailed on them to comply; on which, but not till the very day of the king's coming, they brought back six of the mill-stones, restored the extorted grants, and gave bond to pay 200l. to the abbot for damages. At length the king came, and was received with great procession and solemnity at the west door; attended with 1000 bowmen and soldiers, and having with him Robert Trysilian (a), the chief justice. Next day the justice assembled the officers and bailiffs at Moot-hall (b), and directed the three offenders (for Grynecobbe had been committed) to be brought; and in due form the jury was charged with them. My author here remarks that this was the first of the dog-days, a season that proved unfortunate to the men of this town. The proceedings here ceased. And Trysilian came again, and caused the jury to be assembled, whom he had before sworn to indict all malefactors and disturbers of the peace. The jury said they knew no such persons, nor could indict any justly; that all had been faithful and obedient to the king, and would continue so. The justice, seeing the tendency of this,

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(a) A man, saith my author, *serpentinae prudentiae*.

(b) The place where the townsmen assembled and consulted.

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bade them remember the words they had used when they supplicated the king for pardon, that they were liable to the same punishment, and would be alike malefactors, if they were taken. The jury departed. The justice dissolved the court, and followed them to the place of their consultation. He then drew from his bag a long roll, saying, 'Behold here the names of many of your neighbours, who stand charged with crimes, on the oath of good and faithful men; crimes, which are concealed from none. And you think to delude us all, or to blind us, by your silence. But your designs never can be effected, when we have ready the names and the facts of those offenders, whom you would deem honest and innocent. Do, therefore, what is expedient for yourselves, and undertake to save your own lives; and beware, that, while you are singing safety to your neighbours, you do not raise danger to yourselves.' They thought then of their situation, and indicted a great number, both of the country and of the town. The judge then directed another jury to be impaneled and sworn; and, shewing them the names and crimes indicted, asked what they thought, and had to say, of these persons, if they were charged with their trials. Seeing the truth of the accusation, they answered, they would have done and acted in the same manner as the first jury, if they had been charged with them. The judge then preserved this jury to give the verdict, since they had said they were willing to indict for those crimes, and to condemn, whether the first jury would or not. On this comment the judge commanded them, although they might prefer falsehood, to say the truth. The judge then impaneled a third jury; and, setting aside the first, this third answered as the second had done. So that no one was convicted but on the verdict of thirty-six men, and the verdict was pronounced by the second. It appears not that here was any form of trial, or any witnesses called for the prosecution, or for the defence; but the want of evidence was abundantly supplied, if it may be allowed, by the redundancy of jury.

The three offenders were thus convicted, and for a breach of the king's peace; and, with fifteen more, sentenced to be hanged. This was put in execution. Five or six of the principal townsmen were committed to prison; and, from the country, more than eighty; who were afterwards, by the royal favour, set at liberty. He stayed at the abbey eight days, and departed, in order to go to Berkhamstead, on the 15th of July, in 1382, and thence he went to East-hampstead, in Windsor Forest, for the pleasure of the chace. But,
before

before he left the abbey, he caused all men, from fifteen to sixty years of age, to be summoned and to swear allegiance, &c. About this time the king commissioned John Lodowick, and seven others, to make proclamation in all the towns and places, where thought necessary, in the counties of Herts and Bucks, to this effect: 'That all and every person or persons, that ought to do any manner of service or duty to the abbot or convent, whether they were bondmen or free-men, should do and perform the same, in such manner as they had used to do before the late troubles; upon their faith and allegiance to the king, and upon their forfeiture of all they had to lose. And, if any refused to do the same, the commissioner should commit them to prison, until farther order for their punishment.'

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These alarms and troubles being over, the abbot proceeded to adorn this church much more richly than any of his predecessors had done; and expended 4000*l.* in these works. One of which was to cover the west end with new pavements. Though peace was restored, yet these severe examples only sharpened the malice and resentments of the country people; and, at Sandridge, a banner of the insurgents was found, one morning, to be erected at the gate of the Great Farm, or Bury, with a letter suspended; containing a threat, that the house and barns should be all burnt down, unless the sum of 16*l.* was sent and paid at Canterbury, on a certain day. This threat was despised; but, in fact, the same was put in execution, and the great barn, then full of corn, was fired and consumed. At Walden, and at Codicote, also, some buildings, and a mill, were destroyed in like manner; and at Comb's, in Suffex, some of the houses were burnt to the ground. Two men, together with a woman and a boy, who travelled about the country, were suspected and apprehended; and one of the men, being separated in his confinement from the others, made a confession of the whole; that he was suborned, by one Henry Grynecobbe, a dyer, in London, to do this atrocious mischief, in revenge for the death of his brother. But, after some time, he was dismissed.

The men of the town pleaded, that they had received and enjoyed the above privileges from King Offa; but considered not, that here was no town, or building, in Offa's time; and they were now told that the 6th abbot was the first who laid out the market, and brought inhabitants to that place; that from the time of Offa to the time of Edgar, VERULAM was the only name (a) known for the town;

(a) This seems to infer that the new town was not distinguished till Edgar was king; as if Verulam had suffered its overthrow about that time.

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that the great pool (*piscaria*) did then extend from the castle of Kyngsbury to the bridge at Holywelle, and farther; that the park, (*Vivarium*,) because it was hurtful to the abbey, had been bought by the 7th abbot, Afric, for a great sum given to king Ethelred; whereupon Afric, the abbot, drained off the water, and made it dry land; that no future king, or royal visitor, might be tempted to make it a place for his entertainment; that the townsmen began only in the time of Henry III. and abbot Roger to withdraw their grinding and their fulling from the abbot's mills; and that abbot Hugo forbade and resisted these illegal innovations; and that the licence of the times, and the degeneracy of their monks, had been the sole cause of their intemperate and violent behaviour.

My author concludes his account of Thomas de la Mare, by reciting the names of some famous persons, then belonging to the abbey, or who had some connection with it. He bestows much praise on John Moot, the prior, whose prudence and zeal for the honour of the house had ever been conspicuous: and, though he had expended 3000 marcs, yet he furnished the house with great abundance of necessaries and of ornamentals. Now also lived Nicolas Radclef, a great opposer of the heretic Wyclif. William de Bynham also refuted many of his opinions, while Wyclif was living; and Simon Surrey reclaimed many from those errors by his preaching; and all the priests, at this time in the abbey, were *sacra pagine professores*. Of those born in the town, who had become famous, he names Sir John Mandevil, who had travelled over all the world, and wrote a book, in French, describing what he had seen.

Among the beneficial acts of this man, the following are recorded of him by *Robert Wood* (a), that he had improved the value of Apulton (b), in Rydal, in Yorkshire, from 20l. a year to upwards of 200. It had long been in the patronage of this church, but it was a meritorious piece of service to advance its worth, and confer it to the uses of the convent. The rectory, or parsonage, of St. Julian, now called the parsonage of St. Stephen, was applied wholly to the private purse of the abbot, and much improved by the management of Moot, then prior. The manor of Wrobbeley (c), which the monks had holden for 20 years, and rented at 171 marcs

(a) In MS. VI. 7. in Ben. Coll. Libr. Cantab.

(b) It is now a small vicarage in the patronage of Sir William Strickland.

(c) Its place is uncertain, unless it be in Ridge parish.

per annum, had paid, by the care of the abbot, 226l. in the whole. ^{Thomas I. the 30th abbot.} The recovery, or purchase, of Gorham, from the countess of Oxford, for 800 marcs, was reckoned a very fortunate act. A purchase of a moiety of the manor of Norton, in the clay in Yorkshire, for 50l. was much applauded. The manor of Swelsale was purchased for 80l. The manor of Childewickshaye, and likewise a moiety of the manor of Oxheye, was purchased by John Whitewell, the same being contiguous to the abbey's farms, and by him freely bestowed, and rendered not liable to the Mortmain: *debitè amortizata*. In like manner the lands of William Okehurst, with 3 acres of wood in Redburn, were liberally bestowed on this church. And the gifts or purchases (related hereafter) by the benefactors, though made now, were secured by the same caution. The tenements given in Romeland and other places, or exchanged for corrodies, were secured in like manner: they were thought to be valued too dear at the time, considering the pensions, corrodies, and repairs, necessary. But, after all deductions made, and some charge to the king's escheators, they brought a rent of 54l. 15s. 7d.: and the annual value of Gorham was raised 40 marcs and more; and an advance on the manor of Wrobbeley, of 50s. a year, and on other things that fell not into the hands of the escheators.

When this abbot received the temporalities from the king, he made a sort of commutation, and, instead of 1000l. exacted by the former kings, Edward took only 50 marcs. He agreed also with Edward, that, in consideration of a sum paid down, he might hereafter be free from all subsidies, for the monasteries, and all its priories and cells; and he paid down 200l. and 500l. more in the rest of his life. The king committed to his care the collecting of his subsidy throughout his jurisdiction, to the great ease of himself and others. This had been an office and duty generally committed to the hands of the bishops; but no contradiction was offered to this appointment. He procured also, from the court of the pope, that, for the future, no confirmation and journey to Rome might be necessary; but the new-elected might be allowed to receive the benediction from the hands of any bishop in England: and this was granted on a condition to pay to the pope's collector 20 marcs every year; or, on failure, to forfeit the privilege.

This abbot was very munificent in his presents to this church; for, beside procuring a great quantity of vestments, utensils, and ornamental work, for the choir and service, every thing was of the most

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costly fort, both in the work and in the materials. He procured a picture, painted in Lombardy, to be hung over the great altar, that cost 15l. 10s. 8d. He procured three mitres, that cost 100l. and two of a plainer form that cost only 40s. He caused the choir to be furnished, in the principal seats, with velvet cushions, adorned with the arms of the earls of Warwick and Suffolk. He caused very fine candlesticks to be provided; and censers, and urns for water, of silver. He added many valuable ornaments to the shrine; and a large eagle, of silver, standing on the crest, and gilt, he caused to be re-beautified. The famous clock of abbot Richard had been left by him unfinished; but now, by the industry of Lawrence Stokes, it was completed, together with a dial, and a wheel of fortune; and this work was valued at 1000 marcs. He gave at one time 100 quarters of malt to the refectorar, named Spaldyng; which was worth at least 50l. The great gate was blown down by an high wind, and built again, from its foundation, with its chambers, its prisons, and its vaults, and the roof covered with lead: so that the present gaol (supposed to have been as old as abbot Paul's time) is not older than the time of Richard the second. He built also an house for the copyists, by the industry of Thomas Walsingham, who relates this, and was then the *precentor* and *scriptorarius* (a).

The first great pestilence, that prevailed in 1349, our abbot had escaped, and was now arrived at a good old age of 81, in the year 1389, when another pestilence arose, whose contagion seized him. Yet his constitution held out against it, and he recovered from its virulence; but was affected with ulcers that broke out on his body, and which defied all remedy. And these continued on him for 7 years, and perhaps contributed to prolong his life. But, during this time, though he retained his senses and mental faculties, he suffered a constant waste in his body; and, after this gradual lingering approach of death, he yielded to the fatal stroke, in the year 1396, on the first of September, aged 88.

The great esteem, and universal love, which had been borne towards him, was manifested by the most sincere and general sorrow for his death. And, indeed, as no man had lived with more utility and benefit unto others, so no man could die more lamented. All due preparations were made for his funeral: his body was habited in the best and richest vestments, when laid in the coffin, with the

(a) MS. in Ben. Coll. lib. VII. 6.

pastoral staff under his right arm, and a mitre under the left. In this state did he lie for some days; and it was observed that his countenance recovered all the fresh colour and manly features of his earlier age; and exhibited much of that benign aspect, which he had ever worn in his former and best days. This encomium cannot be imputed to the partiality which all men bore to the deceased; for, it is a fact that is frequently observed in these days. Thomas Walsingham says he was present at those last scenes of the abbot's death and burial; and adds that we ought to consider this circumstance with a pious attention, as holding forth to us a kind of earnest and promise of the future renovation which mortal bodies are capable of, and shall one day be made to undergo.

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Our curiosity cannot fail to be excited, to learn where this famous man was interred; but our inquiry must suffer a painful disappointment; for, the MS. (a), which contains this relation, hath undergone a mutilation, and three leaves have been cut out and lost; which probably set forth many other particulars, relating to his latter end. The last abbot, Michael Mentmore, had been buried, as appears by Weaver (b), in the presbytery, near the two former abbots; but the place of this abbot's grave can only be guessed; though, in the life of Wheathampstead, it would seem that he was buried near the altar.

In levying the taxes and aids to the king, the bishops had always been employed to assess the same on all the ecclesiastics' property; as well that of the monasteries and regulars as that of the dioceses and seculars. And for this reason: in every assessment, made in this reign, wherein the aids were frequent and the demands great, very precise care was taken to keep and maintain the privilege of exemption; for, the bishops of Lincoln had ever kept up a sort of claim; and, in these assessments, they extended these claims to every place within their diocese; but it became a point of agreement at last, that the exemption should reach only to such property as the abbey did possess at the day when the exemption was granted, by pope Hadrian, in the time of Henry I. and that every acquisition since should be liable to the aids payable to the king, and assessable by the bishop: therefore, in the *computus* (c), at the end of de la Mare's life, the sum of property stands thus: The goods of the abbot, within the jurisdiction exempt, (and taxed by himself) were

12 marcs.

(a) In Lib. Ben. Coll.

(b) 559, where is his epitaph.

(c) Cott. MS. Claud. E. 4.

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But in the whole diocese of Lincoln,	-	405	4	0
The value of the coquinar's goods in the jurisdiction,		47	7	7
without the jurisdiction,		36	14	2
The coquinar had also some small pensions from some of the churches.				
The sacrist had some goods in the jurisdiction, va- lued at	-	40	14	1
out of the jurisdiction,		0	15	0
The refectioner had within the jurisdiction to the value of	-	65	9	11
without the same		22	6	8
The camerarius had, within the jurisdiction,	-	68	15	9
without,	-	8	5	1
The sub-refectorer had, within the jurisdiction,		2	6	8
The infirmarius had, within the jurisdiction,		72	18	1
The almoner had within the jurisdiction,	-	18	4	9
without the jurisdiction,	-	6	6	4
The sub-almoner had, within the jurisdiction,		0	13	4

390 17 5

The churches in the gift of the abbot were taxed at the following valuation, and lay within the jurisdiction.

Vicarage of St. Peter's, at 5l. and aid, (viz. a tenth) was 0 10 0

Rectory of Barnet, at 10 marcs.

Bushey, at 14 marcs.

Portion of the priores of Merkyate, arising in

Watford, 16 marcs.

Vicarage of Watford, 7 marcs.

Priores of Markyate, for a portion arising in the
church of Bushey, 20 shillings.

Prior of Wallingford, in the church of Shephall, 8 marcs.

St. Julian's hospital, at 5 pounds.

The value of all the goods belonging to the abbot,
within the jurisdiction, was 315 19 11

Belonging to all the officers, or *obedientarii*, within
the jurisdiction, was, 324 5 3

of the clergy within the
jurisdiction, 49 0 0

The value of the whole within the jurisdiction, 689 5 2

The

The value of the whole without the jurisdiction,
but in the dioceſe of Lincoln, was

l. s. d.
163 11 4

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And the value of the whole (as well of the abbot
and convent as of the clergy) within the dioceſe
of Lincoln,

852 16 6

In the dioceſe of Norwich the property of the abbot
and church was valued at

15 5 5

In London, without the city, at

9 13 10

within the city, viz. in St. Alban,
Wood ſtreet; and in St. Alphage pariſh; St.
Mildred de Walbroke; and other pariſhes;

18 10 10

In the dioceſe of Chicheſter, in Grene Stede,

2 0 0

Ely, to the value of

24 3 6

York, to the value of

19 3 4

Durham, from Gonſclyff,

25 0 0

The ſum of the whole income, 967 3 5

Rents due to the abbot, and ariſing from eſtates
in the town.

By rents, of fairs, markets, view of Frankpledge,
mills, cartilages, and other caſuals,

44 0 4

In Sandrugge by land rents, mills, view of Frank-
pledge, and other perquiſites,

12 15 4

From Hexton, the manor yielded yearly,

10 10 0

By a farm there, appropriated to the kitchen,

1 0 10

From Newnham by rents, and ſervices of the
bondmen, or copyholders, and by the court,

4 10 3

by a farm there, appropriated to the refec-
tory,

2 0 0

From the manor of Norton, worth yearly,

10 15 4

From a farm there, appropriated to the kitchen,

2 0 2

From Bradeweie, in lands and meadows,

5 8 4

from a farm there, appropriated to
the kitchen,

1 0 0

From Walden, (now Paul's) by land rents, mills,
fees of court, ſervices of copyhold, profits of
cattle, and other caſuals,

12 9 8

Forward, 106 10 3
From

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	l.	s.	d.
Brought forward,	106	10	3
From Walden, by the farm there belonging to the kitchen, - - - - -	4	7	8
From Codicote, by rents, and divers other things, - - - - -	14	15	4
----- by the farm there appropriated to the kitchen, - - - - -	3	0	0
From Parkbury, by rents, and other profits, - - - - -	23	6	9
----- by the profits of cattle, - - - - -	0	12	8
----- by the farm appropriated to the kitchen, - - - - -	11	10	0
From Tytinghangre, in rents, and other matters, - - - - -	5	13	9
----- by the profits of cattle there, - - - - -	0	15	3
----- by the farm appropriated to the kitchen, - - - - -	4	12	0
From Barnet, by land-rents, underwoods, (<i>sylvis cæduis</i>), - - - - -	13	2	4
----- by another rent there, - - - - -	2	0	0
From Northawe, by rents, and fall of underwood, - - - - -	2	9	10
----- by the profits of cattle, &c. - - - - -	1	12	0
----- by another rent there, - - - - -	1	10	0
From Borham, by land-rents, and divers other matters, - - - - -	1	2	6
From Wynflow, in land-rents, and divers other matters, - - - - -	23	6	0
----- by the profits of cattle, - - - - -	2	18	4
From Caiſho and Watford, by land-rents, and other matters, - - - - -	26	9	8
----- by the profits of cattle, &c. - - - - -	1	12	8
----- by the farm appropriated to the kitchen, - - - - -	6	12	0
From Rickmeresworth, by land-rents, and other matters, - - - - -	6	19	9
----- by the profits of cattle, - - - - -	1	7	0
----- by the farm there appropriated to the kitchen, - - - - -	9	18	0
From Saret, by land-rents, and divers other matters, - - - - -	3	6	0
From Crokeſle, by land-rents, and other matters, - - - - -	5	7	0
----- by profit of cattle, - - - - -	0	15	0
From Oxeie, by land rents, and other matters, - - - - -	5	11	8
From the manor of Pynesfeild, - - - - -	2	7	0
From Langley (abbot's) in land rent and other matters, - - - - -	8	10	0
By the farm there appropriated to the kitchen, - - - - -	9	18	0

In all, 311 18 5
These

These were the sums assessed to every aid that was laid on their movables; and the tenth, which was a general tax, amounted to 31l. 12s. 0d. But, out of this sum assessed, the abbot had 115l. 15s. 1d. the burfar had a like sum; and the remainder, viz. 80l. 8s. 3d. went to the sub-cellarer; and the tax was paid by each in proportion.

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The above rents were paid by estates within the jurisdiction, that was exempt from Lincoln. But, from churches beyond the exemption and extra, the abbot received

From the church of Layton,	-	66	13	4	or 100 marcs.
————— Dolowe,	-	7	3	1	
————— Branfeld,	-	10	15	4	
————— Aldenham,	-	0	4	0	
————— Sonyngg,	-	2	9	8	
————— Biscote,	-	0	6	8	
————— Mildelton Caynes,	1	2	0		
		88	14	1	

The abbot had also, from the church of Newnham, 10 marcs; and from the church of Redburn, 26s. 8d. equal to 8l. making, in all, 96l. 14s. 1d. Out of which the burfar paid the tenth to the aid.

The churches to which the abbot now collated were as follows:

The rectory of Barnet, taxed at 10 marcs.

Idelestrie, taxed at 3 marcs.

St. Julian's (St. Stephen) taxed at 5l.

Brantfield.

Letchworth.

Walington, Kymbel Parva.

Stanmore.

St. Peter's in the Chepe, London.

St. Michael in Hog-lane.

The vicarage of St. Peter's in St. Alban's town, taxed at 5l.

Sandrugg, formerly a chapel.

St. Peter's, taxed at 5 marcs.

de la Rugge (formerly a chapel of St. Peter's),
taxed at 3 marcs.

St. Stephen's, taxed at 13 marcs.

St. Michael, taxed at 4 marcs.

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The vicarage of Watford, taxed at 7 marcs.

Walden, no value.

Norton, no value put down.

Newenham, taxed at 20 shillings.

Rykemersworth, taxed at 5 marcs.

Hexstanton, taxed at 3 marcs.

Northawe, formerly a chapel of St. Peter's, taxed at 5 pounds.

Redburne, taxed at 4 marcs.

Wynflow, taxed at 5 marcs.

Greneburgh, taxed at 4 marcs.

Aston, formerly a chapel of Wynflow, taxed at 5 marcs.

Horewode, formerly a chapel of Wynflow, taxed 3 marcs.

Langley, no tax set down.

Saret, no tax set down.

Luyton, taxed at 100 marcs.

Houghton, no tax set down.

Potgrave, no tax set down.

Caldecot, no tax set down.

Tirfild, no tax set down.

Wyngrave, no tax set down.

Everfdon Mag. no tax set down.

Appelton, in the diocese of Ely, no tax set down.

Sudbury, in the diocese of London, no tax set down.

In all, 9 rectories and 28 vicarages. Each and every of these vicarages was appropriated to one of the great officers of the abbey, who was bound to serve the church, and to apply the remainder of the dues to the discharge of his office. Each church also paid procuration to the arch-deacon, and 6 pence for synodals.

The prudence and œconomy of abbot Thomas had manifested itself in the good management and increase of his revenues; but his munificence was more displayed in the great abundance of costly habits, rich vestments, gold cups, silver basons and ewers, gilded candlesticks, crosses set with precious stones, and other splendid articles, with which the church, the refectory, and the altar, were furnished. There were 4 texts, or books, of the Latin Bible, very much

much enriched with gilding and figures embossed in gold. There ^{Thomas I. the 30th abbot.} were 8 or 9 very splendid crosses, of different metal, and different value, and borne on different days of procession; but one had been the gift of Edward of Carnarvon, and was rich in jewels. There were two candlesticks of solid silver, and two of brass gilt for daily use; and 8 of iron, for show. Vessels for burning incense, of silver, and with silver chains; and others of copper (*de cupro*). Basons of silver, with holy images in the bottom, and on the rim, or margin, of weight equal to 40s. (or 10l. of silver now.) Cups of all sizes, curiously wrought, of silver and of gold, and of divers value; some for use, and many for show. And, as every chapel had an altar, so every altar was set out with rich vials and patines, for the bread and wine. The pontific habits were beyond number; with mitres, pastoral staves, rich sandals, zones, rings set with sapphires; the gifts of great benefactors; precious stones of all sorts, altar-cloths, stools of velvet, &c. for the choir; divers pieces of tapestry, cushions of silk, with gold fringe (*aurifrigiis*). The vestments, consisting of copes, chasubles, pectorals, and sundry others, were not only as rich and splendid as art could prepare or money could purchase; but they were so numerous, that the abbot and officers (who alone were allowed to appear in them) could not bring them all into use, though they changed their attire every day (a).

JOHN MOOTE (b).

The last abbot died on the 15th of September, 1396; and the ^{John V. the 31st abbot.} prior and convent, in chapter, appointed the 9th of October for elect-

(a) Cotton MS. Claud. E. 4.

(b) The history of this abbot is extracted, chiefly, from a fine MS. in the library of Bennet College, Cambridge, called *Supplementum Aureæ Hist. J. de Tinmouth ex cœnobio St. Albani, id est, pars majoris Hist. Thom. Walsingham*, book VII. It is said to be left imperfect by William Wynteshall, and continued by Robert Ware.

O o

ing

John V. the 31st abbot. ing a successor, having procured the king's licence, dated September 18th, for this purpose. The following persons appeared in the chapter-house on that day ; namely,

- John de la Moote, *prior*.
 Nicolas Radcliffe, *arch-deacon*.
 Simon Sothery, *prior of Bealvoir, and S. T. P.*
 Robert Heron.
 5. Adam Redburne.
 Robert Wittele, *sub-prior*.
 John Graveley, *sub-refectorar*.
 John Mouston, *prior of Hatfield*.
 William Wynslowe, *prior of Hertford*.
 10. William Wylum, *prior of Redburn*.
 Peter Mevaunt.
 Robert Thestayn.
 William London, *secundus scrutator*.
 Robert Trunche.
 15. Richard Beaver, *precentor*.
 Thomas Walsingham, *prior of Wymundham*.
 William Trent.
 Adam Houghton, *bursar (a)*.
 John Beaver.
 20. William Wyndrug, *primus scrutator*.
 John Wathampstede, *prior of Tynmouth*.
 Robert Stikford, *third prior*.
 Roger Hevered, *sacrist*.
 William Westwyk, *camerarius*.
 25. Richard Mousted.
 Nicolas Trecey.
 John Warram, *prior of Beaulieu*.
 Thomas Welles, *succentor*.
 Thomas Houghton, *sub-sacrist*.
 30. William Wynteshall.
 Robert Botheby, *cellerarius*.
 Alexander Bone.

(a) *Bursar* is a word of mercantile import, and was taken from the trading world. It implied, here, a man who bought and sold, and exchanged, commodities : and it was the business of the bursar to buy up great quantities of grain, and sell out the same in a dear time ; and thus not only gain a profit to the monastery, but have at all times a good supply at hand ; and this was the use of so many granges and offices.

Thomas

- Thomas Reynesforde, *coquinarius*.
 Nicolas Dry.
 35. Henry Wylum, *tertius scrutator*.
 Edmund Stukey.
 Richard Messendene, *sub-celler*.
 Robert Stoke, *prior of Bynham*.
 Roger Welburne.
 40. Nicolas Grantham.
 John Blebury.
 John Burk.
 John Heyworth.
 Nicolas Tyttington.
 45. Hugo Wathamstede.
 William Alvewyck.
 Michael Theyne.
 Richard Olyve.
 William Beaver.
 50. John Tehylton.
 William Heyworth.
 Robert Ware.
 Symon Wyndeshore.
 Richard Ryche.
 55. Thomas Barkford.
 John More.
 William Dunstaple.
 Henry Rikempsworth.
 John Petham.
 60. John Hatfeld.

William Bynham, the prior of Wallingford, was hindered from coming by extreme weakness of body; and Richard Storpelle was languishing in the infirmary; but they were allowed to vote by proxy. The chapter was attended by a notary public, from London and of the diocese of London, named Ralph Gardener, whose office it was to stand at the door of the chapter-house, and, with a loud voice, make proclamation for all persons, who had a right to vote, to give their attendance. Then was read in public the king's letter of licence; and the notary farther proclaimed, that, if any person was present, not having a lawful vote, he should depart, otherwise be excommunicated, and lie under suspension and inhibition. Then was read, by one Thomas Tombe, the junior bachelor

John V. the
3rd abbot.

of arts, from the university, a constitution of some general council concerning elections; and, this being done, the chapter unanimously elected John de la Moote. Immediately the whole assembly began to sing the hymn of Te Deum, and conducted John to the great altar; and, there standing, he was informed, and proclamation made, by Symon Sothery, that he was elected abbot. Then the instrument of election, to be carried to Rome for confirmation, was prepared, and attested by the notaries (who were three or four more, beside Gardener and Tombe), and divers other witnesses; and the seal of the abbey was affixed.

Another account says, that Moote was known to the king (Richard II.), and in great favour with him; and that this election passed without any notice of the vacancy, or opportunity given for the king's officers to take possession of the temporalities, the monks having procured letters from the papal agent here in England, and concluded the election in haste. The king knew that the pope's legate would grant leave to elect, and that the usual practice was to obtain such leave by paying to the pope's collector the yearly sum of twenty marcs. The omission of asking leave of the king, though in ceremony, he might have deemed an affront; but, in favour to Moote, he granted him a charter confirming the said bull, or apostolic letters, and allowed him to pay the twenty marcs yearly; yet, on condition, that, for the future, the convent should certify under their seal every vacancy, whenever it should happen, and pray leave of HIM to choose a new abbot.

It is probable that John did not make the accustomed journey to Rome for confirmation, as the same is not mentioned, and as it is recorded, among the beneficial acts of his predecessor, that he obtained, from the court of Rome, in consideration of a certain yearly pension, permission for the new-elected to receive the benediction from the hands of any bishop in England. He obtained certain bulls in favour of the abbey. One was to gain a discharge of paying twenty marcs a year to the pope's collector; another was to be excused shewing and exhibiting all their deeds and muniments at the visitation of the ordinary; a practice they had been used and compelled to observe, but from which they were now to be freed, provided they could shew forty years quiet and undisturbed possession, and this to be proved on the testimony of good and credible witnesses. He obtained another bull, conferring a right of conservancy, that is, a privilege of keeping and retaining, without alienation, the lands, and goods, and property, thereon; and this privilege to be permanent and unchangeable to the abbey and all its cells. The reason of this new power was, that the abbey had suffered

suffered frequent losses in all their goods, by the rapacity of the civil power; and this recourse to Rome was the best and only barrier they could procure, against its arbitrary exercise. He obtained a bull concerning the order of Acolyths (a); to wit, that they should be chosen only from the monks. This order was of the most inferior degree of all who bore office in the service of the church, and consisted of servants only, who followed the bishop or abbot, and bore his train; and who, at other times, attended the wax-lights and lamps in the choir. He procured also another bull, allowing young monks, and the professed, to be admitted into holy orders as soon as they attained the age of twenty one years.

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For these bulls and privileges he paid to his proctor at the Roman Court, named master John Fraunceys, the sum of 48l. 6s. 8d. And it was found that more was due, which had been left unpaid by the last abbot, to the amount of 78l. 6s. 8d.

These were times when the ill government of king Richard II. was likely to throw the kingdom into great civil convulsions. A writ of array was issued, commanding the military aid to be called forth. And the custom was, that the writ, requiring the aid of the clergy, was directed to the bishops; but the abbot had the address to procure the writ, for the jurisdiction of the church of St. Alban, to be directed to the vicar of Watford, whom he had constituted his military commissary. And this prudential step was taken, to prevent the bishop of Lincoln from employing any jurisdiction, or authority, or making pretensions to the same, over this church and its possessions.

The abbot requested the arch-bishop to celebrate an ordination at the church as oft as was necessary; and this was done. He established and built a church at Barnet, where had been no place of worship before (b). He also dedicated, with great solemnity, many other altars, then called portable altars. And this was a practice often used, of carrying an altar from a cathedral or conventual church, and setting it up in some lonely or unprovided place; and there the pious resorted, and paid their devotions; and this laid the foundation of many churches, or chapels, in parts remote from the parish-church, or other places, where worship had been established.

In the third year of this abbot's time, the body of John, duke of Lancaster, lately deceased, was conveyed to this town, in its way to London. The corpse, it was necessary, should be reposed in the abbey; and it was already brought to the great west door; and no-

(a) From *Ακόλυθω*, sequor.

(b) The builder's name (Beauchamp) is recorded on a flat stone in the pavement.

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tice was given to the abbot, that the bishop of Lincoln (then Henry Beaufort, son of the deceased by Catharine Swinford) would perform the exequies, and appear in person. The abbot, as if foreseeing this event, and now being dreadfully afraid of the claims of Lincoln, had procured a letter from the king, directed to the said bishop, to this effect: 'That the bishop, by his access to the monastery or behaviour therein, would not do any thing to derogate, or injure, the rights and privilege of that place, of which he (the king) and his royal progenitors had been the founders. And, if he should obtain leave to do any thing in the monastery, that he would give a special letter of indemnification to the monks.' This letter the abbot sent, by the prior, to the bishop, who was then waiting in the priory at Dunstable, accompanied by his mother: but the answer was this: 'That, in reverence to the royal letters, he would not prejudice the privileges, but regard them as he would his own.' From this ambiguous answer Moote knew not how to proceed, and wanted more sound counsel; and sent back, 'that he could not admit the bishop to any kind of entertainment, or even to enter within the walls.' The bishop intreated the abbot to restore their former friendship, and to cease from any cause of discord. The abbot, in great perplexity, and in fear of mischief from the attendants on the corpse, still at the door, and from the crowd that surrounded it, changed his resolution, by the advice of the bishop of London, then and there present with him; who instantly pledged himself to seal letters of indemnity. But, not having any seal of Lincoln, he affixed the seal of London; and the corpse and train were admitted into the church. The bishop accompanied the coffin to the stall, or seat of the abbot, where it was reposed; and the bishop was seen, standing near it. The abbot took his place in the opposite stall, dressed in his full attire, and standing. A suffragan of the bishop of Lincoln occupied the middle of the choir, and directed the singing. On the morrow, the bishop of London, together with the abbot and the suffragan, performed a solemn mass, standing near the great altar. The altar was also set forth with all the rich garments, and decorations, both of gold and precious stones, that had ever been provided for it; together with some rich carpets and coverings, which the deceased duke had formerly given. And, the next day, the funeral proceeded for London, the whole convent attending it as far as Barnet.

The bishop of Lincoln, for the present, returned thanks to the abbot and monks, for the honour shewn to his father's corpse; but, when

when his elder brother, now earl of Derby, was crowned king, this ^{John V. the} bishop tried to injure the abbey and the cells in some of their privi- ^{31st abbot.} leges. However, at present the abbot received the bishop, after the corpse had departed, and gave him sumptuous entertainment in the grand chamber; and they parted with great professions of good will, and with an exchange of some very costly rings, set with precious stones.

In his time, the rectory of St. Julian, (as it was then called,) which had been leased to William Burcot, reverted, by the gift of the said Burcot, and was applied to the use of the prior, with a certain annual portion to Burcot. Moote had applied himself, for twenty years, to the care and labours of his office of cellerer; and he had constructed a beautiful chamber for the abbot, contiguous to the wing of the church; and spent thereon 600 marcs or more. He built also another chamber, or lodge, for the seneschal, between the house of the almoner and the gate which leadeth to the stable. In the city of London, the abbot's house had gone to decay; but this, together with its offices, and all its appurtenances, he completely rebuilt.

On the manor of Parkbury he renewed all the buildings except one house. On the manor of Tytenhangre he built two farm-houses (*Grangiae*), with proper offices, from a hay-barn to an ox-house (a). He planned also a mansion-house for himself and family; but, being prevented by death, he scarce completed one half of it. On the manor of Langley he built one grange, and repaired all the other houses; and gave twenty marcs towards repairing the grange at Rickmersworth, then taken by a farmer, named Robert de Pantry. At Caysho he built one ox-house; and repaired all the other houses as far as was necessary. At Sandridge he built a house with a new gateway, and a stable fit for horses and cattle at grass. He also built mills at Codicote and at Sandridge, with such offices as were necessary for the cellerer and his deputy. It is to be understood that most of these lands and manors were in hand; and there they fed oxen, and provided the meat, and flour, and corn, for the consumption of the monastery. He rebuilt two parts of the cloister, with the closets, and library, and chapel of St. Nicolas; and, over the arch of that cloister, he prepared a place for books; and, under the vault of the chapel of St. Nicolas, he intended to have made an *almariola*, or place to secure their deeds and muniments. He repaired and improved many

(a) A grangia fæni usque ad bovariam.

John V. the parts of the house ; and caused a vast reservoir, or vault, to be made
 31st abbot. near the kitchen, to receive and hold the rain-water for the use of
 the offices. He improved the garden (a); built therein a new pigeon-
 house ; and constructed a covered way, for the more convenient
 walking in wet weather.

The manor of Napsbury had been long applied to the use of the
 kitchen, but was now gone to utter decay. This was rebuilt by our
 abbot. The manor of Aston, now ruined both in its timber and
 its stone work, he covered anew ; and erected three sheepcotes there.
 The manor of Shephall had been let to one Robert Broome, a great
 man near it, for the term of his life, and for a small rent. But, he
 not performing the terms, Moote caused him to give it up ; and, with
 some new buildings, made it a good farm for sheep, as the name im-
 ports. The manor of Eastwell, in Kent, gone to ruin and decay,
 he built anew. The grange in the manor of Tombes, in Suffex, he
 transferred, or recovered, from the prior of Michenham, and repaired
 the buildings.

The Grange of St. Peter's had been long ago deputed, or set apart,
 for the infirmary ; and here he built an excellent farm-house, with a
 cow-house, stables, and pigeon-house, also a kitchen and bake-house :
 the hall and other offices he repaired. He inclosed the whole with a
 strong wall of earth, and with a deep ditch, including the grove ad-
 joining. In the walls, he made gates in the front, and posterns in the
 back, for the safety and pleasure of those who should dwell in the
 same. He built also (to return to the monastery) a chimney in the
 dormitory, to warm the poor inhabitants of that mansion ; and added
 two windows, for the better airing of the place.

The manor of Childwick had been long ago set apart for the office
 of the refectory ; and here he found it needful to build a grange, and
 repair all the houses and offices adjoining. At Walden, which had
 been a place over-run with bushes and briers, and which he caused
 to be reclaimed to fertile land, and levelled fit for use, he built a
 barn and a small dwelling for a bailiff ; and inclosed this with a wall
 of earth and a ditch.

(a) He inclosed this with a strong wall, made of earth, and covered with tiles or
 slate ; but, on one part, it was bounded with a broad and deep pool, called the prior's
 pond.

At

At the rectory of Houghton he built a good grange, on a foundation of stone; and inclosed the same with a strong wall of timber and earth, well tiled, and covered with slate or stone (a). John V. the 31st abbot.

In the manor of Kingsbury he built a new barn, and repaired all the offices; and inclosed the whole with an earth-wall and a ditch. This manor had been set apart for the office of the under-refectory; but, by his persuasion, it was now given up to the use of his principal, and gave great help and supply to that office; for, he now augmented his stock of napkins (b), towels, and table-cloths; and added, to the plate and Myrrhine glasses, others, mounted in silver and gold, having sold some vessels and bought larger and better: out of the old saltsellers he had made twelve new ones; and, with the old spoons, he had obtained seven dozen of new, of better weight and form.

The grange and mansion in the manor of Redburn he repaired with good stone-walls, well secured with freestone. At Wynflowe, also, the grange, for gathering and laying up the tithes, was repaired. These had been demised to one Edward Martin for an annual rent of 12s. 8d. but now were redeemed for 18 marcs; and, by the repairs, the same could be let for a better rent, or sold. He rebuilt, from the foundations, the chancels of the parish-churches of Sandridge and Grenebury; and repaired with a new roof that of Norton. He was supposed to have expended, in all these works, at least 2000l. yet the poverty of the house was relieved, and the sum of the rents and profits almost doubled. The mansion at Oxford, for the young scholars, was in a ruinous condition, and too small and incommodious for the number which he wished there to maintain. On this, the abbot bought, of the abbot of Malmesbury, some ground adjoining, and made additions to the college.

In the second year of his rule, he was deputed to visit all the Benedictine monasteries in the province; but he declined it, and appointed Symon Sothery to perform this visitation; and, at the same time, employed him to visit all the cells of this abbey.

Tytenhangre (c) had been a place of resort for many of the preceding abbots, although it had only a mean farm-house for their

(a) Tiles and bricks of clay, and burnt, were invented about 1440, and not earlier.

(b) Naperia.

(c) This name (of Tytenhangre) is of unknown antiquity, but denotes hides of land. There are many places ending in hangre; as, Panishangre, in this county; Bettshangre, in Kent; Goldangre, in Essex; and Shelfangre, in Norfolk. And Angre ever signifies a gravelly soil.

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accommodation; but, as it afforded plenty of water, and was a fertile soil, and blessed with good air and most delightful prospects, this induced Moote to make it a more convenient and useful dwelling; and he expended herein, though the work was not half finished at his death, the sum of 360l. 5s. 6d. beside carriage and victuals to the workmen. The building of this mansion gave rise to divers opinions: some objected to it and said, it would be so pleasant as to attract the notice of the king or some great lord, and it might be difficult to deny them in any request concerning it; and, if it fell into such hands, they would only become a burden to the abbey and its tenants: others said, it would draw away the abbot and many of the brethren from the monastery, and prove injurious to the hospitality and the alms-giving there observed; that the cells and other estates afforded better and more commodious places for the abode of a small family, if the abbot chose to retire from his duty in the abbey; that here the repose of the abbot would be much interrupted, and his quiet disturbed, by reason of its being contiguous to the London road, on which account he would be obliged to receive visitors, and could not be excused; and that he must send to the abbey for provisions, &c. necessary to entertain them. The good abbot could not escape the blame and obloquy of all who disliked the scheme, or envied him; but this made him only more diligent in promoting the work, to which he gave all possible attendance, with every exertion to quicken the workmen; and absented himself so much from the monastery, that the usual hospitality and charity suffered some diminution. He entertained also such a multitude of hirelings, and exacted from the tenants and dependents so much labour and carriage, that they complained of the hindrance and loss to their farms. But he cared not, so he could gratify his own taste and inclination. However, the work was deemed unlucky; not only because it brought much vexation on those employed, but also brought the abbot to his end. The cattle fell sick of a murrain, and dearth of corn followed, and a great scarcity of victuals: this was a general calamity, owing to a bad season or very wet summer, and there was scarce a sufficiency of corn and malt for the use of the monastery. All these misfortunes, in the minds of some men, were imputed to the abbot; and more especially as he was much altered in his behaviour, and frowned on his old friends, while they saw him carefs and smile on his foes. At the end of this summer, the fourth of his elevation, on the day of

All

All Saints, and after the solemnity of the mass, he was seized with a dreadful pain, and lost the use of his hands. The physical persons were sent for, and they pronounced, from his difficulty of respiration and extreme pain in his side, that this disorder was a pleurisy, and that he could not live long. This happened at Tytenhangre; and, as soon as it was known in the abbey, the prior and elders consulted whether it was not advisable to bring him to his lodgings. This was determined: and William Wynteshall, his confessor and principal chaplain, fearing his death to be hastening, repaired to him at three in the morning, and addressed him in these words: ‘ The physicians have certain signs of your approaching death, and that you will soon be deprived both of reason and of memory; therefore, I require you to attend to the salvation of your soul, while any vigor remains; then, and next, make restitution, if you have defrauded any person; (*si quid subtractum habeas*;) and lastly, signify your will and pleasure in matters depending between you and our brethren.’ The abbot, as usual in such cases, and as he had been accustomed, went into a clear and ready confession, and added many firm promises of amendment. He then besought his confessor, that, by virtue of that grace which had been granted him by the pope, he would pardon him in all his transgressions and deviations, and that he would administer to him the reviving helps of the Lord’s body. This was performed, and he was borne next day on a couch, or litter, to the abbey; where, after languishing three days, he requested the extreme unction: which being performed in the presence of the prior and fourteen brethren, as was usual, he breathed his last.

He had explained his mind, at well as he could, to his confessor, in all temporal matters, requesting that the manor of Bacheworth, lately recovered by his diligence, might be affixed to the office of treasurer. Concerning the manor of Gorham, lately acquired, he would make no disposition, but left to his confessor to explain to the succeeding abbot what his will was in relation to the same. He ordered that, as he had borrowed of the prioress and nuns of Sopwell forty pounds, the same might be restored, or satisfaction made them in a better supply of victuals, &c. He was buried, as he had desired, at midnight; but not until the fifteenth day after his decease; and then, with a very small concourse of people, and without any solemnity or cost, or indeed grief; being, when living, little honoured or beloved: no show of black, except a coat of russet, given to each torch-bearer, and they were twelve in number.

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He died on St. Martin's day, in 1400, and in the beginning of the fifth year of his preferment. He left the house much indebted; and the furniture, goods, and chattels, on the lands, much diminished. But this was unavoidable, in such times of confusion and military troubles, during the intestine wars; in which he often lost money; and often gave more (though without any good effect, yet) to avoid rapine and plunder. He had expended, on the obsequies of his predecessor, 76l. 4. 6d.; and, about his own election and installation, a sum supposed to be 55l. 4s. 6d. He had also given to king Richard, at different times, in order to preserve his favor and avoid suspicions, no less than 126l. 13s. 4d. He had given to the archbishop of Canterbury, for his friendship and interest in obtaining of the king a confirmation of certain charters, or privileges, for certain clergy, 20l. He had given to the bishop of Carlisle, for the same kind of business, and in the same cause, 10l.; also, to the king's confessor, 10l.; also to a companion of his, 20l. 6s. 8d.; and, to master William Ferby, notary to the king, 10l.; and to John Serle, keeper of the rolls, 60l. 6s. 8d. In expences at Tytenhangre, for victuals and carriage, he had expended 60l. 2s. 9d.; for the new structure at Oxford, 138l. 3s. 2d.; and for making a very large barn at Crosley, and other buildings there, 100 marcs. In recovering the manor of Gorham he expended above 50l. 6s. 8d. (though this was given by friends); and, farther, 400 marcs to John Rolond, out of the rents of the said manor; also, for divers privileges, written and authorized, 73l. 6s. 8d.; and above 40l. more to be paid after his death; and, for constructing a certain wall at the priory at Beaulieu, almost inclosing the same, he paid 6l. 13s. 8d.

In exchanging rings with the bishop of Lincoln (Beaufort), he had given one to the bishop, which contained a piece of the true cross; and was therefore earnestly prized, and begged by the bishop. But, soon after, the bishop informed the abbot, that the ring given by him was considerably more valuable than the ring given by the abbot, and the difference must be made up in money. Here the bishop had forgotten all the terms of friendship, professed at the exchange of the rings; and this importunity was so pressing and troublesome, that the abbot was forced to give him 5l. for a final discharge. He made a journey towards Ware and Hychen with his seneschal, and then sent him to the parliament holden at Salop; all which cost 20l. He paid

paid also to the king, every year, a subsidy, or tax, called Plefaunce (a); ^{John V. the 31st abbot.} and for some of the tenants 8l. 13. 4d. He paid also to Peter de Bosco, bishop of Aix, and residing at Rome, for his goodwill and favour in that court, 10 marcs yearly. The journey of his commissary to visit the monasteries in the diocese of Lincoln cost 20 marcs; and at times he gave, to the prior of the students at Oxford, 5l.

In aid of these expences he received, of master William Burcot, 100l. for the privileges obtained for him and for the cells; from the prior of Tinmouth 100 marcs; from the prior of Wymondham, 16l. 13s. 4d; from the prior of Bynham 15l.; from the prior of Wallingford 20 marcs; from the prior of Hertford 6l. 13s. 4d. But the cells of Bealvoir, Hatfield, and Beaulieu, were so much in debt, that they were discharged from this demand. He also caused the bur-
sar to pay him 20 marcs, and the sub-cellarer 5l. for privileges obtained by him, or now granted, in the exercise of those offices. And thus he recovered a sum of 230l. 6s. 8d. He received also, as presents from sundry of the brethren, certain gifts on the recovery of Gorham and Westwick; and these amounted to 50l. 2s. 8d.

If it be asked how these men became possessed of any money, it is to be said that they had been allowed yearly a small pension; and, when Moote was elected, he made this pension ten shillings a year. On the evening before the election, he had closeted many of the monks, and told them he wished for the place of abbot, for no other reason but to recover the rights of the abbey, and to augment their stipend. He promised to do both, and succeeded; and this artifice had taken effect at the very instant of election; for, he, as prior, conducted the form of their proceeding, and, when the lawyers present asked in what manner they would elect, directly his fautors raised a tumultuous and sudden cry, to the utter confusion of all the rest; and, instantly running to him, took him out of the chair and carried him by force into the church, and, contrary to all usage and decency, seated him on the altar. He had been born at a place in Berkshire, named Syndlosam(b), of ordinary parentage. He was tall of stature, of a sober air and deportment, and very fit for secular affairs; for, being the son of Thomas de la Moote, who was bailiff and auditor to many lords, he had received early instruction in those

(a) To aid the king in building a house at Greenwich, given afterwards to duke Humphry, and in the crown in the time of Henry VIII.

(b) This Syndlosam is probably Inglesham neat Faringdon.

cares;

John V the cares; and, entering here, was soon made chaplain to abbot Thomas, ^{31st abbot.} and placed in the office of cellarer; and discharged this duty, to the satisfaction of his employer, for twenty years.

In 1399, the duke of York, uncle to Richard II. and regent of the realm during the King's absence in Ireland, assembled at the town an army of 60,000 men, in order to oppose the duke of Lancaster (a), who had landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and was claiming the crown as his inheritance unjustly detained from him, and demanding justice of the king. And this demand was carried to such excess as to induce the Parliament to dethrone Richard, and to place the crown on Henry of Lancaster's head. In this Parliament, the nobles and commons were unanimous in this precipitate act of violence; and none rose up to speak for the absent and injured monarch, except the bishop of Carlisle; who, though single, yet shewed an inviolate loyalty to Richard as his lawful sovereign, as well as the most sober, discreet, and wise, counsel, as a man, on this general defection of friends, and hasty proceedings towards a remedy. He said, in the presence of the lords, he doubted not to tell them, that there was none among them, meet to give judgement on so noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had acknowledged for their sovereign, and liege lord, for the space of twenty-two years and more. 'I assure you,' quoth he, 'there is not so rank a traitor, nor so errant a thief, nor yet so cruel a murderer, apprehended or detained in prison for his offence, but he shall be brought before the justice, to hear judgement; and will you proceed to the judgement of an anointed king, hearing neither his answer nor excuse? I say, I will avouch that the duke of Lancaster, whom ye call king, hath more trespassed to king Richard, and his realm, than king Richard hath done either to him or to us. For, it is manifest and well known, that the duke was banished the realm by king Richard and his council, and by the judgement of his own father, for the space of ten years: for what cause ye remember well enough. This notwithstanding, with licence of king Richard, he is returned again into the realm; and, what is worse, hath taken upon him the name, title, and pre-eminence, of king. And, therefore, I say, ye have done manifest wrong, to proceed against king Richard, in any sort, without calling him openly to his answer and defence.'

(a) His father being just now dead, he claimed in his own person.

I mention this story, because the honest prelate, for this free ^{John V. the} speech, was soon after sent prisoner, and confined in this abbey; ^{31st abbot.} and, by a new practice of the pope, when he would oblige a crowned head in getting rid of a bishop or ecclesiastic who was unacceptable, he was released, and appointed by his holiness to be bishop of Samos, in Greece. But the good man died, before he could set out on his new charge; and preserved an immortal fame, amidst the ill-treatment of those times. His name was THOMAS MERKES (a).

WILLIAM HEYWORTH.

The next person, after Moote, who ruled this abbey and church, ^{William II. the} was William Heyworth. He was abbot from 1401 to 1421; when, ^{32d abbot.} being the year before appointed to the bishoprick of Lichfield, he resigned the dignity of lord abbot, and continued in that see 27 years after, as Goodwin saith. It is probable that he was born at Lichfield, or had some connection or predilection for the place; because, in 1404, he founded almshouses in Bacon-street, in that city (b); which, to this day, are in repute, and called by his name.

Nothing is recorded of Heyworth, as abbot, except that he was esteemed for his holiness and piety; for the strictness of his own life, and for the prudent government of others. John of Wheathamstead was chosen on the resignation of William, as we learn from undoubted authority (c).

In this reign of Henry IV. the Lollards, favourers of the doctrine of Wickliff, had succeeded so far in spreading their opinions, as to imagine they had a great number of friends in Parliament: and, in Lent 1409, the heads of them presented a petition to Parlia-

(a) See *Goodwin*; and *Hume*, in 1399.—Dr. *White Kennet*, in two pamphlets, called *Letters to the Bishop of Carlisle*, and published in 1713 and 1716, endeavours to refute this relation, and deprive the bishop of the honour of this loyalty.

(b) See *Anglia Sac.* Vol. I. pp. 453 and 455.

(c) *Har. MSS.* 3775.

ment,

William II. the 3^d abbot. ment, to disseize the church of her temporalities. It was drawn up in this form.

‘ To the king’s most excellent Majesty, and all the Lords in Parliament assembled, the loyal Commons humbly suggest, that, in case our sovereign lord the king shall think fit to take away the estates possessed by the bishops, abbots, and priors, spent at present upon grandeur and unnecessary figure, the crown and kingdom will receive great advantage by such measures; for, by the seizure of these estates, the king will be enabled to create and provide for 15 earls, 1500 knights, 6200 esquires; and to make a sufficient settlement for 100 new hospitals.’ In answer to this petition they were required to bring a valuation of the lands, &c. to prove that the fund would answer the length of the project; but here they failed in the matter of computation. The king also disliked the injustice of the motion, and charged the Commons not to presume ever to offer him again any such bill.

But, during the suspense and hopes of the Lollards, a great brewer of the town of Dunstable, named Murle, had fixed his eye on this abbey; and already had swallowed, in imagination, the estates, building, church, and all; declaring that no trade could thrive while the monks gave away so much beer. Though he was disappointed in making prize of the monastery, this incident shews what great temptations these places held forth to the covetous and rapacious. A few years after, namely, in the beginning of Henry the Vth’s reign, Sir John Oldcastle put himself at the head of these Lollards, and was contriving sedition and rebellion. He had drawn in many persons to side with him, and, among the rest, this rich brewer; who was promised by Oldcastle to be knighted in the field of battle, and to have conferred on him the lands and abbey of St. Alban. But, Sir John being taken prisoner and confined, his chief followers shared the same fate, and Murle was arraigned, convicted, and executed, for high treason (a).

When we view the life and transactions of Wickliff, we cannot but see how strongly it is verified, that the passions of men are among the great instruments of Providence, in effecting its purposes and designs. Resentment in this man, as afterward in Martin Luther, produced that active contradiction to the higher powers, which will distinguish those men to all posterity. About 1371, Wickliff was

(a) Coll. Eccl. Hist.

removed, by Iſſip, the archbiſhop, from his place of prior in Canterbury College, at Oxford; and, from that time to 1389, his preaching and publiſhing new doctrines of civil polity, as well as of religious faith, kept the nation in a continual ferment: and, though he died in that year, a peaceable rector of Lutterworh, after he had ſeen his doctrines ſpread in Bohemia, to which country they were carried by ſome Bohemian ſcholars, who had ſtudied at Oxford; yet the truth, that was found in his opinions and doctrines, continued to operate towards a future reformation in religion. But, not content with combating the doctrines of the Church, he attacked the ſtate alſo; and (which demonſtrates the near affinity and connection of Church and State) he taught new duties to the magiſtrate, and new rules of obedience to the ſubject; in ſhort, the liberty, which he inſpired, of queſtioning the doctrines of the church, went alſo to excite queſtions in the laws of the ſtate. The liberty he taught tended to create univerſal diſcontent in the lower ranks of men, and was the chief cauſe of that inſurrection, already mentioned, which was headed by Wat Tyler, in 1381; and which diſcontent, ſupported by new notions of equality, and plans of levelling the rich and great, and projects of reform, raiſed many inſurrections in the reign of Henry V. until Parliament made an act for burning heretics, and till the Lord Cobham (Sir John Oldcaſtle) was made, in 1418, the firſt great example of the laws ſeverity.

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Hereſy, neither in the Scripture, nor in common acceptation, is deemed a capital ſin; until it becomes mixed with the motives of carnal ambition, and employs itſelf in creating parties, and procuring to itſelf ſecular numbers and worldly ſupport. This peſtilent hereſy troubled the land about 50 years, when its civil principles were duly reſtrained; and its few ſeeds of religious truth grew and flouriſhed, till they matured in the Reformation.

But, becauſe the abbey afforded ſome ſtout defenders againſt the hereſy of Wickliff, I will be more particular in deſcribing his doctrine, &c.

It was at the latter end of Edward the Third's time when the hereſy of Wickliff began to appear, and to be conſidered as a nuisance and peſtilence that required correction. As he had been put out of his office of ſecular canon at Canterbury College, and monks admitted into his room, he took up no ſmall enmity againſt all the orders of religious; and, as the archbiſhop, the head of the Engliſh ſeculars, had thus offended him, his anger and reſentments not

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only were extended to him, but had a great share in moving that diffension which agitated the nation for 40 years. He continued in his office of divinity professor, and rector of Lutterworth; and this was a degree of eminence, which, added to his learning, caused great respect to be paid to his doctrines.

Though he was a secular divine, and subordinate to the bishop of Lincoln; yet, with all that courage which a conscious rectitude inspires, he inveighed against the riches and possessions of the Church, the discipline and government of it, the perversion of its power, and the worldly principles which actuated the general body of Churchmen. And this was reckoned, by them, a more dangerous act than if he had denied, and preached the denial of, some of the fundamental doctrines of the Saviour. Edward the Third had filled all the great offices of State with churchmen; and this circumstance might excite much envy, and cause many observers to impute all the civil acts of these men to the principles of their religion, and thus create a temper of hatred against the church.

The doctrines of Wickliff were, 'That the Church of Rome is no more the head of all churches than any other church; and that St. Peter had no greater authority conferred on him than any other apostle. That the pope of Rome had no more jurisdiction in the exercise of the keys than any common priest. That temporal lords, being patrons, ought to be disseized of that right; and such church dispossessed of its lands, tithes, and revenues; and that a temporal lord or prince, when conscious of misrule in the church, is bound, on pain of damnation, to divest her of her property, and cast her out of his protection and law.'

He taught also, that 'the gospel is a sufficient rule and direction for the life and conduct of a Christian; that all supplemental rules, though instituted by holy men, and practised in the monasteries, give no more improvement to Christianity than whiteness doth to a wall. That no pope or prelate ought to have prisons, for punishing offenders against discipline; but every such person ought to go at large, and be at liberty both in motion and practice (a).'

It may be clearly discerned, by these charges, that there was much corrupt government in the Church; and that prosecutions in matters of discipline were frequent and severe: and it cannot be doubted,

(a) Walsingham, Hist. Ang. 191.

that

that the author and preacher of such charges would find many bitter enemies. But he declared also a disbelief of their favorite doctrine of transubstantiation (a); for, he held that the Eucharist, after consecration, was not the true body of Christ; but only an emblem, or sign of it. Now, to controvert this established doctrine was a most heinous offence; and Wickliff was summoned to appear before a synod, convened by the archbishop at St. Paul's, to give an account of his faith. He appeared, accompanied by John, duke of Lancaster; and Percy, the lord marshal of the king's court. History presents us with the dialogue that followed, between the bishop of London and the two lords (b). And a tumult arising, no business or examination took place; and the accused was dismissed with an injunction of silence. This synod had met by virtue of a bull from the pope to the archbishop, requiring him to convene the professor, and examine his principles and faith: and this transaction happened a few months before Edward's death, in 1377.

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About this time the pope sent a bull to the university of Oxford, complaining of their favoring the doctrines of Wyckliff, with a rebuke for so long permitting him to propagate his errors, without correction. Walsingham, who lived within 50 years after, says, they debated long whether they should receive the bull or not. He mentions not their final resolution; but no step was taken, on their part, in obedience thereto. The pope sent another bull to the archbishop and bishop of London, charging them to preserve the young king and his court from Wickliff's infection—'for, these novelties were

(a) If we look into the origin of this monstrous doctrine, we shall find it to be no earlier than a Council of Lateran, in 1215, held by Innocent III. where the canons made are introduced by a very solemn form of faith, in which it is said, 'There is but one Catholic Church of the faithful, out of which none is saved; wherein Jesus Christ is both priest and sacrifice, whose body and blood are contained really, in the sacrifice of the altar, under the species of bread and wine; the bread being transubstantiated into the body of Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood, by the power of God; that so, to render the mystery of the unity perfect, we might receive of his nature what he received of ours.' And from these words alone, cherished, improved, and enlarged, and not from any bull, canon, injunction, or rescript, did that monster grow. Now these latter words are such as conciliate and explain; and the author's meaning, by *transubstantiated*, was the same as being spiritually changed and taken; for, the reason holds not good, if we take any thing of the sacrifice but the spiritual part; as he took nothing of ours but the bodily and material; and the mystery of the unity is not perfect and complete, but by our taking his spiritual part, as he took our carnal.

(b) Fox's Acts and Mon. Harpsfield in Vita Wycklif, p. 683.

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not only points of speculation, and errors of faith, but dangerous also to civil government.' Another bull was sent to the archbishop, charging him to proceed. Answer was made in the most compliant promises, and Wickliff was summoned to Lambeth; but some tumults arose without, while Wickliff was explaining his doctrines within; however, he gave some satisfaction, by a commodious way of interpreting, and qualifying his doctrines to the taste of his judges. He was dismissed, and silence enjoined him. This lenity was thought to have arisen, from perceiving the interest he had at court, and the great support from the lower orders of men; yet, in spite of the silence enjoined him, he went on publishing his notions and opinions, and adding thereto other new errors, or contradictions to ancient doctrines.

In this condition was the controversy with Wickliff, when, in 1381, the great insurrection broke out under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw; who, together with their companions, were men of the lowest race, and meanest education, without letters, or any marks of distinction. They had been instigated to this proceeding by the preaching of one Ball, a secular priest; who, for 20 years, had been teaching the peasants and farmers of Norfolk; that, as all men were born equal, so they should live equal; that servitude and villanage never were intended by nature, and were only the contrivance of the rich to keep under the poor; and that Christians ought to assert their native liberty: that the rich had an overplus of wealth, beyond necessities; which they ought to relinquish for the use of those who had nothing, and thus bring mankind to an universal level. That they were under no obligations either to Church or State; for, they could do well without the instruction of the former, and the protection of the latter, being, as they conceived, competent to all things, and self-sufficient of themselves. This pestilent advice he mixed with some of Wickliff's more plausible opinions. Though the parties were ripe for sedition and rebellion, yet they might not at this time have arisen and taken arms, had not Ball been imprisoned by the archbishop, after having been excommunicated; and, by refusing to comply or submit to petition for absolution, had become liable to imprisonment. On this the rabble of Kent broke out, and rescued Ball from the prison at Canterbury; where he declared that he was perfectly easy, and knew that 20,000 men would come to set him at liberty. The peasants of Norfolk and Suffolk had received the like infection; and, assaulting the abbey at St. Edmund's Bury, they
burnt

burnt all the charters and records, murdered the prior and Sir John Cavendish, chief justice, and set up their heads on poles in the market-place. These insurgents were afterwards met, at Barton-mills, by Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich; who, with a small armed force, encountered them; and, slaying some, put the rest to flight. As for Ball, he was soon after taken prisoner at Coventry, brought to the town of St. Alban's, tried before Sir Robert Tresilian, convicted of sedition and treason, and hanged for example.

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By this time the seditious were all quelled, and many of those taken were executed: but it no where appears that Wickliff held any communication with them; for, had he done so, these rebels would not have treated the palace of his friend and patron the duke of Lancaster, so ill, as to burn it. However, the next year (1382) the king impowered the bishops to arrest and imprison the followers of Wickliff; and he was questioned again before the bishops, and would have been totally crushed, had he not been supported by the duke of Lancaster. Wickliff gave account of his faith; and some articles were condemned by those present as heretical, and others only as erroneous. The king sent an order to Oxford, to charge the chancellor to discourage all the tenets of Wickliffe; but there were some found, who went farther in their opposition and dissension than Wickliff had done. And now began to be heard the term of Lollard; which seems to have begun here at Oxford, and which served as the watch-word for doctrines of reform against the grandeur of the prelates and clergy. It was a kind of under part to Wickliff; if not contrived on purpose to draw off the public eye from observing him, and, by raising a new dust, give him opportunity to escape.

At Oxford were several of the doctors and leading men, who strongly espoused Wickliff, and these all fell under censure, and were obliged to recant or to fly. And, to secure the university from a latitude of opinion, all the graduates were obliged to swear a renunciation of Wickliff's conclusions, as censured at Lambeth. Now, the Lollards, though supported and countenanced by many men of rank in Oxford, and by many gentlemen in the country, yet they consisted of low mechanics and the most inferior ranks of men; and the tenets they professed tended to inveigh against the ease of the clergy, the wealth of the laity, the mean appearance of the friars, and their affected sanctity. Thus did they unite themselves to the Wickliffites, and, if they agreed in deriding the Church and contemning the ministry, they cared not in what respects they might differ from each other.

Now

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Now this sort of preachers and hearers gained the name of Lollard, not from any leader of that appellation; but it was a kind of cant term given to these pretended saints, from their resemblance to some other sects on the continent, who were much occupied in singing their devotions, and making a *lulling* kind of tone, such as is calculated to put children to sleep (a). In Flanders and Germany there were many congregations of these Lollards, and it is probable they came into England in the time of Edward III. when the woollen manufacture quitted those countries to settle in Norfolk and Suffolk; though they did not appear here in bodies and become public preachers. In Bohemia the like tenets and opinions were holden, and, in a few years, broke out into formidable rebellions, headed by John Hufs and Jerom Prague. And in many countries, and in different ages, we can discern sects of this puritanical sort, who affect superior holiness, and a more pure form of devotion. It is well known, that among the Greeks there existed a sect who called themselves *Cathari*. The Waldenses and Albigenes were a plain uncorrupt people, and strove to attain a more perfect holiness, and a more pure faith, than they thought were possessed by the Romish clergy. There were, likewise, in the south of France, sects of Religious, who put themselves under monastic rules, and were incorporated by the pope, and distinguished by the name of *Bons Hommes*.

It matters not whether one can discover the pedigree and descent of these sects; or in what country they arise, and how they pass to another; for, in every country, where the distance between the rich and poor is very great, the latter will naturally, and perhaps justly, murmur against the former; the laborious will envy and malign the easy; pinching want will grow adverse and hostile to affluence and voluptuousness; the lower ranks of men will look out for helps, to abate their weakness, and procure comforts, which are denied to them, and, from satiety, slighted by others. The human mind will exert and struggle; and the bold and profligate will ever aid the confusion that may chance only to bring them some advantage. Whenever these men are thus agitated, and their minds sharpened by want, they soon find matter of reproach against their betters; and every superfluity of the latter becomes a source of desire and temptation to the former. These principles may be thought to lead only to seditions in

(a) Lullward—so the Begards, or Begward, from their piteous begging whine. Mosheim Ecc. Hist.

the

the state; but heresies, and oppugning the doctrines of the church, arise from the like spring, or fountain, with those which disturb the state, differing only in the object against which they point their enmity. The like temper and inclinations set the mind to work; and it depends only on the grievance, whether it be civil or religious, that the man is determined to be seditious and traitorous to the one, or an heretic and apostate to the other. And, as a proof of this truth, it may be observed how generally it happens, that the same temper of animosity and contradiction makes the possessor adverse, at the same time, both to Church and State; and it is seldom or never seen that an enemy to one is any other than an enemy to both. Is this so, because the two are so allied, and connected, and interwoven in the same fabric, that the lot of both is to be alike combated and maligned? No: it is because the mind of man, when heated by imaginary injury, will bear no restraints; and as freely leaps over all the ordinances and commands of God as over the laws of man.

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It is not, therefore, to be wondered, that sects arise: especially in Popish countries; where so much objectionable matter presents itself every moment to our view; where the devotion and worship are without instruction and edification; and where the ministry are not examples of a real unfeigned humility and piety, and of incorruptible integrity.

Wickliff was no more persecuted; and, in 1387, died a quiet and peaceful parish-priest, rector of Lutterworth. In his assertions he had opened many of the doctrines of the Romish Church, and exposed the evil principles both of that and its clergy; and these dwelt in the minds of thoughtful men, especially his notions of the Eucharist, in a manner to prepare the way for the Reformation 150 years after; yet he was justly charged with many, not only irreverend notions towards the Church, but many impious opinions in matters of faith. He explained predestination and reprobation in such severe terms as to establish a stoical fate, and make all things proceed from absolute necessity. And, perhaps, this taking away all free will was one great reason why he was not more esteemed or followed by the reformers.

It was now the second of Henry the IVth's reign, when the Lollards were so considerable for their numbers, and so powerfully supported, that the King and Parliament passed the famous act, *de Heretico comburendo* (a), in order to stop this contagion. This was thought

(a) See the statute in Coll. Eccl. Hist. l. p. 614.

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2d albor.

severe; but the safety of the state, which was now involved in the common danger, required a sharp remedy. Burning had ever been the punishment of heresy at common law, says Briton, 1. 9. But then the accused was not convicted before his diocesan; whereas, now he was brought to a more learned tribunal; and then to be delivered over to the secular power; and the king might pardon if he thought fit. Therefore, this act manifested more lenity, where there was room for it; and the process was conducted with the consent of the regal power as well as that of the Church. The act charges these persons with 'making unlawful conventicles and confederacies, holding and exercising schools, writing books wickedly instructing and informing people, exciting and stirring them to sedition and insurrection, and making strife and division among the people, and other enormities horrible to be heard, daily to perpetrate and commit.' Soon after, one Sawtre, was convicted of heresy, in denying transubstantiation, and executed; and, in 1409, a smith, named Badby, underwent the like trial, and refused mercy, even in the midst of the flames, when offered, on condition that he would retract his denial, and agree to that doctrine. And, in this year, did the Lollard interest in Parliament petition the king, as above related, to disseize the Church of its temporalities. The king rejected this petition with anger. Then the Commons moved a bill for altering that statute, and making the offence bailable, or that the offender should be kept in the king's prisons, and not in the bishop's. The king refused, and said *he would rather heighten than abate the rigor of that law.* The next year (1410), the university of Oxford, in a full congregation, condemned 200 conclusions, found in Wickliff's books; and ordered the censured books to be burnt. The king dying, in 1413, the Lollards again raised their heads, and used many threats, by papers secretly affixed to church-doors, in London, that they could bring into the field an hundred thousand men in arms; and now began to appear Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, as their leader and head. This man had been an officer, and much valued by the late king for his military talents; but, the Convocation now sitting, the bishops summoned him as an inflexible heretic, to appear and give account of his faith, before the archbishop. Oldcastle refused. The archbishop cited him again in form; he refused again. The archbishop excommunicated him, and summoned him to appear on St. Matthew's day, and shew cause why he should not be pronounced guilty of heresy and schism. The knight, still denying any compliance, was seized and brought by the lieu-

lieutenant of the tower before the archbishop on the day appointed. ^{William II. the 3rd abbot.} He then read, from a written paper, the substance of his faith; which, in the main, was good; but, on the article of the Eucharist, he declared expressly against the Church's doctrine; saying, it was a modern decision; and that the church thought otherwise at first, and did not vary until she had been poisoned by being endowed (a). His contumacy herein, and inflexible temper, caused him to declare, that he would not recede from this confession of his faith. On which the Court proceeded to sentence, and the archbishop, with great regret, declared him an heretic convict; and left him, as such, to the lay power. The archbishop, reporting this to the king, begged a respite of 50 days; this was readily granted, for, both were very desirous of preserving the criminal. Before the 50 days were expired, he escaped from the Tower, and his followers assembled, in great numbers, in St. Giles's in the Fields; but, being opposed and routed by the king, they dispersed, and Cobham wandered about the country, and was reduced to extremities; and his friends (among whom was Murle the brewer) convicted of sedition and treason, and hanged. It was now the year 1416, when Cobham was nearly surprized, at a farm-house near this town of St. Alban, belonging to the abbot; but his vigilance saved him from being taken; and the pursuers found only religious books, which the Lollards, in their superstitious zeal, had defaced and mutilated, by cutting off the heads of the virgin and the saints. However, it was not long, before he was apprehended in Powis Land, in North Wales, and brought up to the House of Lords then sitting; where his indictment for levying war against the king, found two years before in the King's Bench, being read to him, and the question put, whether he made any objection to the proceedings, he answered, 'that he could not acknowledge them for his judges, so long as his sovereign lord, king Richard, was living in Scotland.' On this declaration, a warrant was signed for his execution, with an order that he should be hanged, and then burnt; the first part of the sentence being adjudged for his treason, and the last for his heresy. Any farther proceedings of trial were thought unnecessary, because he had been out-lawed, for not appearing to the indictment for levying war, in St. Giles's Fields.

This instance of severity happened in 1417, and it was so seasonable, that we read no more of the Lollards. But it is probable that,

(a) Walf. Hist. Ang. 384.

William II. the
32d abbot.

although they might possess some opinions of undeniable truth, yet they retained them in private, and had learnt the danger of disturbing the public peace, and civil repose of the nation, by affecting to establish their notions by force, or mixing any questions of a civil nature with their opinions of religious matters.

The doctrines of the Lollards were probably derived from those of the Waldenses and Albigenes; though, in any part of the world, heresies must arise among any people who had learning to enable them to compare the Romish faith and discipline with that taught by the apostles. And it is to be expected, that more gospel truth, and a *more pure faith*, should be found in the southern provinces of France than in any other country; because, in these were anciently planted many of the first churches; here dwelt many of the Latin fathers, and, in the early ages of the gospel, here were founded many of the most eminent institutions for preserving and propagating the Christian faith. And, although the doctrines, or at least the publication of the doctrines, entertained by the Waldenses and Albigenes, were stopped and restrained by the artifices of the popes, and a formidable tribunal erected to extirpate their opinions; yet more true Christian doctrine hath ever shewn itself in that country, than in almost any other; and may be traced thence to many other countries of Christendom (a). And, as one eminent instance of the pure faith of that country, we may note the peculiar good morals which have ever prevailed there. A simplicity of manner, uncorrupted by an intercourse or knowledge of the world, with a great portion of humble industry and patient content, has distinguished those people; with a decent piety even to the Romish worship, and a prudent concealment of any principles or opinions, that may offend others. Yet, in their zeal for their religion, they have at times mixed their sentiments of government, and engaged in contentions of the state; and, from these dissensions, have they drawn down upon them all the horrid persecutions which stain the annals of their history.

In these countries were found the *Bonnes Hommes*; who, though planted in monasteries, bear testimony to a character of distinguished piety and holy living; and, when brought into this country, still preserved the same good fame. And here I will conclude this long digression with a short account of the *Bonnes Hommes* of Ashridge.

(a) See Quick's Synodicon, sub initio.

ASHRIDGE COLLEGE, FOUNDED IN 1283, THE 11th YEAR OF
EDWARD I.

Berkhampstead, both the manor and the castle, had belonged to the Crown, in the time of the Saxon kings; was frequented by William the Conqueror, and at this place he received the submission of abbot Frederic of St. Albans, and many others of his new subjects. This place continued in the Crown, and was the residence of some of the kings, and often of their near relations, &c. and, at length, was the abode of Cicely, the old dutchess of York, mother of king Edward IV. and Richard, his successor; and at this place she lived to extreme old age, in the time of Henry VII. before she took her leave of all worldly vanity, in the year 1497. This place was the residence also of Richard, duke of Cornwall; and who, in 1257, was elected king of the Romans; and, by the interest of the elector of Cologne, intended to be placed on the Imperial Throne of Germany. This Richard had chosen the spot at Ashridge, in the midst of woods, for a house of pleasure; and perhaps as commodious for the sports of the field: and it thus became an occasional residence. And in the year of his election he placed some religious here, in honor of his son Edmund, then 7 years old. At this time Henry III. built a royal mansion at Langley, and abode there very often; the place being not only extremely pleasant, but also in the vicinity of his brother Richard, duke of Cornwall; between whom there subsisted a most endearing affection; and, as a mark thereof, the king, on going abroad, generally made him regent of the kingdom. This Richard died at Berkhamstead, on the 2d of April, 1272, about seven or eight months before the king.

Richard left a younger son, named Edmund; his elder having died before him. And this Edmund was the son of Cynthia, one of the daughters of Beatrice, countess of Provence; Henry, the king, having married another. The court of England had been frequented by crowds of the nobles and gentry of Provence, and of Anjou and Poitou. And it is probable, that Edmund, now duke of Cornwall, brought this religious order, and placed them at Ashridge, in compliance with some pious request of his mother; or, by the interest and influence of some of the Provençals. My reason for this is, because

they were brought out of the South of France ; in which country a sect then prevailed, who called themselves *Boni Homines*, and were called, in the Gascon dialect of the vulgar, *Los Bos Homes*. They were a sect of mystics ; approaching, as some thought, to Manichæism, and by some confounded with the Albigenes ; but, in truth, a remnant of the ancient Paulicians (a).

They were brought to Ashridge, in 1283, by Edmund, earl of Cornwall ; probably out of regard to their singular piety and good name ; and to perform for himself and his mother, who lived now at Berkhamstead, all the holy functions then in repute. And, as a farther proof that these new monks were near akin to the Albigenes, I must remark the old paintings on the walls of the cloisters ; where it is visible, though the figures are now much decayed, and but one piece remains intire ; yet there is sufficient argument to shew, that the subjects were all made in extreme derision of the frier preachers and frier minors ; for, these two orders, having been introduced into England about the year 1221, had affected superior holiness and purity, and pretended to absolute poverty and self-denial, though they built nobly and lodged superbly. They had drawn on them the odium of all the ancient orders, and were ridiculed on all occasions, where carving or painting could exhibit their true colours. And especially did these orders receive a double share of ridicule and contempt from the Albigenes ; because, against them, and to preach down their antipapistic doctrines, had these orders been at first instituted and encouraged.

This Edmund, earl of Cornwall, gave to the rector of the *good men* the brothers of the church founded at Afferugge, in honour of the precious blood of Jesus Christ, for the maintenance of 20 brothers clerks, whereof 13 at least to be priests, the following endowment ; viz. his manor of Afferugge, with Pithelestone, and all other its appurtenances ; also, the manors of Little Gatsdene, with that of Hamelhamstede ; except the advowson of the church ; with all privileges and immunities belonging to the said manors. He also allowed them common pasture in his wood of Berchamestede, called Le Frythe. The earl, by another deed, gave also to the brothers aforesaid the manors of Cestreton, (now called Chesterton, a small vicarage belonging to New College,) and of Ambrosden, (another small vicarage,) together with the advowson of the churches of the same (b).

(a) Mosh. Eccl. Hist. 11 Cent.

(b) Dugdale's Mon. vol. I.

And

And these grants and donations are all confirmed, and all the privileges annexed to the above manors, by a charter of Edward I. in the 14th year of his reign.

Only one more priory of these Bonnes Hommes was founded in England; and that was at Edington, in the county of Wilts, by William de Edington, bishop of Winton, in the year 1352, in the reign of Edward III. to whom the said bishop was lord treasurer and mint master.

The above mentioned Edmund, earl of Cornwall, was a man of singular piety: for, in his castle of Wallingford, then a part of his possessions, he gave, in the 10th year of Edward I. and confirmed, a maintenance in his chapel of St. Nicolas, in the said castle, for a dean, 6 chaplains, 6 clerks, and 4 acolyths, or taper-bearers, the sum of 40l. a year, to be paid out of his yearly revenue of lands at Waterbury, or Waterperry, and Shillingford (a).

The principal, or ruler, of this house, or college, was called a rector. And Browne Willis has collected the names; thus,

Richard de Watford, resigned in 1296

William de Harwold, who died in 1335.

Richard de Serret, who died in 1346.

Gilbert de Bowelles was then elected.

Ralph de Aston died 1396.

John de Trengge, or Tring, is then mentioned.

Robert ——— occurs in 1428 and 1431.

John ——— occurs in 1435 and 1452.

John Berkhamptstead resigned 1521.

John Maldon died 1529.

Thomas Waterhouse, who surrendered at the general dissolution, and had a pension for life of 100l. a year, and 50 loads of wood out of the woods of the late said House. He died about the end of Mary's or beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and was buried in Little Berkhamptstead, or North Church.

Part of the gardens, and the outhouses, stand in the parish of Little Gaddeſden, in the county of Hertford; but the house and church, which latter has been demolished many years, stood in Pitſton parish, in Bucks.

In the augmentation-office is a pension book, comprehending the names of all persons to whom pensions were to be paid. The first

Portion to be paid at the anniversary of our lady, in the 31st year of our sovereign lord king Henry VIII. And from that book the following is an extract.

To Thomas Waterhouse, 100l. a year, and 50 lodes of wode.

			l.	s.	d.
To Thomas Hyll,	-	-	10	0	0
To Michael Draper,	-	-	10	0	0
John Hatfelde Senex,	-	-	8	0	0
To Robert Hychyn,	-	-	7	0	0
To Richard Sowders,	-	-	5	6	8
To Richard Canon,	-	-	6	0	0
To John Slepnothe,	-	-	8	0	0
To Richard Gardyner,	-	-	7	0	0
To William Knyghton,	-	-	6	0	0
To Richard Bedforde,	-	-	6	0	0
To Roger Byrcheleye,	-	-	6	0	0
To William Yonge,	-	-	6	13	4
To William Downham,	-	-	6	13	4
To William Broke,	-	-	5	6	8
To Edward Peacock Novyce,	-	-	2	13	4
			100	13	4

Per nos { John Tregonwell,
John London,
William Cavendish, } Auditors,

These monks had a kind of governor or visitor, as other orders had, called a provincial, the last of which was one Paul Bush; whose works, yet extant, shew him to be learned in divinity and in phyfic. He was made the first bishop of Bristol; and consecrated in 1542; and was deprived by queen Mary for being married (a).

This house had been visited in the 26th of Henry VIII. by the king's commissioners, prior to the first act of dissolution, which passed in the 27th; when the valuation was thus:

In Temporals.

			l.	s.	d.
By farms in Hemelhempstead,	-	-	137	10	7

(a) Dug. Mon. I. 144.

By

	l.	s.	d.
Brought forward,	137	10	7
By farms in Bovingdon,	69	9	3
Customary fees in Gaddefden Parva,	7	7	10
————— in Frythesdon,	6	13	10
Rent of tenements in Berkampstead,	1	0	0
Fee farm rents in Aldbury,	2	13	4
Rents and farms in Cestreton, Oxon,	27	13	2
————— in Ambrosden,	31	5	10
By Rents in Pitston,	16	2	6
Lands in the hands of the rector, and belonging to the college, 104 acres; lying in 5 closes, viz. in Parkfield, 32 acres; Honing Arc field, 30 acres; Durmer, 21 acres; Loosefield, 10 acres; and Tosehill, 11 acres; at the rate of six pence per acre, are worth	2	12	0
By pasture,	3	2	0
By sale of the woods,	13	6	8
Fines for heriots and perquisites of courts,	2	0	0
By fines and releases,	2	0	0
Amount of Temporals,	322	17	0

In Spirituals.

The rectory of Hemel Hempstead,	42	3	0
Rectory of Blackthorn, in Oxon.	30	1	8
Rectory of Chesterton,	8	0	0
Rectory of Pitston,	30	10	10
By fines and releases of the rectories,	1	6	8
By retaining their own tenths,	0	15	8
Gross amount,	435	14	10
Deduct reprizals,	31	1	8
Total valuation,	404	13	2

This pious earl of Cornwall did also, in the year 1281, found and endow an abbey for Cisterians, at Osney, near Oxford, valued at the suppression at 1741. a year, and now in the possessions of Christ Church. In 1720 the arms of the said earl were visible over the gate, viz. in one shield his paternal coat, a lion rampant in a border of be-

fants; and in another, the black eagle of Germany spread and displayed.

Some of the blood of our Saviour was said to have been brought over by the first *Bonnes Hommes*, and kept in this church. The founder was buried in it; and his heart, with that of Thomas Cantelupe, bishop of Hereford, and chancellor of England, and who died in 1282, were deposited on the north side of the altar; though the body of this latter was interred at Hereford, and a high tomb of marble, still to be seen, placed over it.

This college of Ashrugge, in the beginning of Edward I. had acquired the patronage of the church of Hempstead, and of its chapels, from the prior of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield (a).

Soon after the dissolution, the said late rector, Waterhouse, together with one Combes, rented the impropriation of Hempstead, and lived there in the Bury; paying rent to the office of augmentation, 42l. 3s. od.

(a) Records Tower MSS. 28.

CHAP-

C H A P T E R VII.

JOHN OF WHEATHAMPSTEAD.

THIS abbot, one of the most famous and illustrious in the annals of the abbey, was born at Wheathampstead, and of a family ^{John VI. the 33d abbot.} named Bostock. The first mention to be found of him is, that he was trained up at Gloucester College, in Oxford, and was prior there when he was elected to the rule and government of St. Alban's Abbey. It has been noted, that Gloucester College had been the place of his education, to which all the young monks were sent, from all the principal Benedictine houses in England, and especially from this of St. Alban; there to be instructed in such reputable learning and knowledge as was not taught in their respective monasteries. This college had been the dwelling of Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloucester, (A. D. 1260), who married a daughter of Edward I. and who probably built this house, or constructed the hall and the window therein; for, in the said window are his arms now visible (a) in painted glass, viz. Or, with 3 chevrons Gules. It became forfeited to the king by the treason of that earl, and in 1283 was founded, by John Gifford and the abbot of St. Peter's Abbey, in Gloucester, for the monks of that house; and enlarged, by licence of Mortmain, for other houses of the

(a) That is, in 1722, when Stevens compiled the Addenda to the Monasticon.

John VI. the same order; that the novices might be trained up in arts and sciences.
 33^d abbot. And the arms of the several abbeyes who had colonies here, or of their benefactors, are still to be seen, cut in stone, over the several doors in the quadrangle; with the arms of St. Alban's Abbey (together with those of Tavistoke, Burton, and Chertsey) over the outward gate. The college, though consisting of youth from divers abbeyes, was ruled by one head over the whole, called the prior. In this headship was John Bostock, when chosen to be abbot; and his successor in the priorate was John Amersham, his faithful friend and follower: for, a few years after, he quitted the office of prior, and went to live as a monk in this abbey; and composed a history of the life and principal events of abbot John. This Gloucester college received great and liberal contributions from John, afterwards, in the rebuilding of their chapel (a); on the windows of which he bestowed much cost, furnishing the same with the pictures of the Crucifixion, of the Virgin Mary, and of St. John; with certain Latin verses beneath. He contributed also to the rebuilding of the library, and gave divers of his own books; prefixing in the front of each, for their better security, verses ending thus:

Quem si quis rapiat raptim, titulumve retractet,
 Vel Judæ laqueum, vel furcas sentiat amen.

About the same time, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, then a student in Oxford, became acquainted with John; and gave books, in like manner, to this college, and laid the foundation of the public library, and sent to it many volumes of great price and estimation. This college had its fall at the general dissolution, and was valued, if rented, at 26s. 8d. and, when king Henry VIII. erected a bishop's see in Oxford, he ordained this for the bishop's dwelling and palace. Then, the see being void, the place fell to decay, and Sir Thomas White purchased the same, and united it to St. John's College, founded by him before, viz. in 1557.

The first thing that employed the attention of John was the state and condition of the abbey church; which, through the neglect of his predecessors, had fallen into decay, and now stood in great need of repair. To this purpose he collected many sums from the lay gentry, who were well disposed towards the monastery; and he encouraged an old practice of admitting into the fraternity many gentlemen and ladies

(a) Rebuilt, and much altered, since that time.

of high rank and quality. They were sometimes said *suscipere in se* John VI. the 33^d abbot. *fraternitatem*; and at others *admissi sunt ad fraternitatem*: but the meaning of both phrases is the same. In the number who entered this year were Roland Penteshall, knt. and many others who were of rank and eminence for fortune, knights also; and one of them is styled *Dapifer Reginae*. Another, who entered, was Thomas More, formerly dean of St. Paul's; whose executors, some years after, gave 26l. towards the repairs. In 1423 there were admitted the illustrious Humphry, duke of Gloucester; and Jaqueline, duchess of Holland and Haynault, his wife. These two personages, having kept the feast of the nativity, or, in modern phrase, passed the Christmas holidays, in the monastery, conferred, at their departure, two purple robes. This admission into the fraternity gave no new civil privileges to the persons; nor laid on them any new duties or burdens: they were not compellable to undergo the strict and rigid way of living, observed by the monks; neither to rise early, nor to eat the bread of carefulness. But it was a token of their esteem and honour for religion; and they were allowed to vote in the chapter: so that it was a wise policy to encourage the rich and great to become thus interested for the safety and prosperity of these institutions. In 1428, above 30 persons took on them the rule of the fraternity, as appears by the list. And one of them was Sir Henry Beauchamp; probably the son of Henry Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. All these contributed to the works of the church; but the coats of arms, which are fixed on the tops of the pillars, which support the roof over the steps and the communion-table, belong to the contributors in the last century. Beside the necessary repairs, the abbot caused many embellishments to be made; the principal of which was the cieling, or lining of the roof, throughout the length of the body.

My author records many trifling events about this time; which, though not interesting at present, might be so to the body, and at that time: as that, in the last year of Henry V. a great fire happened in the town, and consumed the house of Lawrence West; that the next year a fire consumed the house and goods of John Hale, a carpenter in Sopwell lane; that the same year came the archbishop, Henry Chichley, to Barnet, and was there met by the abbot, who attended his grace in order to supplicate that the excommunication might be taken off: of which we at present can learn nothing more.

In the 5th year of John's promotion, and the 4th of king Henry VI. one Thomas Heynes begged leave of the abbot to cut turf, or clods, on Barnard wood or heath; for the purpose of making butts (*metas*

John VI. the *sagittarius*) at Halywelle, for the entertainment of sojourners, and the exercise of the youth, in the military art. In the 6th of this king's reign, came a crafty knave to London, pretending that he was sent as embassador from the emperor to our king, that he was the baron of Clacmare, and also very skilful in physic. But, his fraud being discovered, (and no higher crime is charged upon him,) he was beheaded; his head fixed on the tower, and his four quarters suspended on gibbets in the city, in order to deter others from committing frauds. In this year, the duchess of Holland (a) (and wife of Humphry duke of Gloucester) rode through the great court of the abbey, attended by 24 horsemen, in her way to the royal mansion at Langley: and, next day, the duke followed her, accompanied by Sir John Roberts, his master of the horse, and 10 horsemen. In autumn, the abbot set forth to make a visitation of all the cells; and at his return reposed himself at Tyttenhamgre after his great fatigues.

In 1428, John Crosby was buried in the north aisle, towards the chapel of St. Andrew: and the bishop of Winton, Henry Beaufort, having been at Berwic to attend a conference with the king and queen of Scots, returned this summer; and, after making some stay at Ashridge (*loco sibi dilecto*), he came to this monastery, and stayed some days. At his departure he was attended with a solemn procession to the outer gate; the abbot and officers clothed in their scarlet copes.

In 1429, the lady Margaret Wynt made regular profession, and was admitted to the rule at Sopwell; and presented a girdle, or band, richly adorned with precious stones, of the value of 10 marcs. This was done by most persons on their professing the rule, as a token of renouncing all the vanities of the world. And, on the same day, after the vespers, or evening service, at 6 o'clock, the lady Margaret, duchess of Clarence, (widow of Thomas duke of Clarence, next brother to the late king, and slain in Anjou, in 1422,) was received into the fraternity; the convent being dressed anew, and all the music playing (*cum organo* and *cum organis*, says my author,): and after presenting

(a) This lady had been the daughter of the duke of Bavaria, and being his only child, was heiress to the dutchies of Holland, Haynault, Zealand, and Frizeland. She first married John, a prince of France; and, he dying, was left a widow, in 1416. She then married her cousin, the duke of Brabant: but she left him; and, on small invitation, united herself and possessions to the English interests: and the duke of Gloucester espoused her, and brought her to England. The pope would not dissolve her marriage with Brabant; and, about 1428, her estates and honours being seized by the duke of Burgundy, she was forced to leave Humphry, and submit to such terms as Burgundy imposed. And, soon after, Humphry married the daughter of lord Cobham, who had suffered death in the cause of the Lollards, in 1416.

in the chapter two censers for burning frankincense, and saluting those present with a farewell benediction, she returned to Sopwell, and lived in perfect conformity to all the rules and austerities of the house. At this time there were 15 ladies of rank, at the head of whom was this duchess of Clarence, and the lady Elizabeth Hoby who had been admitted to the fraternity; and 18 men, the principal of which were John the bastard of Clarence, and Sir William Hoby. John VI. the
33d abbot.

In this same year, 1429, was solemnized the coronation of the young king, scarcely 8 years old: in which my author says, that Chichely anointed the royal person; that thousands and thousands assembled; that one priest was trampled to death, and one woman; that many pickpockets (*scissores loculorum*) were taken, and had their ears cut off: a very concise account of so grand a solemnity.

In 1430, died Matilda Flamstead, styled *domina*, or lady, prioress of Sopwell; who had lived in the rules of the religion 60 years and 18 weeks; and, in the whole, 81 years and 8 weeks. In this year, a certain priest, who had long been degraded for his impieties and depravity, in professing the Lollard doctrines, was burnt in Smithfield; the duke of Gloucester, then protector of the realm, being present, and thousands more to behold the dreadful spectacle. A fire happened this year at Langley, *grande et damnosum*, says my author: a plague broke out at Codicote; and a great fire at Walsingham, which consumed 4 inns, supposed to have been done out of malice by the pilgrims. About this time, also, the abbot caused some footways to be stopped or turned, through places whereof no memory remains; as, Ropestake-lane, Monkwoode, Flamtonwoode, and Wangate (a). These are very trifling occurrences: but they shew the quiet and undisturbed state in which the abbot and monks lived, and with what uniform regularity all their affairs were conducted, when such trifles were thought worthy to be recorded by their register and historiographer.

Our abbot, being summoned to Parliament, found himself much mortified, and degraded, he thought, in seeing the abbot of Westminster take a seat above him; but, learning that Westminster had long usage to plead, he forbore to make any claim, but ordered it to be registered, how and in what manner the abbot of St. Alban, who had been dignified with precedence, and styled the first abbot in place and honour, had lost this pre-eminence. And it was after this manner: in the reign of Richard II. who was a great fautor and promoter of

(a) Harl. MS. 3775.

John VI. the
33d abbot.

the abbot of Westminster, the Parliament then sitting, John Moot, at that time abbot of St. Alban, took his proper seat, viz. the first and uppermost. The abbot of Westminster coming in late, made some essay to sit in that place; but was hindered by Moot: and this attempt was repeated many times after, and as often repulsed by Moot: and Westminster took another seat. But, one day, Moot being absent, and his place supplied by his prior, Westminster came, and a great dispute arose; the abbot claiming, the prior defending. Henry, earl of Northumberland, (perhaps on reference to him,) said, 'That the late abbot, Thomas de la Mare of St. Alban, (who died in 1396,) having been absent for 10 years by reason of infirmity, had lost all right, and that others had sat above him *ad libitum*.' The prior appealed to the lords who had seen these things 10 years before; and these were, the duke of Buckingham, the lord Scroope, and William of Wykeham. These noble lords, unwilling to offend the King by determining against the abbot of Westminster, referred it to his Majesty, with a request, that he would save harmless all the rights, privileges, and immunities, of his ancient and royal monastery of St. Alban. The king decreed, that the two abbots should take the seat alternately, day by day. But the abbot of St. Alban being often absent, by reason of distance, and Westminster being near at hand, he took the advantage, and seated himself at pleasure; and William Heyworth, who succeeded Moot, contenting himself with a consciousness of having most learning, never *asserted his ancient right*, nor moved the question more.

When John had caused the cieling and roof to be repaired and beautified, as before related, he gave orders that the walls should be well whitened, and the floor made clean, and kept so: and, in particular, that the grave-stones, of the several personages buried in the church and other places, should be washed and kept as clean as possible; which, in such a constant resort of such and so many persons, was scarcely possible to effect. On this occasion, my author gives an account of the several grave-stones then brought to light and purity, part of which I will insert in his own words.

' In the Presbytery, which was on the north side of the great altar, and where the priests and clergy were seated, above the upper steps and near the altar, four abbots had been buried under stones of marble; viz. Hugo Eversden, Richard Wallingford the clockmaker, Michael Mentmore, and Thomas de la Mare. And near the Great Chandelier (*candelabrum*, which was a large frame for holding many lights,

lights, and standing in the middle of the choir) lie three others; as ^{John VI. the 33d abbot.} their sepulchral marbles and inscriptions do testify, viz. John Marinus, John Berkhamstead, and Roger Norton. The rage and furious spirit of the Normans had destroyed all memorials of the graves and tombs of the Saxon abbots; but tradition said, they had been buried in the chapter-house. In the very door of this chapter-house was John Moot laid, under a flat stone, decorated with his figure and an epitaph. Then, towards the east front of the chapter-house, there lie, in order, the bodies of four abbots, under stones of marble adorned with images and inscriptions, viz. Dom. Guarinus (or Warren) of Cambridge, Ralph Gobion, William Trumpington, and John de Hertford. And toward the west lay the bodies of six abbots, in regular order, (*seriatim*,) viz. Paul de Cadomo (of Caen) a Norman; Richard de Exaquo, a Norman; Geoffrey de Gorham, a Norman; then Robert de Gorham; next, was that of Simon; and, last, that of John de Cellâ, or of Studham. Their epitaphs contained praises and blessings, such as would merit Heaven. In the middle of the chapter-house, toward the south, lay Adam Wytnam, formerly steward, woodward, and prior of this monastery; and opposite to him lay Adam Rous, formerly surgeon to king Edward III. On the same side, namely, northward, lay master Adam, the steward, who had been nicknamed Lion, under a marble. Near his grave, there stood, rising out of the pavement and thus proving often a stumbling-block to passengers, a very old stone; which was used to be chipped into little pieces; and these being reduced to powder, the same was administered in a drink to the monks, as being thought very conducive to their health (a).

In the middle of the cloister, and nearly opposite to the door of the chapter-house, was deposited the body of Barthol. Wendover, formerly rector of Shangton, in Leicestershire, a great benefactor to the repairs and improvements of the cloister. Over him was a flat stone, setting forth his merits, in this epitaph:

Bartholomæus in hoc de Wyndover monimento
 Clauditur; hoc claustrum decoravit qui pavementum:
 Cum Reddetur ei Supremæ vita Diei,
 Fac ut, summe Deus! convivat Bartholomæus.

(a) Probably this was slate, or had all the virtues of testaceous powder.

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In the same cloister, and just before the lowest step of the door going into the chapter-house, lies William Trent, formerly prior of Hatfield, sub-almoner, and a profound instructor of the monks.

In the south wing (or transept), and just before the image of the virgin, which is called *Pulchra* (a), lies William Heron, formerly prior of Wallingford: near this grave, and toward the south, lies Nicholas Radcliffe, a doctor of great fame, and a stout defender (*expugnator fortissimus*) against the heretic John Wycliffe. And adjoining to this grave lay Robert Norton, in the habit of a monk, engraven on his stone, as under a tabernacle (*infra tabernaculum*), who had been prior under the abbot Michael.

Near the middle of the chapter-house, and opposite the chapel of St. Symeon, were buried William Heyworth, formerly abbot; and Thomas Albin, *confessor et cancellarius*, under a flat stone without any inscription. Near them lay Thomas Bewyk, formerly steward; and Adam Howton, burfar to Thomas de la Mare. Opposite the door of St. Symeon's Chapel lay John Guldeford, formerly prior of Wymondham, and then *Custos Monialium de Sopwell*: interred in this place by leave of John Wheathampstead, our most pious father, in consideration of the merits of the deceased.

In the south aisle of the church, which was used for walking (*pro ambulatorio*), opposite the shrine of Alban, (and now the entrance of the south door), under a long stone, decorated with a shield of arms and an inscription, lay Sir Walter Sottingham, knight. Under the arch, or vault, of the saint's shrine (as we have heard from our ancestors): at least inclosed under the pavement, and in the said vault, lies Sir William Clynton, formerly earl of Huntingdon, whose image is very handsomely figured, or represented, in very costly work, beneath the the said vault, (*infra dictum fornicem*), and whose actions in the service of the state, and deserts towards this monastery, place him in the list of our benefactors (b).

In the same south wing, and near the lowest step of the altar of St. Mary, on a small stone, is the figure of abbot Roger. His

(a) See the plan of the Church.

(b) This Clinton we find was one of the six knights who were made earls by Edward III. in 1337, on the day when the king created his son prince of Wales; and this man must have died before the year 1377; because in that year the family was extinct, and Richard II. conferred the title of earl of Huntingdon, on a Frenchman named Guiscard d'Angoulême, his governor: and Dugdale, in his Baronage, confirms this

‘ body was buried as above, in the middle of the choir; but his heart ^{John VI. the 33d abbot.}
 ‘ was deposited at the foot of this shrine; probably at his own re-
 ‘ quest: for, his devotion had been for many years peculiarly di-
 ‘ rected to the Virgin; and he had performed mass four times every
 ‘ day at her altar, without intermission, for a long time (a).

‘ In the Chapel of the Virgin, (now called St. Mary’s Chapel,) on
 ‘ the north side thereof, and near the altar, under stones of marble,
 ‘ lie St. Alphonso de Vere and Joan his wife: and near the door,
 ‘ which leadeth from the same chapel, towards the shrine of Amphi-
 ‘ bal, (which had been moved from the choir to the north aisle, in
 ‘ the time of abbot William,) lies John Weston: *Cujus animæ propitius*
 ‘ *Deus* is inscribed on his grave-stone. Between his grave and the
 ‘ shrine of Amphibal, under a stone of marble, decorated with his
 ‘ figure, lieth Thomas Thornburle, formerly feneschal of this mo-
 ‘ nastery (b), and recorder of London.

‘ Near the same place, and next the altar of relics, is buried
 ‘ Robert Trynoth, *feretrius*; who has procured many relics, and
 ‘ instituted that altar, and conferred thereon many sacred gifts and
 ‘ other ornaments; as is recorded at large in the book of our benefac-
 ‘ tors: and, near the altar of the four wax candles, is buried William
 ‘ Westwyck, who had procured other relics of St. Amphibal, as
 ‘ mandubulum, or a glove, richly adorned with silver and precious
 ‘ stones. There was buried also William Shepey; and in the same
 ‘ grave the two following; viz. Joshua Savage, under-steward and
 ‘ woodward; and William Alnwyck, archdeacon of this monastery:
 ‘ as their images, or figures, and elegant inscriptions in verse, do set-
 ‘ forth. In the north aisle were buried many persons of note: as, before

(a) How praiseworthy had been this zeal and worship, had it been directed to a more exalted and proper object! but it was a very common thing for devout persons to choose some peculiar object for their patron, protector, mediator, and intercessor, in Heaven; and to pay to that supposed guardian all their worship, adoration, and prayer: and, indeed, this homage was generally paid to the Virgin Mary or some saint, to the total exclusion of God the Creator, and his Son the only Mediator. Thus William of Wykeham, as we learn from Lowth’s Life of him, paid peculiar reverence and devotion to the Virgin; and William Waynfleet chose for his patron and intercessor Mary Magdalen; and every altar that was erected was for the worshiping of some supposed powerful friend, who, though departed from earth, was thought to possess still a power to assist others; or an interest with God, to sway and prevail on him: a custom and notion all this, that seems borrowed from the Pagan idolaters, who worshiped men for Gods, and made or supposed a deity for every occasion.

(b) That is, properly, judge of the Hundred Court, for the abbot.

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the altar of St. Patern and the apostles, lies Alan Ryxton, a great friend to this monastery. Here also was buried, near the middle altar, Sir William Blyth, knight, of the county of York; who, on his journey to Calais, fell sick in this town, and, after a short illness, died; and whom John Moot, then abbot, ordered to be interred in an handsome manner. Opposite the first door, and in the north aisle, below the shrine, lies Thomas Fayrend, and Alicia his wife, formerly bailiff of this town, with a figure of him on the stone; and, close to his grave, master Adam Atwell, *dapifer reg.* Henry IV. of great deserts towards this monastery. In the north wing, also, lieth master Nicholas Newerk, with an epitaph inscribed; also, under a marble there, lieth Sir William Nederton, a zealous promoter of the public good, and very profitable to this his monastery. In the same north wing lieth Sir Hugh Langley, under a stone adorned with his epitaph: of great merit in providing relics and holy phials. Near this grave, and opposite the altar, under the bare pavement, lies our brother, William Stubbard, formerly of great praise in the art of cutting stone; *in opere Latomiæ* (a). He made and contributed the seats in the cloisters (b), near the doors, and divers other works; he erected fundry works in a laudable manner at Redburn, and others at Beaulieu; such as will exalt his skill and fame *ad celestia*. And opposite to him was interred master Thomas Golbython, who excelled wonderfully in carved work and sculpture. In the cloister also, toward the altar, lies Richard Rew; formerly a scribe of this monastery; and west of him lies John Holton, the upper scribe. Below or beyond him lie the following memorable persons, Nicholas Flamstead and Thomas Pysborle, doctors of theology; and Thomas Allisbury, A.D. who caused the windows and arches to be made in the vestry. Lower still, and within the said cloister, lies William Gobion; at whose town (c) there had been appointed a more solemn service, *missa major*. And under two marbles, towards the North, lie Adam Paulyn, and

(a) Our author bestows on him the following distich, as if he wished to have it inscribed on a stone:

*William Fratris Stubbard lapis hic tegit ossa.
Suscitet è fossâ quæ vox Dulcissima Patris.*

(b) Probably of stone.

(c) Which was Higham Gobion, in Bedfordshire; and which rectory at this time paid 20s. yearly to the cell at Merkyate-street.

‘ Alice

' Alice his wife; who, among other benefactions, had caused to ^{John VI. the}
 ' be suspended over the shrine a silver bason for receiving alms. Near ^{33d abbot.}
 ' their tomb lies Joshua Quintin, formerly master of the refectory;
 ' under a plain stone, without any epitaph. Lower, toward the
 ' west, lie William Ffymmer, formerly Marshall to Thomas the ab-
 ' bot (de la Mare), and John Whytwell, the seneschall; Thomas Are-
 ' thon; William Burcote, a famous notary; Thomas Hosteler; and
 ' Thomas Syward. Then, more toward the west, lie, under stones,
 ' with epitaphs, Joshua Whytley, and Agnes, his daughter, for-
 ' merly the wife of William Parker, Esq. in the time of Thomas the
 ' abbot. Lower still lies Alan Pyron and his wife, with an epitaph;
 ' by the side of them lies Geoffrey Hereward. Then, as far as the
 ' west door of the church, (for, so far did the cloisters extend,) lies
 ' John Kyrkby; buried there, in the time of his being a learner of
 ' the law, *Juris Apprenticius*. Farther on, toward the north, is
 ' buried, under the pavement, William Herewyck, formerly master of
 ' the infirmary; and also Ralph Garden, official. Lower also, on
 ' the same west side, and opposite the door of the parlour (*locutorii*
 ' *ostium*), under a stone decorated with a figure, lies Sir Thomas
 ' Hoo, a man of high rank and excellent character. More southward,
 ' under the pavement, lies the lady Isabella, wife of Thomas
 ' daughter and heiress of Sir John St. Leger, whose benefactions
 ' found well in our records. Opposite to this, and in the entrance
 ' of the middle door of the nave of the church (where the shrine
 ' makes a stop in processions), is buried Elizabeth Pays, mother of
 ' master John Pays. And in the same nave of the church, opposite
 ' to the iron gate, which incloses the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin,
 ' close to the pillar, lies Sir William Wyntyshall, formerly almoner
 ' of this church, chaplain to four abbots, and cross-bearer; a man of
 ' great learning, and an attendant at the altar of St. Lawrence: he
 ' furnished St. Mary's Chapel with books, vestments, and other
 ' ornaments, and the whole apparatus of the altar. Moreover, in
 ' the north aisle, opposite the chancel of the chapel of St. Andrew,
 ' lie Thomas Ryden and his wife, under a stone carved with their
 ' figures and epitaphs. Nearer the nave lie Thomas Hosteler and
 ' Elena his wife; who conferred on this church one house adjoining
 ' to the Maltmill of Sir John Groby, *scutiferi* Henry IV. In the
 ' nave lie William Wych, clerk and registrar; John Clobb and his
 ' wife; John Breton, marshall in the time of two abbots; and John
 ' Wood and his wife. All these have stones and inscriptions.

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‘ In the other wing toward the south, opposite the door which leads
‘ into the chapel of Thomas the abbot, before the altar of the Blessed
‘ Virgin, lies Geoffrey Stukele, formerly armiger of Edward III. and
‘ Tryfona his wife; under one stone, decorated with their figures.
‘ Nearer the altar lie John , and his eldest son; under a
‘ stone, adorned with their images. Lower to the west, lie, under two
‘ stones, Robert Thyvalt and John his relation, *armigeri* (a) to the
‘ abbots of their time and to king Edward III. In the midst of
‘ the nave lie Ralph de Veer and Robert his son, covered by the pave-
‘ ment only. In the Chapel of St. Mary, within an inclosure of iron,
‘ between the pillar and the wall, lies Sir John Rowland, formerly
‘ *juris apprentices præcipuus*, afterward rector of Todyngton. Near
‘ the middle of the west door, toward the chapel of St. Andrew, and,
‘ before the image, or statue, of Reginald (b) bishop of Chichester,
‘ lieth William Wyghtman, who bore some office in the royal kitchen,
‘ (*coquinarius*,) under kings Henry V. and VI.’ Thus far my author.

The Chapel of the Virgin Mary had been built, together with its choice and splendid altar, by one Reginaldus of this town, an advocate in the Court of Rome; who managed appeals and suits made to the Papal Confistory: this pious work was completed in the abbacy of Hugo Everden, who had been elected in 1308. Thomas Westwode, chantor of this church, procured much help from the pious and faithful; and was made *custos capellæ*; and one William Boyden was the principal builder, *lathomius præcipuus*. And, indeed, its dimensions and proportions are so just and beautiful, and its few decorations so simple and elegant, that the design would have done honour to a more improved age. Its length is 55 feet, its breadth 25, and its height 30; having seven beautiful windows, rich and elegant in their form, even in their present decayed state. It had a turret at each corner, and in one of these was fitted up at first (but since abolished) a small chapel (*intra turreterium*), says my author, where mass was said for the dead. At the bottom of the chapel (probably on the left hand of the entrance) was an altar of four wax lights; where two masses were constantly and

(a) Or the men of arms who were bound by the tenure of their lands to serve the king in his wars; as we have seen in the life of abbot William.

(b) This man had been an early confidant, and faithful friend, to duke Humphry; had been his chaplain, and in 1444 preferred by him to the bishopric of St. Asaph; and in 1450 promoted to Chichester. But his statue had been erected early. Persecuted for his doctrine, he died here.

daily performed by the church; and other masses also, as purchased by the deceased. There were also provided four proper wax candles, to be lighted every day by four officers appointed to this business; and at all times when other masses were said in memory of the abbots, John, Roger, and Hugo; which last has contributed to this pious work. There had been also an altar erected to the honour of bishop Blaze, near the steps of the north entrance: which entrance was a kind of anti-chapel to the church, and also to the Virgin's chapel; being more spacious than at present, and opening at each end into the north and south aisles of the church. This altar had been erected, by the appointment of Geoffrey, and William, and other abbots. But, though mass had been celebrated here many years, yet the whole service, together with its altar, was abolished, when my author wrote, viz. about 1440.

He says also, I will again use his own words, 'there are now, in the south wing, two chapels and two altars; one in honour of St. John the Evangelist, in which are consecrated, and preserved, an image of St. Martin, of St. Stephen, and of St. John the Baptist. In the north part of the church, viz. in the aisle, are three altars: one to St. Scythia, a virgin; where is dedicated and set up an image of St. Apollonia, a virgin; and a picture (a) representing the Blessed Mary, with St. Edmund kneeling to her, in the habit of a bishop; on this altar are the images of St. John the Baptist and of the Evangelist: another altar is to St. Wulphstan; and the third to St. Sebastian, and St. Radegund, virgin and queen. To this altar formerly belonged a fraternity of 200 men and women of the poorer sort; who were furnished with books, shoes, garments, and all necessities, purchased with the money here given; and distributed by a priest, and a boy here attending. There was also a fraternity of more able and substantial persons, at St. Peter's Church; and another of both sorts, called by the name of St. Alban, who belonged to the altar of St. Mary, in the south wing. But these fraternities, by reason of the frequent frauds committed by some, and the ingratitude of others, and their universal variance (*distidium*), were dissolved and broken up (b). There is also another altar erected in the north aisle, by our brother William Wyntysfall, in honour of our Saviour, the Holy Virgin, St. Lawrence, and Blaze. In the front of the north-east wing, there is an altar erected to the honour of the apostles, all the

(a) Some remains of this picture are to be seen at this time on the west side of one of the piers.

(b) *Sic redit in nichilum, quod fuit ante nichil*, is the remark of my author.

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angels and arch-angels: from which altar most of the windows had been glazed, and afterwards, by means of John Hatfield, doctor in decretis, and arch-deacon, the history of St. Catharine had been set up in the glazing. At this altar are the images of St. Patern and St. Michael, which are borne in procession on their festivals. There is also an altar in the presbytery; another at the head of the abbot's shrine (a), being an altar of relics, collected and placed there by the industry of Robert Thynoth, *olim Feretrarius*, or keeper of the shrine; dedicated in honour of St. Hugo, bishop of Lincoln (b); and a third dedicated to St. Wulphstan, called *the Altar of Salutation*.

In St. Mary's Chapel, beside the forementioned, were three more altars; one of St. Amphibal; another of St. Edmund, king and martyr, on the north side; and one of St. Peter, on the South side; with their images and histories painted; and to these is a great resort of devout persons on their festivals, when the sacrist directs the mass. In the body of the church are three altars, situate in a row, one to the blessed Virgin, and all the apostles and confessors; the next to the blessed St. Thomas, the martyr; and the other to St. Oswyn, removed once, when decayed and worn out, but renewed by the industry of the sacrist, Thomas Houghton. There is an altar before the image of the Virgin Mary (in the south wing), erected at the expence of our brother William Wyntyshall; and, during his time, very handsomely kept up, as appears in the roll of our benefactors. In the chapel of St. Andrew (near the west door) are three altars of stone; one in the middle, to the honour of St. Andrew the apostle; another to the Virgin; and the third to the holy Reginald. In the chapel of Thomas, lord abbot (c), (in the south wing,) there is an altar to the honour of the Virgin; consecrated on the day of Vincentius the martyr. Here are images of the Blessed Virgin and of Mary Magdalen, with pictures of them hung up. Here is also an altar to St. Simeon, the bishop, with his figure in the glazed window on the east side of the said chapel. In the door of the convent, leading to the cloister, is an altar to the honour of St. Cuthbert, placed by Hugo bishop of Lincoln, above called St. Hugo, in the time of the first William the abbot (of Trumpington) in honour too of John Baptist, and St. Agnes the virgin; with their images represented in the glass.

(a) Set up probably by Robert of Gorham, then abbot.

(b) Who died in 1200, and whose life is recorded in Goodwin.

(c) Now a dirty recess in the wall.

These

These altars, as to materials, were generally no other than tables made of wood (a); but they acquired a sanctity, and inspired a veneration, by being the places where the presence of God was thought more immediate and visible. For, here the devout poured forth all the thoughts of their hearts, and professed the most humble submission, and most perfect obedience, to the will of God. This manner of devotion, or communing with God, could not fail of producing good effects. But how seldom was this worship paid to the supreme Power! to God our governor, or Jesus our redeemer! and whenever it was directed to inferior beings, as it was and ever will be, where men are not taught to abstract their minds from earthly objects, this practice must lead to gross error and superstition. Small chapels, fitted up with altars, were calculated for privacy; and liable to less interruption in these solemn addresses to a superior Being; inasmuch as they give opportunity for pious reflections and all the operations of conscience. The reformers rejected these when they rejected altars, as if they were equally culpable; hoping that pews would answer the same end in public worship, and the closet in private. And indeed, with persons well instructed and rightly disposed, these latter might serve all purposes of devotion; but the generality, who are untaught, stand in need of other helps; and nothing would contribute more to fix a sense of duty, and give strength to all good motions and suggestions of conscience, than a frequent retiring from the world, and employing the mind in that solemn contemplation, which solitude in a holy place must suggest. The Papal Church relied on externals too much: the reformed rejected them too much; as if all men were as wise as themselves. If the Popish worship laid too much stress on externals, the reformers abstracted too much: whereas mankind stand in need of sundry helps, and even some sensible objects, in proportion to their spiritual understanding. And the reformed religion, as it proceeded on the foundation of better instruction, and higher mental improvements; so must it be continued, and be made to prosper, by the like means of spiritual edification. We see here six chapels; and, within and without, twenty-three altars: these were all accessible at all hours of the day and night; and were doubtless frequented by numbers of devout persons. But the worship they offered was more like the dictate of fear, than the free adoration of love and reverence. These persons were liable to great error and superstition; being taught only by a priest as ignorant as themselves, and more self-interested.

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(a) See an inventory of an altar's furniture in the Appendix, N° VII.

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The Romish Church furnished no catechism; the preaching was declamation in favour of some faint or pretended miracle; and the prayers were uttered in a tongue not understood. What progress, therefore, is likely to be made in such a church, either in learning the true faith, or in following the right practice? Altars and chapels might be made great helps to a proper devotion; but here, for want of early instruction, they served only to increase error and superstition; and subject the votaries to a base subjection, and servile fear of their spiritual guides: whereas, the reformers provided a rational worship, founded on a knowledge of divine truth.

Soon after John's election, the bishop of Lincoln made some claims of subordination and obedience on the new abbot (a); on pretence that his interference was necessary, in order to remedy some faults in the government of the monks: but John refused compliance: and, the bishop calling to him for advice, Thomas Polton, bishop of Chichester, and king's proctor in the court (b); William Chicheley, archdeacon of Canterbury, and prothonotary to the pope; William Makworth, dean of Lincoln; Peter Parwick, doctor in theology; and Rawdun Cordon, doctor of law; on consultation, the bishop made some apology, and forbore his claims; and reconciliation was made. In the second year, viz. 1422, he directed the accounts of all the cellers, both of the abbey and of all the cells, to be inspected, and audited by the respective priors; which was now thought the more necessary, because it had not been done ever since the death of John Moot. And it was now enjoined to be done yearly.

John of Amersham thought he possessed not only a genius for historic composition (for, these acts are written in very tolerable Latin) but also a talent for poetry; and at the end of every year he recites some verses alluding to the subject in prose; of this I will give one instance, as a specimen of my author's taste and skill:

Ex his jam gestis, pastores! scire potestis,
Quam pecori grata sit cum ratione quotatâ
Sarcina subsidii taliter impositi.
Non sine lite prius humeris componere pondus
Vult querulus dubium, qui juribus hoc sciat equum;
Ferre supra vires quilibet odit onus.

(a) Extracted from Cotton MS. Claud. containing the acts of John Wheathampstead during his first rule to his resignation in 1440. Compiled by John of Amersham, who was a monk here during the life of John the abbot.

(b) Perhaps of the legate, or papal officer.

In this year there came to the abbey one William Shepey; who had formerly been chaplain of honour, that is, bore the title of being chaplain to the pope; but who had wandered about the world for forty years, after flying from this monastery. He came now in great contrition, and begging to be pardoned and re-admitted: he made submission, read his recantation in public, was severely reprimanded, and re-placed. Soon after a young monk procured leave to emigrate, and settle in the Augustine Abbey at Canterbury: he was a scholar in the art of music, and therefore the more acceptable. On this, the abbot enjoined an oath to be taken by every monk for the future, that he would never depart from the monastery without licence from the abbot.

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In the third year of his rule, a synod was holden at London, for electing such bishops and others as the kingdom of England should send to the Papal Council, then about to be holden at Sienna; when eleven were appointed. The archbishop named our abbot, as the man most proper to complete the number: and, after some expressions of excuse, he consented; and prepared, with the rest, to proceed on the journey. During his absence, the prior and rulers of the house thought proper to amend some irregularities. They ordained that all the officers of the monastery should attend in the choir, and be present during the whole service. They directed, that in the vespers, on all the great festivals, the monks and officiating persons should be clothed, for the greater solemnity, in the most costly and splendid garments. Thirdly, they ordered, that, whereas it was unseemly that on Sundays, and at all times when a great concourse of people were present in the choir, any young man, or one of a weak voice, should lead the choir; now, as the chantor, or præcentor, was not obliged to lead, the sub-chantor should supply his place as far as the greater mass, and the weekly chantor should withdraw from his office of leading. Fourthly, they directed that the young men should carry themselves as became monks (*monachaliter*); not to withdraw themselves from the eye of their elders, nor pass behind the great altar, *pro illum. torticiorum*, that is, on pretence of lighting the torches; but proceed directly to the respective wax-lights, holding them in their hands until the clerks of the church shall, just before the moment of elevation, approach them with their torches: it was ordered also, that, in carrying wax-lights before the abbot, they should avoid any inclination or bending of their body; but walk upright, in order, when in a great crowd (*cum frequentia sit*), to avoid delays. Fifthly,

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it was directed that there be every day seven fingers, in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, at the mass: and never fewer than two. That, from the lands of Bigging, within the parish of Rikefmerfworth, there be allowed fifty shillings to defray the charge of wax candles, and twenty more, in masses for the dead. That, if fingers cannot be had or hired (*conduci*), the money shall go to the common chest. We injoin, also, that the master of the chapel shall have and provide for the chapel one reputable clerk, both for ministering and singing with the fingers; and the master shall cause all the surplices (a) to be washed as oft as needful. Sixthly, we ordain, that such as shall be present at the mass of the Holy Virgin, do, on the principal festivals, repair to the private chapel of St. Stephen; and, that the sub-prior do provide one guardian, or elderly person, to perform there, divine service. Seventhly, it is ordained, that the young men, whenever they are sitting in the cloister, shall put aside all other occupations, and attend to reading the Scriptures. But, whenever they meet for the purpose of conversation (*in parlamento*), that they consider our constitutions, learn our usages, and behold our observances; and be not interrupted by the resort or noise of passengers. Eighthly, it is ordained that a master be provided for the instruction of the young men; and, that he may not disdain the duty, but, that a certain pay (b) may compensate his labours, it is directed that he be paid 13s. 4d. a year. Ninthly, it is ordered that no brother do shew the treasury to any stranger or guest, whether clerk or lay, without the licence of the prior. Finally, it is directed, that, whereas the manor of Gorham, together with the increase of the woods, did yield a rent of 30l. yearly, the said sum should be applied, after allowing out of the same 5 marks for the common chest, in this manner: for providing so much wine as the convent should need, either for holy offices or for the health of the sick; and the remainder to be disposed in pittances, or small provisions, during the Lent fast, to be given to poor persons.

In the fourth year of John's election, the tenants of the town, and of all the neighbourhood, supplicated the abbot for leave to pasture their cattle in the roads and by-ways round the town; claiming a right to the pasture of the highway from Stone Crouch to Nodfash, and to Mylefash; and on Barnet-wood, and Frithwood, and Dern-

(a) *Super pellicia*, or garments with hoods of lamb-skin.

(b) *Certitudinaliter*.

well-lane; and in the whole path, leading from Oisterhill as far as Kyngesbury; then in the road leading to Hertford, as far as the end of Gonnelfwood-lane; and then, in all the ways on the east of the town, and in the road leading through the middle of Eiwood, as far as Park-street; and in another way leading from Parkstreet, by the house of John of Eiwood, and of Roger Howne, as far as Stankfeld-mill; and through one highway, leading from Faunton wood to Red Cross, through the middle of Cell barn (*orreum de Celle*). They say 'these rights have been taken from us, *minus juridice*, and we pray to have them restored.' The abbot gave answer, that, for the part they had taken in the insurrection, in the 5th year of king Richard, during the rebellion of Jack Straw, the parliament had passed an act to deprive them of all these rights: but, on condition that they or any of them would give security, not to offend again in the like manner, he would petition Parliament to restore them to the enjoyment of these rights.

In the 5th year, a contest happened between the archbishop and our abbot. The archbishop had granted a licence to some forward and enterprizing priest, to farm the tenths of all the clergy in the counties of Hertford and Buckingham: and, this man exercising his power with great violence and injustice, the abbot opposed him, and expostulated with the archbishop on his wrong proceeding. The archbishop, who was Chicheley, answered, that he meant not to infringe the rights of exemption, or derogate from their privileges, or bring on them any injury or prejudice. *Given at my inn at St. Albans, January 28, 1425.*

These ecclesiastical dues, as tenths, procurations, and synodals, were called, in the language of the church and canon law, *Reverentia-lia*. And great arrears of these happened in the course of a few years; and then a commission was issued from Rome, through the archbishop, as legate, by which he was at this time ordered to recover; and this was done by the rules of the canon law, and by process exercised by some of the church, without the least aid or intervention of the civil power. Whereas, now, and ever since the act to abolish those payments to the pope, the new law provides a method of enforcing the payment, in the same manner as any other debt due to the crown, viz. by the sheriff, &c.

In the next year, John visited the cells of Wymundham, Bynham, and Tynmouth. After special and minute enquiry into every part of their behaviour, and of their government, he required each of

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the priors to make oath of fidelity to their lord abbot, and to rule without waste or alienation of the goods or land belonging to the priory; and left some special rules and directions how to govern; and confined their oath to the observance of these; and enjoined, that every officer should, once a year, account to the prior; and the prior should come, every third year, and account in presence of the abbot.

In the seventh year, our abbot thought fit to call all his clergy to a synod, in the church of St. Peter. This seemed necessary, because he had heard, that there lurked, in the parishes and churches subordinate to him, many heretical and depraved characters; which he considered but as Sampson's foxes, with firebrands tied to their tails, who would probably do much mischief in the ecclesiastical corn-fields, and could not possibly serve to any good.

In synod assembled, which consisted of few beside the vicars, he put them in mind of their strict oath of residence, and enquired how punctual they were in the observance thereof. Being answered, he asked who were allowed and permitted to preach sometimes; and who were, in their respective parishes, suspected of heretical opinions, and possessed any books written in the vulgar tongue. Three persons of the last description were named. These were summoned to appear; and, being charged with this crime, two of them cleared themselves very well; but the third, named William Redhed, a maltman of Barnet, made full confession that he had a book written in the vulgar tongue (*idiomati*), and which he had often read, and taught others to read; but that the book did teach heresy. The abbot enjoined (though his confession might merit only a rebuke, and his crime required only advice and admonition) this sentence; that he should, once every year, for seven years, visit the martyr's tomb, and approach the same barefoot; and, passing through the middle of the choir, should offer on the great altar a wax candle, of one pound weight; that, for three days succeeding every such visit, he should pass round the church-yard, every day, in the front of a procession, stripped of all his garments; and that, at his return to the parish-church, he should approach the great altar, bearing in his hand a wax-candle, and present the same on the altar, with bended knees. As a final remission of this offence, it was enjoined him, that he should bring the said book to the Great Cross (in the church), and there, with some dry faggot wood, consume the same to ashes. It is not mentioned what subject this book contained; but it is probable that it was one

of Wycliffe's translated Bibles. The abbot dismissed the synod with ^{John VI. the} exhortations to the clergy to be aware of the Lollard heretics. And ^{33d abbot.} with tears, says John Amer sham, he uttered these words :

Quis cohibet lacrymas, quis genas non genit udas ;
Cum Lollardinam sectam plus Tigride favam
Cernit, et insanam mentem vitamque prophanam !

In the eighth year, our abbot brought to a conclusion a suit in the Arches Court, which had hung there some years, and was like to be reckoned *inter causas mortuas* ; wherein one Cheselden, the rector of Horpoll, in Lincoln diocese, had sued for a portion of tithes unjustly taken from him. The abbot entertained the judge of that court, who was Thomas Bekyngton, Dr. of Laws ; and, on his representing the delays and the injury to the rector and to this church, (which was in the abbot's patronage), the judge revived the suit, and gave sentence in favour of the rector.

In this same year, another litigation was determined. There had been a very serious dispute between abbot William, the predecessor of John, and John Knollys, a citizen of London, and lord of Myms, concerning the straying of cattle into the shrubs or wild ground of Tydenhangre (a). The predecessor of each had made it a practice to keep the stray cattle rather than derive any other advantage from them : and this had been done for some years past by turns, for one year alternately. The abbot now claimed every year's cattle, and would allow no partnership ; for, that the common, or waste, in question, was wholly in the lordship of Tydenhangre ; and put Knollys in mind, that he, the abbot, and servants of the abbey, had a right of way through the fields and inclosures of the said Knollys (b), to the manor of Northaw. And the abbot proposed to relinquish all claim of a road, or common highway, through the lands of Knollys, provided he would grant leave to the abbot to inclose that part of the common. To this Knollys assented ; and an indenture was drawn to this effect (c). This contest being happily terminated, and all demands thus settled, the abbot straight caused the ground to be cleared, and the bushes, &c. stocked up ; and on the eastern side thereof he caused a good ditch to be made, and set up a strong pale

(a) *Pro fugatione animalium in Bruerâ de Tydenb.*

(b) Who then lived where the present duke of Leeds inhabits.

(c) See Appendix, N^o VIII.

fence,

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fence, to the utter exclusion of all cattle: then he gave attention to the western side of his inclosure; and, by clearing the ground, he made it, from bearing nought but weeds, and thistles, and briers, to become very good pasture. He then considered the state of the meadows and pastures situate near to the mansion-house; and, calling to him all the tenants, who by copy of court-roll held those meadow and pasture lands, he persuaded them to give up their respective rights for a compensation; which being paid them, he made a strong fence of hedge and ditch round the same, and thus rendered the place of his abode and delight more safe and pleasant as well as more secret and private for walking; and, moreover, stocked the new inclosed land with deer (a).

In the year 1431, another contest was determined, which had perplexed the abbot and convent for many years. They had a tenant of their manors at Rickmersworth, one William Fleete; who had declined or refused to pay quit-rents, or perform the accustomed and covenanted services for some years; and who went on slighting all demands, &c. The abbot claimed homage and fealty for the manors of the Moor, Asheles, Bitwell, and Batchworth; which he asserted to be holden of him, in right of his church, by military service; and the service of paying annually to the church twenty-one shillings and six pence; that is to say, for the manor de la More, 10s. 10d. for Asheles, 7s. 4d. for Britwell, 1s. 8d. and for Batchworth, 1s. 8d. and, by the service of one Heriott, for the manor of La More, to be paid after the decease of every tenant holding the said manor; and by the service of finding for the abbot, and his successors, one nag-horse, to carry him to Timmouth, whenever he or they should visit that cell. On the other hand, William Fleete claimed to hold, as parcel of his manor of La More, one messuage, and two acres of land, with their appurtenances, in Rickmersworth, which belonged to the office of sacrist in this church. He demanded also, in lieu of 12d. paid yearly to the abbot in his view of Frankpledge, for Blakehide, in Rickmersworth, the said hide of land; and one acre of meadow in Aldeburymede, in Watford, called Blakettes, of 6s. 8d. rent; with all appurtenances issuing out of forty acres of land, and one toft, in Crokefley; and 12d. rent, issuing out of a certain parcel of meadow in Brytwell Moor; which the said William claimed against the abbot. So long ago as the 5th year of Henry VI. the parties

(a) Cotton MSS. Claud. D. I.

had

had consented and agreed to refer the matters in dispute to the judgement and decision of William Babington, knight, chief justice of the Common Pleas; who, taking with him another judge of the same court, named John Cotesmore, came down to the abbey, in the week after Trinity Sunday; and, assembling all parties and witnesses to the Chapter House, there sat in solemn form; and, after due hearing, gave judgement, and adjusted all the claims of each party; but with exceeding joy to the abbot and convent on having judgement against Fleete, and in compelling him to acknowledge homage and fealty for the four manors aforesaid. This homage Fleete was obliged to pay to the abbot, in the presence of Sir William Babington, and Thomas Ashwell, D. D. with orders to pay the aforesaid quit-rent, and other small acknowledgements on other accounts.

About this time, the abbot appointed, that a certain chest should be provided, and to be kept in the care and charge of three chosen brethren, for the reception of all odd sums and small donations. This was intended to be laid up, and to be considered as a kind of sacred deposit, not to be used or applied to any ordinary occasions. To this fund was assigned all sum or sums which any monk might possess at his death; and the tenth penny of all donations above a certain value; also 3l. 6s. 8d. from the manor of Gorham, to be paid annually by the bailiff of the same; also, all the rents and profits of the united cell of Beaulieu; the rents of all the lands of Legattes, in Walden; of Runfel, in Hexton; of Pekfitheles, in Barnet; of Squillers, in New-lane, in this town; of Butterwyk, in Sleaf; and of Harpsfield, in the lordship of Park; and the rents of a house in Aldersgate-street, belonging to one Alan Bryt. These sums were to be applied to repairs: and he ordained a new officer, for the purpose of surveying and inspecting their buildings, to be called the *master of the works*; whose duty it should be to supply and provide all materials and labour, under the direction, and by the leave and consent, of the three keepers of the chest. In the rules laid down for this master of the works, he is first charged to complete and finish four suits of copes, of white, and green, and red, for the credit of the church; and to provide all silver or gold vessels or utensils, needful for the convent; then to provide, yearly, twelve small torches, to be borne on the Feast of the Holy Communion (*Salutaris viatici*); and twelve larger torches, to be borne before the shrine of Alban, in the procession made on his day; and twelve wax-lights, to stand on the sepulchre of our Lord, on the day of his passion, and there to remain.

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In the next year, our abbot received much grief and vexation from a proceeding of William Alnwyke, bishop of Norwich, and collector of the pope's tenths. He had now demanded tenths of the prior of Bynham; and, being also keeper of the king's privy seal, he had an interest and authority that made him very potent, and, of course, very formidable. The prior refused to pay, or even to receive the collector into his cell. This enraged the great courtier, and threats followed. The abbot, being informed, took part with his prior, and justified the refusal on the score of exemption. However, the bishop would accept no apology or plea, much less any rational or legal ground of excuse on account of privilege; and sued the prior in the Exchequer. He made also the archbishop of York a party with him: and more than a year passed before any determination could be had, the bishop trying, by all possible pretence or semblance of law, to overthrow the Convention. And to this purpose the bishop, though employed by the pope, and governing himself by the laws of the church, as would be supposed, founded his pretensions and claims on the law of the land; and contended, by these means, to set aside the exemption: and John defended the exemption by the authority of the church law. Much writing passed between the parties, and much argument was delivered in court; but no determination

mination was given. And the bishop tried another method to gain his point; which was, by causing a man of Rickmersworth to be prosecuted, for defamation, in the archdeacon's court; whence he moved an appeal to the court of arches, and hoped to obtain such a sentence as should overthrow the exemption, presuming that he could govern the conscience and sentence of that judge: and, in this appeal, he had made the vicar of Rickmersworth a party, and subjected him to infinite trouble, vexation, and expence. This bishop then procured himself to be made archdeacon of the exempt monastery of St. Alban,—probably by secret influence at Rome; and, in that character, tried the defamer and his wife in his court. He then gave sentence of excommunication against the woman; and published an universal order to forbid her entrance into any church; but citing her to appear peremptorily before him, in his conventual church of St. Alban, on the 9th of December, 1433, to shew cause why more grievous penalties and censures should not be inflicted. He then procured the dean of the arches, (whose name was Lynfelde,) as vicar general to the archbishop, to excommunicate the vicar of Rickmersworth, named Henry Burwash. The first man, the defamer, had been excommunicated, and had fled. But Alnwyke procured the king's writ for his apprehension, and lodged him in Hertford goal. Here he lay a whole year; when at length he craved mercy, and was forgiven. But the bishop no more urged the question about the exemption; and thus saved his credit, as he hoped to persuade others, by taking revenge on a poor helpless wretch; in prosecuting whom, his first demands and claims were sunk quite out of sight, and lost.

The low and impoverished state of the cell of Beaulieu, situate in Bedfordshire, now called forth our abbot's attention. The number of monks therein were but four, and their yearly income was no more than 8l. on which the abbot thought of uniting this cell to the abbey, and bringing away the monks to his monastery: but, to this purpose, it was necessary to have the consent of the first founder; and this being Reginald Grey, lord Hastyns, he no sooner learned the intentions of the abbot than he consented; and the following deed was signed by him. ‘ Know, all men, by these presents, that I, ‘ Reginald de Grey, Lord of Hastyns, Weifford, and Rythin, have ‘ remitted, forgiven, and entirely, for myself and my heirs for ever, ‘ have quitted claim to the abbot of St. Alban, and the prior of ‘ Beaulieu, (a cell of the said abbey,) and their successors, all right, ‘ title,

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title, and claim, which I have or might have, in the patronage or advowson of the above-mentioned cell. So that neither I nor my heirs shall ever in future be able to require, exact, or vindicate, any right or claim in the same; but that we may be for ever shut out from all action of right, title, and claim, by these presents.

In witness of which transaction, I have affixed my seal unto these presents (a). Given at Wurst on the 12th day of May, 1435.

The abbot and convent stipulate, on their part, to solemnize an anniversary to pay for Reginald, and to set apart the 16th, 17th, and 18th, days of March, to be observed with *cum placebo et dirige*; and, on the next day, with the mass *de requie* at the great altar. And to give 20s. yearly to Reginald, as an acknowledgment to the lord.

But, before the abbot could finally complete this little work, he thought it necessary to consult the pope. And this shews, not only his prudence in guarding against the malice of enemies, but also how strong an hold the pope possessed in all ecclesiastic property and rule in this country. In the letter on this subject, the abbot says, that he had consulted the *jurisperiti*, and sought to know whether *Inconsulto pontifice Romano, prelatus ordinarius, dummodo staret cum eo etiam patronus, ecclesiam unam annectere alteri, vel unire, posset?* and promising that, out of the slender rent of 8l. a year, the pension to the young scholars at Oxford should be augmented. To all this the pope consented: but soon after a popular clamour rose against this act, saying, that it tended to overthrow religion, and exterminate devotion. And, in a short time, the king's escheator came down, and required the abbot to shew his title to the land; and obliged him to shew his title of right by giving answer in the king's exchequer: and, as nothing more is said of this suit, it is probable the escheator dropped it.

In the 17th year, our abbot had a very vexatious suit with Richard, abbot of Westminster: which, though it arose about trifling losses, yet serves to shew how much it was the custom and usage of the time, for men to seek redress of grievances from the lord of the fee, against his tenants, rather than by complaint to the civil power, and proceeding to a trial at law before a jury.

The abbot of Westminster asserted and complained, that some tenants of the abbot of St. Albans had stopped on the highway, in

(a) Writing being an art little known, and seldom acquired in these times, the testimony was given by a seal; and this accounts for the high honour, credit, and proper assurance, given to armorial bearings.

the parish of Aldenham, 28 horses, laden with malt, and travelling ^{John VI. the 33d abbot.} with the same to the convent at Westminster; and had thrown down the sacks, and damaged the goods, and injured the horses, to the damage of 100l.; that his tenants had been arrested in the town of St. Alban, and 8 horses seized, detained, impounded, starved, and injury done to the amount of 40l.; and that the tenants of abbot John, from his manor of Sandrugge, had torn down, destroyed, and carried away, sundry stakes and rails, and other boundary-posts, on the common, called No-manflond, which Richard asserted to be in their parish and manor of Whethamstead; and that his tenants had ever enjoyed there a right of common. Abbot John answered, that the horses had been stopped, and the goods distrained, because the drivers had refused to pay the accustomed toll; that he and his predecessors had ever received one penny per quarter of the buyer, and one penny of the seller; and this by the grant of Henry I. who had allowed and permitted the abbot to hold a market; and that, at No-manflond, the men of Whethamstead had been intruders and trespassers; for, that the place was in the parish of Sandrugge, and in the manor there belonging to St. Alban. These reasons gave no satisfaction to Richard, and he threatened a suit at law against the offenders: on which John brought an action in the Common Pleas, in vindication of his right to toll.

The next spring and summer proved so injurious to the crops of corn that a famine was apprehended, and the price rose very high; and the common food of bread was made of beans, peas, barley, and oats. The abbot had suffered also great expences in their manor of Burston and of Radwell. And these circumstances induced John to stop here, and urge the suit no farther; and thus it stood, ready to be prosecuted, in case the tenants of Westminster would not comply to the demand of toll. John resigned in 1440; but he renewed not this suit, though his tenants were still vexed, as will be seen in the sequel.

Many donations of lands had been made in late years to the abbey by pious persons, such as Newlane, consisting of 1 messuage, 3 tofts, 169 acres, and 10s. 3d. rent in money; and lying in Childwyk, Park, Sandrugge, and this town; by John Bernwell, Edmund Westby, and Matthew Bepfer; the estate of Squillers, containing 120 acres, situate in this town and in Childwyk; the manor of Betturwyk; the manor of Legattes, in Walden; and of Haunselles, in Hexton. But, by reason of the statute of Mortmain, the gift could not be completed, nor could a good title be made by the receiver; for, the

John VI. the king's escheator was always watchful and ready to take advantage of ^{33d abbot.} these sham conveyances; and, by thus recovering for the Crown, (for, all such estates were forfeited, and he could at pleasure call any man to prove his title,) he not only made a good profit for himself, but derived credit to the crown by defending its privileges. How then could our abbot avail himself of these pious donations? He suffered them to be forfeited, and seized by the escheator; and begged them as a donation from the king; and now, in the 18th year, he got the royal grants of all these estates; and the deeds were executed in the presence of Sir William Babyngton, chief justice of the Common Pleas; Sir John Crossy, knight; John Hotoft; Thomas Frowyk (a), Esq. and many others assembled for this purpose. And the king's grants conclude in these words, *Statuto, de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, non obstante. Teste meipso.* The abbot thought himself not safe, although he had obtained the above grants, (by his interest probably with the duke of Gloucester, then protector,) and therefore he besought the king to grant him a full pardon. This pardon was granted in the Parliament then sitting;

(a) This was a family of great repute for many years; and had their dwelling at the Old Fold, in the parish of South Mymms, and opposite to Hadley. The first of the name whom I find mentioned is as early as the reign of Henry III. when the frier minors were settling in Newgate-street, and the citizens were building their church, &c. The conduit was built at the charge of Henry Frowyk and Henry Basynges, knight.

The next who is mentioned was Thomas de Frowyk (*MS. in lib. Ben. Col.*), clerk of the market at Barnet (and probably seneschal and steward of the manor) in the time of Thomas de la Mare, anno 31 Edward III. and an inquisition taken before him apud Chepyng Barnet.

There are more of them mentioned in the reign of Henry VI. as witnesses and arbitrators between John Whethampstead, and Thomas Knollys, of North Mymms, son of Robert Knollys. A daughter of the said Robert was married to Henry Frowyk, in Richard the IInd's time; and their daughter was married to John Coningsby, and brought the Mymms estate to the family of Coningsby. Thomas Frowyk, son of Henry, was called to the degree of serjeant at law in the time of Henry VII. and in the 21st of Henry VII. was chief justice of the King's Bench.

In the time of Henry VIII. the family of Frowyk were still in repute and high rank in South Mymms, Henry Frowyk having built one of the windows of that church, in 1526, as appears by the painted glass in the window, wherein is represented this man, his wife, and children, kneeling; and this inscription, *This made Henry Frowyk, 1526.* He was buried in this church; with a character, &c. in Latin.

In the time of Henry V. Henry Frowyk possessed the manor of William, lived there, and married Anne, the daughter of Robert Knollys, of North Mymms, as above.

In 1589 Henry Frowyk was made steward of the new corporation; and, in 1600, Henry Frowyk represented this town in Parliament. See a Pedigree in Chauncey.

and

and probably could not be granted without the consent of Lords and Commons. But John certainly meant not to be pardoned in so many crimes as are herein mentioned; and it hurt him more to be pardoned for great crimes, and such as he was conscious he had not committed, than to have stood condemned, or accused at least, of some small ones. However, the pardon must be received, as he had sought it; and the tenor of it ran thus: 'We have pardoned unto the said John, ' abbot of St. Alban, the suit of our peace, which belongs unto us, ' against him, for all treasons, murders, rapes, rebellions, insurrections, felonies, conspiracies; and other transgressions, offences, ' negligences, extorsions, misprisions, ignorances, contempts, concealments, and deceptions, by him in any wise perpetrated before ' the 2nd of September, in the 20th year of our reign; and also any ' outlawry that shall have been published against him on these occasions. Provided, nevertheless, the said abbot appears not to be ' conversant in the mystery of coining, nor be a multiplier of coinage, nor a washer of gold and silver, nor a clipper of our money, ' nor a common approver, nor a notorious thief, nor a felon who had ' abjured the realm. But so, that he stand *rectus in curia nostra*, if ' any one should question him in the premises.'

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The abbot had also received, in 1425, as a legacy from one Alan Bret, in London, a malthouse and mill, situate in Aldersgate-street. The manor of Harpsfield had been seized by the escheator, on the death of John Harpsfield the father, and the infirmity of the son, who was an idiot; and, in this case, the king was heir (a). But, in the 8th year of his reign, he had ordered his escheator to release and set at liberty his escheat, and surrender the same to the abbot; to whom, as lord, the said manor had and did belong. It is described as containing one hide and 43 acres of land. This latter part was called le Braches.

He had received also an estate in Barnet, that had belonged to John Pekefythell, in the 10th of this king's reign; and he had lately obtained the king's grant of this estate, to the utter exclusion of the heir and all the relations.

In the 16th of Henry, the abbot had obtained the manor of Burston, by procuring the king to give licence to Sir John Ffray, chief baron of the Exchequer, to concede and grant this manor of Burston to the abbot and convent of St. Alban for ever.

(a) *Ratione fatuitatis et idiocie.*

This

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This manor was held of this church by the said baron, and now he was prevailed on by the king to give it back, and relinquish all right and title therein, provided it did not exceed 20 marks in value per annum, above reprisals; and the consideration, on the abbot's part, was, that prayer should be made for the good health of the king during his life, and for his soul after death! and also for the support of certain spiritual burdens and duties, for the souls of the said Ffray, his parents, and friends. And the grant concludes that this shall be done, *statuto de terris et tenementis ad mortuam manum non obstante; and provided that, when our escheator shall make inquisition in that county, it shall be accounted and deemed, that the said manor is not held immediately of us.* Witness ourself at Eltham, December 20, 16 regni.

In the 17th of Henry, our abbot obtained the manor of Radwell, by the like interest with the king, and of the same baron, Sir John Ffray. This manor is said, in the grant, to contain 3 messuages, 260 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, and 1 acre of pasture; and to be holden of John Barre, Esq. by fealty and service of paying to him 2s. 11d. yearly. The said Ffray grants also at the same time 13 acres lying in Norton, and holden of this abbey; 'the value of the said manor with the messuages, and all the said lands, not exceeding 15l. a year, as it was found on the inquisition of our escheator, Nicholas Morley, and returned so to our chancery.' These grants were made on the like conditions of prayer, &c. as if such holy services could not have been performed for Ffray, and others, unless he surrendered his lease; and not for the king, unless some of his subjects purchased them at their private costs.

These grants and liberalities to the abbot had been effected by the favour of Humphry, duke of Gloucester, and his secret influence with the king, his council, and parliament. But the abbey bore more ostensible marks of the said duke's generosity to John; for, in the course of a few years past, he had given many very costly vestments for the use of the choir; as a frontal, or large hanging, to be suspended over the altar; and another frontal, to be hung lower, having its field of gold, with divers images and very precious pearls interwoven. There was also one complete suit, or apparatus, for the priest, the deacon, and the sub-deacon; likewise one upper frontal of a gold field, in which was interwoven the history of the Holy Ghost, with images of divers saints; also one large hood, of a golden field, in which is interwoven the history of Christ's Baptism, attended by many of the saints. There was also another complete suit for the priest,

priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, with five hoods belonging to it of tissue cloth, of red crimson velvet; all which had gold fringe interwoven with embroidery. There was also a complete suit for the priest, of the white cloth of satin, interwoven with the sun and roses, and powdered with figures (a) and embroidery.

John VI. the
33d abbot.

The bishop of Lichfield, William Heyworth, who had been John's predecessor in the abbatic chair, had given to this church divers books; as one large missale, beginning in the 2d page, *aquæ dignanter*; and ending in the last page with *secula seculorum, amen*; to lie in such part of the church as had the greatest resort of strangers and of neighbours. He gave also a large portable missale (b); and 10 hoods, a chasuble, and tunics.

The duchess of Clarence, named Margaret, and who was one of the pious sisters at Sopwell, had given two thuribles, for burning incense and perfumes; and one complete suit for the altar, so large, that it should be able *adornare tam subtus quam infra satis honorifice*. This was accompanied with 1 chasuble, and 3 hoods, and two tunics for the dress of the priest. John Cornwaille also, lord of Wauchope, had given one chasuble of a gold cloth, with a strong green ground, and having a gold fringe; also 2 tunics, in which the priests used to stand at the altar, and 3 hoods for the fingers in the choir. These donations were always accompanied with a deed in form, (signed by the donor, and attested,) signifying the articles of his benevolence, and the reasons moving him thereunto. And Cornwaille says, 'that out of the mammon of plunder which he had taken in the war, and by violence, from our enemies, he presented these things for the ornament of our churches;' and dates his gift at his manor of Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, September 4, 1430. And in 1431, the Lady Anna Tirell, of Stokebrewern in Suffex, gave a golden cup, enriched on the foot with various gems and pearls; praying, in the grant, that such a 'sacrifice may be made in the same (being intended for the Eucharist) as may be acceptable to the holy abbot, and obtain for her remission of all her sins.'

Our abbot had expended much money in repairs and decorations of the abbey, beside the necessary buildings to be erected or repaired on the estates of the abbey. And his historian recounts, in the 19th year of his rule, many of his principal works, as follows. He had laid out, in beautifying and new-painting the Virgin's Chapel, above

(a) Opere plumario.

(b) Portiforium.

John VI. the
33d abbot.

40l. In the church, and near the shrine, he erected a small chapel, (the same in which he was afterwards buried,) and fitted up the same for the celebration of the mass; and herein he expended, as it is said, above 74l. In the west end of the choir he set up a kind of wooden gallery for the reading of the gospel; and this cost above 73l. In the choir also he erected 4 steps; and raised the ground above, and where the altar stood and the shrine; and this cost above 20l. In writing books for the antiphonars, during his time, he expended 4l. He provided also a new set of organs (a), which cost 17l. At the west end of the church he caused a certain stone window to be cut out from the north side, and to be carried away, and the place to be walled up; and this cost 27l. And, that this church might stand at the right hand of her spouse, like a queen in a vesture of gold, he had expended, in hoods and chasubles, in basons, cups, and thuribles, in a mitre and staff, and various other ornaments, above 640l. He caused great repairs and new works in the glasing, and this to the amount of 10l. He built the infirmary *de novo*, and repaired the chapel adjoining; and these works had cost 564l. He built also that handsome chamber which extends from the said chapel to the passage leading from the kitchen to the prior's chamber; and in this work expended 300l. In the refectory, and in the clock-house, he expended, in plates, cups, (whereof one was myrrhine,) and in salts, and spoons (b), 26l. In new covers for the beds he had expended 5 marks. In improving the chamber between the chapel and the hall, and amending the paved walk from that chamber to the hall, in enlarging the abbot's study, in better securing the wardrobe, and in widening the inner court, he had expended above 126l. And, in furnishing the said wardrobe (which was only a store-room), he had expended 100l. in basons, cups, ewers, boiling-pots, porringers, and plates. And, for the use of the abbot's private chapel, he had provided one pontific habit; which had cost 7 marks. Beside this, he had repaired the stone gate opposite the great cross; and built 6 houses in the vintry, and 3 more opposite the great gate, or goal, and 3 more in Fishpool-street; and this had cost 565l. He built also 2 barns, and 1 pigeon-house, at Wynflow; a third new barn, and a large house for laying up malt, he built at Newnham; a fourth new barn and a stable he built at Legattes; a fifth barn he built at St. Machates; a new barn (the 6th), and a cow-house, he built at Harps-

(a) Par organorum.

(b) Cochlearia.

field ;

field; and a 7th new barn he built at Squillers. In these and other repairs at Tydenhangre, Threhowfes, Radewell, and Rickmersworth, he expended 580l. In London he had repaired their hostle, and also the building in Aldersgate-street; and this had cost 85l. At Oxford he had built a library, and erected a chapel for the use of the young monks there in their studies, and also enclosed their garden: and this had cost 108l.

John VI. the
33d abbot.

The abbot and all his predecessors, had kept the vicarage house at Redburn for the dwelling of the priest who officiated there; though it is uncertain at what former time that vicarage was constituted and endowed. But they had made the same a place of resort for sick monks, to receive the benefit of ease and fresh air. And it was now ordained, by John, that four monks should always be dwelling here; and be attended by two priests who could chant (a); that the four should take it by turns, and be relieved by other four; and so give a respite (such as it was) to the whole choir. Their duty was, to do more ample honour to Amphibal, by celebrating a degree of choir service every day to his memory. It was appointed, that these four should be allowed for their week's service, and to purchase provisions, &c. the sum of 9s. for their common table, to be paid by the master of the works, who probably lived at Redburn, and had lately repaired the church. And the two priests were unlimited in their salary; and to be paid by the usual allowance given to travelling members.

When the men of Wheathamstede committed the trespasss aforementioned on No-Mans-Land, and the steward and servants of the abbey remonstrated against the deed, the aggressors still persisted in the justness of the fact; and, in justifying themselves in the outrage, they threatened to do the like; and still asserted the place to be comprehended within the limits of their parish and their manor. And moreover, the abbot of Westminster ordered the servants of John to be indicted in the court of the Marshalsea; and, in June 1442, (the 20th of John's rule,) the cause came to be heard before William earl of Suffolk, steward of the king's household; and John duke of Norfolk, marshal of the same household. It was adjourned to Ware; and, on June 28, a jury gave verdict for the defendants; and said, that neither Robert Bellamy, nor Matthew Bepset, (who had pulled up or cut down the stakes, and carried them away,) were in any re-

(a) Bene cantantes clericos.

John VI. the
33d abbot.

spect culpable; and that the stakes were not of the value of 2s. as laid in the record. But neither judge nor jury presumed to say in which parish the land lay, and who had a right to fix stakes and boundary-marks. And the same name it formerly had was now more justly continued; although the lord of Whethampstede might have brought that question to a determination, had he so pleased. But he did not vindicate his pretended right to the land, by pleading that it lay within the bounds of his manor, and was part and parcel thereof; but by asserting his right to fix bounds between the 2 manors, and to destroy all such marks as any other might judge to be just and true.

While this suit was depending, the abbot thought that he might possibly be able to repel all the darts and arrows, which malice and envy had often shot against him, by procuring a renewal of the grant, or charter, which constituted the liberty, and made him the hundreder, and his seneschal the judge, and his abbey intitled to the fines and forfeitures. And this grant he got renewed, with all the powers contained therein, which Henry I. had granted to abbot Geoffry. And the same is inserted at length by Amersham, in a MS. marked Cotton—Claud. D. I.

He had now ruled the abbey 20 years; and began to think of resigning this high office, induced by divers considerations. He first complained of ill health, and a worn out constitution: he found also, that these frequent litigations had constantly given him immense care and fear; and, though successful, he had suffered great expence, and had ever considered a law-suit as a matter of mere chance, and its issue to be among the sports of fortune. He found himself also the pointed object of envy; and, perhaps, his great friend at court, the protector, had lost somewhat of his popularity, and might decline in power. He resolved therefore to resign the rule of this abbey: when he signified his intentions to the officers and brethren, they used many arguments to dissuade him; but he had formed his resolution, and still deemed it prudent; and, on the 26th of November, 1440, signed a paper to that effect, in presence of a certain clerk, named Matthew Bepfet, and the other officers of the house.

That the interest of the duke of Gloucester was declining at court is abundantly proved by the history of those times: for, in this year of 1440, it appears, that the unnatural enmity of his uncle, the bishop cardinal, was able to prevail against him in the king's council; and he procured the release of the duke of Orleans, (who had been made prisoner at Agincourt, and confined in England ever since,) against

the

the advice and remonstrance of duke Humphry. From the same source of enmity sprang a charge and prosecution of the duchess in 1441; wherein she was accused of using sorcery and witchcraft, to shorten the king's life, and thus make way for the duke's advancement to the throne. She could not be convicted of this species of high treason; but was sentenced to undergo certain penances in St. Paul's church: and some of her pretended accomplices were really put to death. History says, that the duchess was examined on this charge by some of the bishops (who were deemed the best judges of witchcraft) in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster.

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33d abbot.

In proportion as the duke's interest declined, that of the bishop advanced with both king and council; insomuch, that the council was filled with the creatures of the latter. Then was introduced William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, at the recommendation of the bishop: and this man secretly negotiated the marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou; the daughter of a mere titular prince, without territory, court, or revenue. But one condition of the match was, that Henry should yield up to the French king the whole county of Maine; which had ever been considered as a barrier of security to Normandy. Gloucester opposed this ignominious alliance, but to no purpose; for, the cardinal and council carried the same into effect; and the young queen came over, in 1445. This addition to the cardinal's interest enabled him and Suffolk to determine to get rid of the duke; and, in the year 1447, he was charged with high treason, in conspiring the king's death, in order to seize the crown: but, instead of a trial, he was found, next morning, dead in his bed. This happened in the abbey at St. Edmundsbury, where the court had chosen to assemble, as in a more private place than at London. The nation clamoured: but the power of the great defied the complaints and the justice of man. However, Providence seems to have revenged his death, in that utter ruin which fell on the king, queen, and all the nobility: for, Gloucester being dead, the people cast their eye on the duke of York, as being the next legitimate heir; spoke of his merit and ability; asserted his right; and thus raised up a terrible enemy, and a most destructive civil war.

This beginning of troubles was well discerned by our abbot. And he had reason to think, that the duke's foes would carry their malice to the injury and ruin of his friends: and, as he manifestly shared in that benevolence and goodness which the duke bore to all good men, he feared he should be exposed to that same virulence which had

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trampled on him. It was therefore very prudent to retire, like the yielding bull-rush, from the fury of the approaching storm. And, descending to the condition of a private monk, he saw with deep regret and indignation, (though with safety to himself,) the storm I have described break on the head, and overwhelm the life, of his dearest friend, lord, and benefactor.

JOHN STROKE.

John VII. the
34th abbot.

The successor whom the convent chose in his room was John Stoke, prior of Wallingford, of whom not a line of regular history remains, nor I believe was written; although they had in their company many men, at this time, of competent learning, beside Wallingham, who was the historiographer. But, as nothing good or praiseworthy could be said of him, they probably forbore to record any thing. And by the choice of this man, who was the very reverse of Wheathampstead, I think they meant to shield themselves from the like envy and odium which his virtues had excited. If he had with courage recovered their rights, and baffled the power and usurpations of the great, and had given the world an idea of strength and pre-eminence in this church, they thought it prudent to check that rising opinion; and, instead of greatness, to appear low and depressed; and, in these days of danger, forbear to have an active head and leader.

It is possible that the prudence of Wheathampstead might suggest counsel of this sort: and they could not have found a man more fit and proper for this silent and quiet conduct; for, Stoke had seen nothing of the world, nor been in the least degree conversant in its business, but had passed his days in the rule of a small priory. He was, therefore, not only without experience, but without inclination or capacity, for the business of ruling and exercising high authority. He seems to have had no crimes or evil propensities; but his indolence, or ill judgement, or submissive behaviour to the officers whom he found here, seem to be the source of his ill government. We are
in-

informed of all this by what appears in the second rule of Wheat-^{John VII. the} hampstead when he strove to rectify these irregularities, rather than by ^{34th abbot} any specific charge brought against Stoke. He suffered the officers to defraud, cheat, embezzle, contract debts; and, by his negligence, the cells were ready to cast off all allegiance; and this did actually happen at Wymondham: all discipline was at an end, and the monks ran away. He threw all concern and care of management on the arch-deacon, as thinking him the most at leisure, and of high authority, to govern all the rest, and oversee their conduct: this was William Wallingford, who came afterward to be abbot; and this man Stoke called his official general, a new title when applied to secular concerns.

One of the principal events of John Stoke's time was the death and burial of Humphry, duke of Gloucester, in 1447. And that he was interred in this church, the following is a full proof, being an account of their yearly charge, and dated 1450 (a).

' In this schedule be contained the charges and observances appointed by the noble prince Humphry, late duke of Gloucester, to be perpetually borne by the abbot and convent of the monasterie of St. Alban. First, the abbot and convent of the said monasterie have paid for making the tombe and sepulture of the said duke, within the said monasterie, above the sum of 433l. 6s. 8d.

' Item, to 2 monks priests daily serving messe at the auter of sepulture of the said prince, everich of them taken by the day 6 pence; sum thereof by the hole yere, 18l. 5s. 0d.

' Item, to the abbot there, yerely, the day of anniversary of the said prince, attending his exequies, 10l. 0s. 0d.

' Item, to the prior there, yearly, attending the same day in lykewyse, 10l.

' Item, to 40 monks priests yerely, the said day, to everich of them the same day, 6s. 8d. Sum thereof, 13l. 6s. 8d.

' Item, to 122 monks, not priests, the said day yerely, to everich of them, 3s. 4d. Sum, 20l. 6s. 8.

' Item, to the autresses at St. Peter Church, and St. Michael, the said day, yerely, to everich, 20s.

' Item, in money to be distribute to pore people there, the said day, 40s.

' Item, to 13 pore men, beryng torches about the sepulture, the same day, 2s. 2d.

(a) Vide Cott. MS. Claud. 8.

' Item,

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‘ Item, for wax brennyng daily at his masses, and his said ———
and of torches yerely, 6l. 13s. 4d.

‘ Item, to the kechyn of the convent there yerely, in relief of the
‘ grete decay of the livelode of the said monasterie in the marches of
‘ of Scotland, which before time hath be appointed to the said
‘ kechyn, 6ol.’

JOHN OF WHEATHAMPSTEAD re-chosen (a).

John VI. re-
chosen.

John the VIIth (Stoke) died in 1451, and was buried in a very honourable manner on the north side of the presbytery. Some proposed William Albon, the prior, as a man of letters, and of civilized manners, and hospitable. Others proposed William Wallingford, as being a man who had served all the great offices, as burfar, cellarer, and forester; and was then archdeacon. On application to the king for leave to elect, they obtained the same; and the 17th of January was appointed, and the following persons were then present, in chapter:

William Albon, *prior and doctor in decretis.*

John Whethampstead, *sac. pagine professor.*

John Peyton, *doctor in decretis, and prior of Wallingford.*

Robert Ware.

William Dunstaple.

Robert Baener.

Peter Waleys.

Thomas Sudbury.

Robert Dunsbey, *coquinarius.*

(a) This History of John's second rule is chiefly extracted from a book, called *Regist. Rob. Blakeney. Capellanus dom. Tho. Ramridge*, in the library of the heralds office; which begins thus,

Hic prælaturæ Whethamstede pauca secundæ,
More registrantis, scribuntur gesta Johannis.

Nicholas

Nicholas Bonde.
 Thomas Westwode, *prior of Redburne*.
 William Wellys, *third prior*.
 Nicholas Wellys, *prior of Bynham*.
 John Wellys, *prior of Hertford*.
 William Bywell, *sub-prior*.
 Nicholas Geywode, *custos feretri*.
 Gregory Wynwyk, *prior of Hatfield*.
 Richard Ruffill, *almoner (eleemosyn)*.
 John Wylly, *sacrist*.
 Robert Crofton.
 John Langton, *prior of Tinnmouth*,
 Richard Waltham, *sub-resectionarius*.
 Rowland Breton.
 William Blakeney.
 Thomas Inton, *præcentor*.
 John Eyton.
 Thomas Blakenale.
 Thomas Albon, *custos novæ ordinationis*.
 Thomas Wallingford, *sub-eleemosyn*.
 Richard Halle, *prior of Beavoir*.
 William Wallingford, *arch-deacon*.
 William Goodreed, *primus scrutator*.
 Thomas Sygare, *custos capellæ Beat. Mariæ*.
 Thomas Walden, *afterward prior of Hertford*.
 Nicholas Litchfield, *secundus scrutator*.
 William Shrovelsbury, *sub-infirmarius*.
 John Hatfield.
 Geoffry Louth.
 John Werter, *sub-cellerarius*.
 Thomas Wareyn, *sub-sacrist*.
 William Newnham, *tertius scrutator*.
 William Hardewyke.
 Thomas Newland, *sub-cantor*.
 William Lychfield.
 Thomas Roos.
 John Dunmow.
 Richard Whyttyngton.
 William Barnet.
 Geoffrey Wyntyr.

Roger

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Roger Torporley.

John Torporley.

William Dixwell, *afterward prior of Hertford.*

Humph. Curteys.

54. John Ponbury, *in sac. ordinibus.*

Nicholas Bond being sick and languishing in the infirmary, Robert Kent, *notarius in causa*, was sent to ask his vote; and *Veni Creator* was sung. Robert Kent proclaimed at the door, 'If any other prior or monk hath a right to vote, let him come forth:' and the prior denounced excommunication on any present who had no right to vote. The king's letters patent were read; then John Peyton, *doctor in decretis*, read a law made in some general council relative to the election of abbots, '*Quia propter per eundem Joannem expositionem cum variis unius electionis satis dilucidè declarata.*' This being finished, William Albon rose, and said aloud, '*I William Albon, prior and prepositor of this monastery, do name, elect, and proclaim, John of Whethampstead, doctor in theology, to be the father, pastor, and abbot, of this church.*' No voice followed, either to second the nomination or to contradict; on which, the chantor proposed to begin the *Te Deum* for such quick dispatch. But the doctors present, namely, John Stokes, and Robert Stillington, *doct. in jure civili*, having the management of the election, would not allow this; and ordered a notary, then present, to go round and ask each one singly: and, when they had all answered, with one voice, John of Wheathampstead, the two doctors ordered the præcentor then to begin the *Te Deum*. He rose and began; and then the prior Albon, and Langton, prior of Timmouth, approached to the elect; and, taking his hand, led him through the cloister into the choir, and to the great altar; the rest of the convent following. He remained on his knees until the *Te Deum* was finished; when Albon directed him to rise and turn his face toward the choir, that the people might behold him: on which, John Hatfield proclaimed his election. The convent returned to the chapter-house; and John to his chamber, near the infirmary. Albon, Langton, and Wallingford, remained in the Chapter-house; and sent, according to custom, two proctors, to wait on him to receive his consent: the form of which is this following.

'In Dei nomine, amen. Ego frater Johannes Whethampstede, monachus monast. sanc. Albani, Lincoln. dioc. sedi apostolicæ immèd. subjecti, in abbatem ejusd. monast. canonicè electus; et ad consentiendum electioni de me factæ et celebratæ per partem prioris et conventus ejusd. sepius
et

' et instantius requisitus ; elect. hujusmodi de me factæ et celebr. in ho- John VI. re-
 ' norem Sanct. Trin. Gloriosæ Virg. Mariæ, et St. Alban. In cujus honore chofen.
 ' dict. monast. extitit dedic. consentio et consensum meum præbeo in his
 ' superscriptis. Acta sunt hæc omnia et singula prout supra scrib. et
 ' recit. sub anno Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo, quinquagesimo
 ' primo. Indictione quinta decima ; pontif. sanctissimi in Christo pa-
 ' tris et dom. nostri dom. Nicolai div. provid. sub hoc nomine Papæ
 ' Quinti præsentibus test. prædictis. In quorum omnium testim. et fidem
 ' nos prior dictus et convent. monast. Sancti Albani prædicti hiis præ-
 ' sentibus litteris hanc in se firmam electionis continentibus sigillum
 ' nost. comm. apposuimus.

' Dat. in mon. nostro de San. Alb. quoad fig. nostri appensionem,
 ' octavo die mensis Maii anno dom. sup'dicto.

John went to London, to be presented to the king, and to swear fealty : but a question arose, in the king's presence, whether taking this oath was necessary ; those in the negative opinion said, that the second nuptial bed was not blessed as the first ; those in the affirmative said, that the benediction of the abbot, which always followed the oath, could not be given without the oath. On this the elect referred the question to all the doctors of the court of arches : their books determined that the benediction need not be repeated. And he retired to his country house, where the abbots used to live in the time of vacation ; and, when the day of his installation came, he rode on horseback, and came to the west door of the church, where he was received with a procession, and led to the choir : and there he returned thanks.

The prior, &c. informed him, there were three things that wanted amendment ; namely, the teaching the young men in the cloisters, the number of brethren *in studio*, and preaching the word of God by the brethren in pulpits. The next Lent, he ordered a brother to preach every Sunday, *semotis extraneis* ; for, there was no one sufficiently learned to instruct them in grammaticals, and scarce any brother, who was willing to declare, or preach, the word of God before the people : and he ordered the company of scholars to be augmented to four times the number.

On enquiring into the state of the abbey's finances, he was informed by the steward (or cellarer) that the gifts of the late duke of Gloucester, of vestments and trinkets, had not come to hand ; and it was feared they would be irrecoverable : as the king, or the barons of the exchequer, in his name, had decreed those goods, &c. to Eton and

John VI. re-
chosen.

Cambridge; but a recompense had been required; and the two under-mentioned, granted by Henry himself, were quoted and referred to on the occasion. The first charter, after reciting the grants made by Henry I. to abbot Geoffrey, of civil powers, viz. focam et facam, oustroude et streame, onwod et feld, tol, et them, et Gritbruthe, Hamfethe, Murdre, Forestall, Danegeld, Infangentheof, Utsfangentheof, Flemenefrenith, Blodewit, Wrec, proceeds thus, et pro redem. animæ omnes lib. et liberas consuetud. quas regia potestas alicui eccles. conferre potest. omnia bona et catalla ad opus et proficium abbat. et conv. ut idem abb. et con. habeant omnes fines pro transgress. oppression. extortion. deception. conspirat. concelamentis, begratariis, forestallariis, manutenenciis, ambidextris, falsitatibus, escapiis felonum, et aliis delictis et misprisionibus, necnon omnimoda amercimenta.

This is a renewal of the charter granted by Henry I. and was re-granted by Henry VI. at his mansion at Kenyngton, the 30th of April, in the 18th year of his reign, 1440.

The second is the charter of Henry VI. to John Stoke, and granted in the 26th year. Concessimus in perpetuum, quod ipsi et succes. sui habeant cognitionem omnium placit. terrarum et tenementorum infra villas suas de san. Allbano, Bernet, Watford, necnon hundredum de Caysho in comit. Hertfordiæ.

Et coram seneschallo ejus abbatis—vel ut alibi infra libertatem præd. prout et eis. plac. et ne aliquis minister ingrediantur seu seneschall. nec mareschal.

Concessimus etiam eidem abb. justiciarios infra villas et lib. facere ad pacem conservand. et ad omnimodas felonum transg. seneschallus exequatur omnia prout vicecomes aliquis regni nostri. Abb. concessimus assizas panis et mensuras et pondera vini, casei et omnis victus.

Then follows a clause declaring the tenants to be free from the king's purveyor.

Testibus, John, archbishop of Canterbury, cancellario nostro. Marmaduke (Lumley) bishop of Carlisle lord treasurer. Adam, bishop of Chichester, custode sigilli privati. Rich. duce de York, and Hump. duce de Buckingham; Sir Ralph Cromwell, and Sir John Stourton, thesaurario hospitii nostri. Dat. ad Westmon. an. 26^o regn.

In the 19th year of the reign of Henry VI. he gave to Humphrey the priory of Pembroke, together with the manor; and, in the 21st year of Henry VI. 1443, the duke gave these, together with the church of Tenby and Manerbier, to the abbey; and, in the 27th year

year of his reign, (after the death of Humphrey), Henry granted the ^{John VI. re-} abbey an exemption of all the tenths to be paid for those churches, ^{chosen.} in consideration, *that we, says the king, are indebted to the abbot in 600l. and this grant of 20l. a year, the value of the churches, is to be considered as full satisfaction for the vestments and goods given by duke Humphry.*

By these grants, it appears how great the duke's favour was to this church, even after the resignation of John in 1440; and that he intended to make this endowment, as a recompence for the prayers and charges, to be made by the monks after his decease. And, as all the valuable goods, as movables, were intercepted, it is a proof how strong and prevalent his enemies were, even after his death; and how supine a defender John Stoke was of the abbey's rights. But neither of these charters or grants availed them a tittle; and the new-elected abbot, who had seen the course of things since his resignation, was forced to submit to the power of new counsellors, and to see these valuables pass to the king's new foundation at Cambridge; and to undergo a mortifying insult in an act of grace, in 1452, as if this church, by its favour to Humphry, had been guilty of some great crime.

An end being put to this contest by a decree of the barons of the Exchequer, the author breaks out into these words, 'Laud. Christianis. principi domino regi Hen. sexto, cujus graciosis litteris anima abbatis sicut passer erepta est de laqueo baronum venantium; laqueus quoque contritus, ac ipse graciosè liberatus.

' Inter cuncta loca quæ litis sunt vocitata,
' Est scacci camera sine spe veniæ reputata.

Edward, the great-grandfather of Henry, granted, in the 29th year of his reign, liberty to hold at the vacancy for 1000 marks; and, in the 4th year of this reign, it was renewed, at the instance of John de la Mare, a descendant from Thomas the abbot.

In the 30th year of his reign, Henry VI. granted to John, and the abbey, and members thereof, an act of grace, or pardon, for misdeeds by them committed; and here ends the first year of John Whethampstead's restoration.

John Swanburne's land, in and near the town, was seized by the abbot, on the death of a young man of that name; on which came one Thomas Barrington, and demanded restitution, and proved his re-

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ation to the deceased. After some contest, Barrington, (who was of Hatfield Brodoke, of Essex, Esq.) consented to take a yearly rent of 60s. and one gown. And, in the acquittance or release, Thomas describes the house as situate in the street, called Hakwell-street, between the tenement, called Stonehall, and the tenement of Thomas Heynes, called the Bell; with many other tenements. Then the crofts are described, one as lying near the road leading to Hatfield, and one end near to Smallford; another, as belonging to the manor of Newlane, abutting on a field called Comyn Field, and in another part on Eylgrove; another, as belonging to the manor of Bankeworth; and another, to the manor of Sandrugge; another, of five acres, as lying in the field, called Gylefield; three acres lying in Borughfelde; from all which, he says, we exclude ourselves for ever.

Testibus William Laken, seneschal abbatis et conven. Henry Frowyk, Thomas Broket, Barthol. Halley, Edm. Westby hundredario. Anno 31^o regni.

John Stoke was supposed to have died very rich, and affluent in money, stock, and provisions, laid up for the monastery; because he had seen many very plentiful years, so that wheat sold in the market for 4 shillings per quarter, and barley at 30 pence; and, next, because he had committed great waste of the woods; then, because he had been very frugal and saving; and, lastly, because he had been, for several years, the receiver of the whole rent and profits of the manor of Pembroke, or at least of one half; which moiety amounted at least to fifty pounds a year. He confessed also, before the prior, the archdeacon, and the sacrist and almoner, that he had in his hands one thousand marks. One year and a half after his decease, it was thought proper to look into the accompts, and state of the monastery. And the abbot and principal monks called before them that monk (a), who had had chief rule under the late abbot; and he brought the accounts; in which it appeared, that in the chamberlain's office there were so many debtors, that the arrears would fall short 50l. In the office of sub-steward, the demand exceeded the arrears thirty pounds; in the office of bursar the creditors were numerous, yet there were arrears to the amount of 100l. to satisfy them. But that no money was to be found in the treasury; and no corn, or at least a very little, in the granary, for the future support during the approaching year.

(a) My author does not name him; but it was William Wallingford, the archdeacon.

And that, in the other two offices, viz. of the head steward and of the forester, (offices of less charge and of very slender receipt,) they seemed not worthy to be noted. By all which it appears, says my author, what was the good effect and issue of all that high talk which prevailed at the death of John Stoke. John VI. re-
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This state appeared extraordinary after the 11 years of fertility, during the rule of Stoke: and it appeared that the money had been either purloined, and secretly withdrawn; or that, though the years had been productive, and the rents well paid, yet that the charge and disbursements did greatly exceed the receipts. And it grieved them to find, that the usual commodities and relief in these cases, as the sale of the wood and timber, and the *dismissio nativorum* (a), did now fail and cease; so that no supply was to be expected for some years. On consultation and advice, the officarius generalis (for, that was his title) advised to have recourse to the lord Richmond, and the lord Sudley, to borrow money; but, truly, to intercede for him. The officer took up his accounts and walked off; and soon made such corrections in them, as to cut off from the sum due to creditors almost 200l. and to increase the quantity of grain in store above 200 quarters; and made out that there was 160l. in the treasury; and, running with his accounts thus amended, cries out, 'Here, my lord, is the talent which I had for some time laid up in a napkin. I was afraid, because thou art an austere man; taking up what thou hast not laid down, and mowing where thou hast not sowed.' The abbot read the accounts; and, seeing the alteration to be near 400l. in his favour, seemed content, thinking that a little patience was the proper remedy at present; for, he had reason to suspect, from the premises, that connivance at the fraud, rather than a faithful and true account, would be the best means of bringing them to a reconciliation. The abbot therefore, with intent to avoid giving scandal to the officer, and all the inconveniences of giving the keys to another, called him up, and said, 'Brother, we all know how much you excel all your fellows and equals in the wisdom of this world; and how cautious and wary you are in the business of buying and selling, and providing every single article in its proper season. Be it therefore determined, that, under the hope of a more faithful and more prudent dispensation for the future, you do continue in the exercise

(a) Enfranchising the villains.

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‘ of your office ; and especially because we do not much like an exchange.’ And thus ended this matter.

My author remarks, that, when Stoke lay sick at Thydenhangre, he was visited in his last moments by the prior, treasurer, and chief officers ; and by them exhorted to give some account of the 1000 marcs which they knew he had in his hands about that time, or not long before. After much exhortation, therefore, and comparing him to Tantalus, who turned every thing that he touched into gold, he owned that 40 marcs went to pay the charge of making the great bell, and of glasing(a) and paving the cloister : ‘ and the rest I leave in-
‘ tire to my successor, for his use and profit, and to support the burden
‘ of maintaining the state and countenance of his abbatical dignity.
‘ We have, indeed, been prejudicial to the abbey in three things ; in the
‘ waste of the woods ; in the *dismissio nativorum* ; and in making too little
‘ provision of grain, against the contingency of extreme dearnefs and
‘ scarcity ; and, for that reason, we have willed and enjoined, that, in
‘ recompence of such loss the remainder of the said money should pass
‘ entire, and without defalcation, into your hands.’ The prior, hearing this, wished to gain farther information ; and asked him ‘ How ! do you
‘ say you have the 1000 marks in the treasury ? or in arrearages, or in
‘ the hands of any debtor ?’ He answered, ‘ We have, as I told you
‘ before, 1000 marcs in the treasury in money told.’ The prior said,
‘ But where are these moneys, in your own proper hand, or in the
‘ custody of any other ?’ On which the abbot raised his right hand, and, directing his forefinger to brother William Wallingford, then his general agent, (*officiorum suum generalem,*) and to brother Thomas Wallingford, his elder chaplain, cries out thus, ‘ In your custody,
‘ and yours, are all these marks ; and in a certain chest under the
‘ dormitory : put there, as ye very well know. Therefore, do you
‘ dispose of this money as I have just now directed, to the honour of
‘ your church, and to the use of my successor.’ The prior, with great joy and exultation at such news, repaired in haste to the monastery ; and, calling the brethren together, related this intelligence, with every word of the abbot’s concerning the money. Then, with earnest solicitation, he exhorted them to repair to prayers, and supplicate God for the happy departure of the abbot ; for, his hour was near at hand ; and, soon after, the abbot dying, and the two brethren above-named being come to the monastery, as by the prior had been

(a) Advitriationem.

directed; they were ordered by him to produce and lay before the ^{John VI. re-}brethren, and in his presence, the 1000 marcs, as mentioned by the ^{chosen.}late abbot. On which they brought out two small boxes, and the chest hidden under the dormitory, strongly closed and locked, and affirmed, with the strongest oaths, that they had nothing more in their custody, of all that the abbot had deposed and confessed. The prior then proceeded, in their presence, to open them; but found in the whole no more than 250 marcs. Struck with no small astonishment, he hastened to the study of the late abbot, and to every particular place where he suspected he had used to hide his money; and, having found nothing, he called to him the two above-mentioned, and inquired, with great earnestness, where the remaining 750 marcs could be deposited. They affirmed, as before, with an oath, that they knew of no more. The prior, full of disappointment and vexation, thought proper to suspend all farther enquiry until a new pastor should be appointed; who, having more full authority, might be more successful in his inquiry, and bring the matter into clearer light, which was now somewhat private and concealed. When John VI. (Wheathampstead) was replaced in the pastoral care, the prior advised such steps as have been related; having waited 18 months, in expectation that some confession of the parties, or some discovery otherwise, might be made. During this time the said William (a) had confessed to some, and spoken unwarily unto others, that he had in the bursary above 160l.; and this he owned to Robert Beaver, a brother of venerable character and age. On this, the abbot charged him to delay no longer; but, having given him very severe rebukes, insisted on his producing the money, which by all accounts must exceed, he said, 1000 pounds. The abbot, in his rebukes and invectives, told him, that he was famous, even from a boy, of loving money, and making a gain by any means; and of lending money to those who practised usury; and that there never had been a sale of timber or underwood, or a *manumissio nativorum*, a purchase of grain, or any other great contract, in which he had not made a profit, and been employed in accumulating more and more to his own private property. ‘And for these special reasons, and others, which, in regard to your honour, we forbear at present to discover, we and all your brethren are of opinion, and very confident, that you do abound in money and cash much beyond your written

(a) This officer, William Wallingford, had under his charge and care the bursary, or general receipt and disbursement, the sub-cellarship, and the chamberlainship.

John VI. re-^{chosen.} accounts. Produce then the money; or we will instantly proceed against you, as the canons and constitutions direct.' The official general was softened by these threats; and, going to his brother the chaplain, told him, that he would endeavour to find money in two or three years, to pay all the debts, and discharge all incumbrances and obligations; and hoped the abbot would receive him into favour; nor suffer his character to be sullied, for the management and œconomy he had used; and that he would, by the end of that time, save as much in the bursary as 2 or 300l. The chaplain related this to the abbot. The abbot added his reproaches and threats, and would promise no favour, nor shew any mercy, until the accounts were set right. On this, the official satisfied a great many debts before and at Michaelmas; beginning with paying what was due to the king, then to the pope, next to the barons of the exchequer, and then to the several private creditors. And, on the issue of this business, it appeared, that William either kept no regular accounts, or had been contriving to make a private purse contrary to the rule; or that he was lost in money matters, like many others, who resolve to go on till their employers compel them to account, without any intention of fraud, but being bewildered with the intricacy of business and commerce.

In this third year of the abbot's restoration, one Henry Halstede, who had formerly been sub-prior to the monastery, but who had gone away from the brethren, and lived in a secular manner for some years, desired to be re-admitted; and, with many tears of contrition, tried the compassion of his brethren. At length he promised to rebuild the dormitory at Wymundham, and bestow other benefactions on that cell, if he could be admitted; and, after proof given of his sincerity, he should be happy to be made prior of Binham, now vacant. The abbot interceded in his behalf, that he might procure him a favorable reception; on which he was admitted at Binham, and promoted to be their prior. About the same time, one John Middleton, who had left the cloister, and abandoned the monastic rule and vows, supplicated the abbot to be re-admitted; to which he consented; and, after intreating the consent of the body, he adds the following lines:

Tempore difficiles veniunt ad aratra juvenci;
Tempore lenta pati fræna docentur equi.

In

In the time of John Stoke, the late abbot, many monks had withdrawn and gone away to a secular life: namely, Edmund Shenley, by a papal bull *de emigratione*; and Richard Langley, by the like authority. From the cell at Hertford, Richard Aylyshamstead departed by virtue of a papal bull *de promotione*. And from Wallingford cell had departed the said Henry Halsted, the prior, by the bull *de promotione*; and also another brother, named Robert Morpath, the cellerar, by the same kind of bull; and also William Wisbich, by virtue of a bull *de emigratione*. And from Hatfield Peverell there had gone John Whytly, by virtue of a bull *de promotione*. From Bynham, John Middleton, by a bull *de promotione*; and also a brother, named William Shawe, *per viam apostasie in qua decessit*. And several from Wymondham; but it was on erecting the said cell into an abbey: and these were master Stephen London, the prior; Thomas Mikkelfield, the sub-prior; Stephen Nelyng, præcentor; William Canterbury, the steward, (*cellerarius*); Thomas Blakeney, sacrist; John Keppys, William Westgate, Nicolas Banne, William Dolte, Christopher Merle, John Sabbe, John Byshop, Adam Norwich, Thomas Baldwyn, and John Galuard, monks. These all receded from the church and obedience to the abbot; but it was supposed to arise from the instability and misconduct of the head, John Stoke.

The reason and cause why the whole cell of Wymondham withdrew from their duty, and the obedience due to the abbot, was this: John had conceived a great dislike against the archdeacon, William Wallingford, and wished to provoke him to quit the monastery; at length, the old prior of Wymondham being persuaded to resign on account his imbecillity and age, the abbot offered this vacant honour to the archdeacon, and complimented him on having a man so learned and worthy to place in so proper a degree of preferment and honour. The archdeacon went, and for one year ruled well; then, on some occasion, the abbot commanded him to return to St. Albans; on which the new prior, now supported by the patron of the cell, refused, and undertook to appeal to the apostolical see. The bill of supplication mentioned, that the cell had been for 300 years *serva et ancilla*, but now was fit *ut filia haberetur, et etiam domina in honore; et haberet sponsum in rectorem, qui gauderet nomine abbatis*. The messenger hastened with this to Rome, and returned with speed; having procured, and carried with him, the king's licence to favour this work. This happened in 1449. And the pope's bull, after reciting that John Stoke had acted contrary to the pious intention of the founder, the most holy

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prelate to the universal church did yield to the vows and instances to him made, and did confirm, by a new charter, that the said priory should be erected into an abbey. And this transaction was accomplished, in spite of all the pleas and opposition made to it by John Stoke, in the space of two years following; and, in 1450, the same was completely ended.

It is proper to mention, that, in the 2d year of John's restoration, a certain knight of Middlesex (a), named Thomas Charlton, gave great trouble to John, by endeavouring to wrest from this church the manor of Burston. This man, having authority enough to be chosen speaker of the House of Commons, tried to recover this manor; though his father had sold it, and his mother had levied a fine on the same. But the lord Cromwell (*dominus de Cromwell*) took the abbot's part, and defeated the projects of the knight. In the fourth year of John's restoration, there died in the monastery one Matthew Bepfet, a chaplain of the abbot's; who, on his death bed, sent for William Blake-ney, the elder chaplain, and wished to confess to him all his sins; and begged the abbot to take all his goods and effects, and dispose of them to the uses he would point out. The abbot, overjoyed, and knowing him to be possessed of 1000 marcs, imagined the legacy was coming all to the strong box of the church. But the dying man told him, that he had in the town a wife and several children. This was a surprize that was not soon or easily recovered. However, the dying request was made, and promise given to comply with it; and the abbot determined to apply the money to the use and emolument of the family; but he kept, for the use of the church, and to be applied *ad incrementum suæ novellæ ordinationis*, two little parcels of land, left by the deceased, and one pigeon-house. These were situate near the toft of Squillers, where the abbey had other lands of their own.

It was now the year 1455, when the first battle of St. Alban's happened; the causes of which it is unnecessary to relate: suffice it to say, that the king, attended with his nobles, or such as were of his council, and a number of armed troops, came down from London; and probably with a view, that a treaty with the duke of York might be carried on with less interruption or danger from the military. The duke was coming from the north; and brought with him 3000 men of that body which he had raised there, and took

(a) Effectus utique prolocutor et regimen domus inferioris in se suscipiens.

post in the great field on the east side of the town, called Key-field. ^{John VI. chosen.} The king's men had barricadoed all the avenues on that side. The cry among the Yorkists was, Give up the duke of Somerset; but, no concession of this sort being made, the duke's men broke into St. Peter's-street; and, being there met by the royalists, a dreadful conflict ensued; where, after many were slain, the king's party lost courage and fled, leaving their sovereign alone, and standing under his standard. He, perceiving himself thus deserted, walked away into a small house (of a baker); and here the duke finding him, led him out, and conducted him to the abbey; there he first placed him, close to the shrine, whether for safety and sanctuary, or to induce him to return thanks for his safety; he then conducted him to the royal apartments, and the next day to London. The effeminacy of the king's men, and to which is ascribed the loss of the battle, is thus described by our author, who saw both parties, and writes of them thus,

Quicquid ad Eoos tractusque regni tepores
Vergitur; emollit animos Clementia Cœli: et
Omnis in arctois sanguis quicunque pruinis
Nascitur; indomitus bellis, et mortis amator.

The duke's men fell to plundering the town; but, by the commands of the duke, they abstained from doing any injury to the abbey. And the abbot thought it necessary to send out to them great quantities of victuals and wine; and this, together with the protecting hand of the martyr, as my author asserts, preserved the abbey and church from any injury by spoil and depredation. The slain lay thick in the upper street, and at the division of the ways about the market. And among them were seen the dead bodies of Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset; of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland; and Thomas Clifford, lord Clifford. But, because they were persons well known to be hateful to the duke of York when alive, none ventured to prepare for their funerals, or shewed any decent regards to their dead bodies. On which abbot John addressed the duke, and begged him to spare the vanquished, and suffer some honours to be paid to these deceased,—not enemies will I call them, says he, but your relations by blood, and fellow-patriots. And, saying more to recommend moderation in his victory, the duke commanded him to take the bodies and provide for their funerals. The abbot caused

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some of the brethren to go forth and take up the deceased. This was done, and the dead bodies received into the church, and laid out in decent order; and in a few days the funeral obsequies were performed, and the bodies had interment in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin. They were laid in the ground *in lineali ordine, juxta statum, gradum, et honorem, dignitatis. Unde de his dominis et de eorum sepulturâ scribitur in ista formâ.*

Quos Mars, quos Martis fors sæva suæque sororis,
Bello prostrarunt, villæ medioque necarunt.
Mors sic occisos tumulaverat hic simul ipsos,
Postque necem requiem causavit habere perhennem,
Est medium sine quo vult sic requiescere nemo:
Hic lis, hic pugna, mors est quæ terminat arma;
Mors, fors, et mavors, qui straverunt dominos hos.

This year, in the Parliament held at Westminster in July, a declaration was put forth, by the consent of Lords and Commons, in favour of Humphry, duke of Gloucester; whose death had been procured in 1447, and whose fame had been tarnished by the wilful and malicious charges of treason thrown out against him ever since by the same enemies. This declaration cleared his character; and, like a proclamation from the king, was enjoined to be made public in all parts of the kingdom, but especially in the town of St. Albans. It is addressed to the sheriff of Hertford and Essex, dated the 31st of July, in the 33d year of Henry's reign. And the substance of it is, to clear the duke's character from the slanders and aspersions that had for seven years been thrown upon it; and, as this Parliament was framed to the devotion of the duke of York, it must be thought to have originated with him, for some private ends, to take up this vindication. The duke also issued another declaration, to vindicate himself, and bear harmless all and every person who had committed spoil, waste, or murder, in the late battle; by laying the whole blame of that bloody conflict on the duke of Somerset, deceased; Thomas Thorpe, the chief baron of the Exchequer; and William Joffop, knight and attendant to the king; who were charged with a letter to the king, signifying the duty and obedience of the Yorkists; but which these men did not deliver, and of course were the cause of the hostility and bloody contention.

In

In this year or the last, the abbot treated with the owner of Garst-^{John VI. re-}ton manor, who was William Halle, of Shidlington, in the county of Bedford, gent. for the purchase of the same; and in conclusion, the purchase was completed, and the same became the property of the abbey; and one John Wangford, attorney at law, was employed to take possession of the same. ^{chufen.}

The abbot also purchased the manor of Aygnell, in the parish of Redburn; in the deeds of which conveyance, next to the name of the owner, Joan Spendlove, is the name of Henry Frowyk, esq. of South Mymes, as a party; and the witnesses to the same are, Bartholomew Halsey, esq. Edmund Westby, esq. Roger Witton, esq. Thomas Atte Hoo, Robert Anable, John Newbury, Rowland Payable, Thomas Clothman, Robert Stodeley, John Hunt, John Chopin, Thomas Peacock, Walter Finch, and many others. The abbot grants an annuity to the said widow, who had sold; and to John Ferrers, her brother and heir, a pension of 34s. and 4d. to be paid at Lady Day and Michaelmas, and eight cart loads of fire-wood, from Eywood, yearly, as the same shall be assigned by the forester, or woodward, of the abbey; and to be cut and carried at the expence of the said widow and Ferrers. He grants her also one croft of land, with a cottage built on the same, situate beyond the bridge of Haliwell, and belonging to the office of sub-steward, called Duffehowfcroft (Dovehouse Croft).

The abbot, about 1457, conceived a design to visit all the estates and manors belonging to the abbey; and set forth with his officers to view and inspect their estate at Rickmersworth; and there found, that there manor of De la Mare was held under the great manor of Rickmersworth; and that the dwelling and habitation of their tenant, who was Lord thereof, viz. of the great manor, and named Ralph Botiller, lord of Sudley, argued the owner to be a man of great wealth and power; and thereon they thought it necessary to take such steps as might secure their rights in future times, when this present tenant might be gone, and another come, who would disown their rights, and refuse any submission or dependence. He held also under them the manor of Asheles, Brittwell, and Baccheworth; and without any yearly acknowledgement; on which they expressed a desire to Ralph Botiller, that he would submit to some yearly payment; and, this being directly assented to, they made out new grants, with an obligation of one penny for each manor, to be paid yearly at Michaelmas.

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In this same year a bill of resumption was brought into Parliament, in order to annul all the grants and donations, made by the king and his friends, to the Lancastrians; with a reservation of 1000 marks yearly to the queen (Margaret), though the greatest enemy to the duke of York. This bill so far alarmed the abbot, that he sent the prior to London, to get a proviso inserted in the bill, that this resumption might in no wise prejudice the abbot and chapter of St. Alban; and the prior offered this exception, that the said resumption be in no wise prejudicial to the abbey in the court of the Marshalsea, nor in the court of the clerk of the market, nor his right to stop and deduct the sum of 40l. for collecting and paying to the king the intire tenths of the clergy; and also, that the abbot be not prejudiced in any thing relating to the priory of Pembroke, in South Wales; which had been given and granted by the king, or confirmed by him, for, and instead of, the legacy and donation of valuables, given to the abbey by Humphry, duke of Gloucester, but detained by the enemies of that person about the court at the time of his death. The prior thought he had done the business, and that he possessed no small favour with the king, for so ready admission of his request; but, soon after, the king's brief is sent to the sheriff of Essex and Hertford, to this effect, that they take account and value of all honours, castles, lordships, vills, villages, manors, lands, and tenements; but take possession of nothing, or cause others to take possession, under pretext of an act of resumption. The abbot was not satisfied, but thought some abuse might be made of the powers given by the bill; and, on application to a particular friend, who bore office in the king's exchequer, but is not named, he petitioned the king for a more full declaration of indemnity and security to all the estates and goods of the abbey. The king was abroad, and for other causes, (*ob pauperiem regis,*) no progress was made, in consequence, for half a year; when, at length, the king's writ, under his privy seal, but with the authority of Parliament, (which was then the practice,) came forth, confirming the former disposal of the *jocalia et ornamenta* which duke Humphry had given, but which the king had presented to his new college of Eaton and Cambridge. But the writ said not a word of any other possessions, or implied any security to them. In this year, the king put forth a proclamation, injoining peace and concord between the relations and parties of the noblemen slain at St. Alban; and an agreement took place, with mutual professions of being reconciled. It is a recommendation to *Alienoram ducissam Somercetriae*;

cetriae; Henricum ducem Som. filium suum, et alios natos suos; (where ^{John VI. re-} _{chosen.} *mark, that the countess of Salisbury, and mother of Henry VII. was*
 his daughter,) and Eleanor, countess of Northumberland; Henry,
 earl of Northumberland; her son, *et alios natos suos*; and John, earl
 of Clifford, *et fratres et sorores suos*: and the other parties were,
 Richard, duke of York; Richard, earl of Warwick; and Richard,
 earl of Salisbury; *et alios ejusdem comitis Sarum natos*. And the latter
 consented to pay, within two years, the sum of 45l. to the abbot and
 monks, and to continue the same yearly, *pro missis, suffragiis, et obi-*
tibus habendis, et eleemosyna danda, pro animabus dictorum, et omnium
aliorum ibidem tunc temporis occisorum. The king also enjoins, that
 the duke of York shall pay to the duchess of Somerset and her son
 5000 marks, from such assignments as shall be good and sufficient,
 and due from us to the said Richard, *pro vadiis suis Hiberniae*; the
 same to be distributed, as we shall advise, among the brothers and
 sisters of the said duke of Somerset. *Item volumus, laudamus, et indi-*
camus, for the considerations above-mentioned, that Richard, earl of
 Warwick, shall give to the said lord Clifford 1000 marks, out of
 such assignments or debts as we do owe unto the said earl, to be dis-
 tributed among the said lord, his brothers, and sisters: ‘ And where-
 ‘ as,’ says the king’s writ, farther, ‘ Sir Thomas Percy, and Richard
 ‘ Percy, his brother, the sons of our said kinswoman, Eleanor,
 ‘ countess of Northumberland, have been cast in an action of damages
 ‘ in the last session of oyer and terminer at York, before Richard
 ‘ Byngnam and Ralph Pole, our justices, to the earl of Salisbury, in
 ‘ 8000 marks; and to Alicia, his wife, or countess, in 5000 marks;
 ‘ and to Thomas Nevill, the son of the said earl, in 1000 marks;
 ‘ and to the said Thomas (Clifford) and his wife Matilda, in a sum
 ‘ of 2000 marks; and John Nevil, a son also of the said earl of Sa-
 ‘ lisbury, in 800 marks; for great and divers transgressions laid, and
 ‘ found, in the said sessions, to have been perpetrated by the said Sir
 ‘ Thomas Percy, lord of Egremont, and Richard his brother, unto
 ‘ the said earl of Salisbury, and Alicia his wife; Thomas Nevil, and
 ‘ Matilda his wife; and to John Nevil; as by the records of the said
 ‘ sessions appears: We will, ordain, and adjudge, that the said earl
 ‘ of Salisbury, and his sons, do release unto the said countess, and
 ‘ her sons, all such sums as aforesaid, and the executions thereof;
 ‘ and releate, alto, all claims on Ralph Verney and John Steward,
 ‘ the two sheriffs of London, for the escape (a) of the said Egremont.’

(a) Propter escapamentum.

But

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chosen.

But the said Egremond was compelled to keep the peace, toward the said earl of Salisbury and his countess, for ten years to come; and to enter into a recognizance in the penalty of 4000 marks, towards his sons, servants, and tenants. 'And whereas,' says the king's writ, 'divers foldiers, esquires, and others, as well servants as tenants, belonging to the said earl of Northumberland, and the said lord Egremond, on occasion of these debates, have become bound, by special obligations, to some person on behalf of our said kinsmen, the duke of York, the earl of Salisbury, or his sons; we will and adjudge, that the said obligations be given us before the feast of St. Peter, at our city of York; or, that they have sufficient releases of the same.' And other matters are enjoined, in order to restore peace between the contending parties; who, on both sides, are styled the *consanguinei* of the king, dated March 24, anno regni 36.

In this same year, a termination was put to a dispute, which had been kept up many years, by Sir John Cheyne, of Ismanstede Cheyne, in the county of Bucks. This knight had held a virgate and half of land, under the abbey, situate in Chalphunt St. Giles, at a rent of 40s. per annum; but he had refused to pay it for many years: and now it was agreed that, on remitting all the arrears, he should pay regularly for the future.

About this time, John Bamborough, the sub-prior of the cell of Tynmouth, sent a book to the abbot, containing the life and transactions of St. John, the prior of the same, who had been the uncle of Wheathampstead, as well as of singular merit in the care and discharge of his duty. The abbot was so well pleased with the work, that he wrote to the author the following letter: 'In Christo carissime frater, confrater, et consocia; libellulum tuæ gratuitæ compilationis de vitâ, cura, et conversatione, carissimi nostri avunculi, tui prioris, nuper nobis præmissum, promptâ manu recepimus; læto oculo perspeximus; &c. Nisi labor iste tuus fuisset, jacuisset etiam hic noster avunculus inter oblitos.'

There came, at this time, three monks of the Cluniac order into England; and, finding at London that the king was come down to this abbey, they followed; and, being received, they were entertained by the abbot. They said they had three things to mention, as the causes of their journey; as first, to declare and shew, that the kings of England had been among their greatest and best benefactors, for, that Henry II. had been their principal founder; in the next place, to seek possession and confirmation of those grants of good, which had been

been given to their order by the royal progenitors, but had been <sup>John VI. re-
chosen.</sup> withholden and detained; and, lastly, to obtain full licence, to enter all the religious houses, belonging to, and dependent on, their abbey; and which had been founded by noble progenitors, and placed under their rule and government. For these three reasons they sought to be admitted to the king's presence; who, on hearing their request, ordered them to await his answer at London. They then paid their duty to the queen, because she was daughter of the king of Sicily, and *de Gallicanâ Natione*; who recommended them to the abbot for farther entertainment. But, at their departure, the senior sent the abbot a letter of thanks, together with a habit of their order, which he had brought with him; and, after returning thanks for the entertainment received, he speaks of the habit, *utinam esset novus, licet sit miser, tamen ad tegendam humanam fragilitatem terream aptior est et melior. Omnes enim beati patris benedicti nostri filii hoc habitu tegimur in vitâ, et, post mortem, involvimur.* 'I send you also,' he says, a small tract, which I have here prepared, not for the use of the clergy, but for the king and the nobles. It contains, indeed, no science: for, I am not master of one book. But it is to inform his majesty, that, having spent four months and a half in our journey, and the prosecution of our rights with the king and his council, we find our selves disappointed, and have obtained nothing. Indeed, we return in great grief and sorrow, finding ourselves deprived of our manors, and stripped of our pensions; and, what is worst, robbed and denied of the obedience of all our convents, which are 38 in number. Nor are our lawful documents allowed any authority, nor will the testimony of your chronicles and histories avail us. So that, our affairs being in utter confusion, disorder, and loss, and our money all spent, we are compelled to return empty. After discharging our board and entertainment, there remains only 5 crowns to carry us 260 leagues.'

The abbot wrote a letter of thanks in return. 'In tanto, etiam, duo vestra munuscula fuerunt nobis acceptiora, de quanto illorum unum invitat nos ad bonum, alterum vero instruit ad mores et ad doctrinationem. Habitus enim vester ad vitam sanctiorem nos invitat; sanctus enim est, et sanctum ad se trahit, non sanctum autem emendat. Tractatulus quippe plenus est pinguedine moralis scientiæ; moraliter quoque unumquemque instruit qui in ipso vel legere vel studere velit. Valeatis, amen, cursivo calamo et festivo (a).'

(a) Here my author closes his yearly chronicle with these words: 'Finiunt acta anni septimi; finit etiam et labor registrantis.'

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At Easter, in the 8th year of John's re-election, in 1459, the king, Henry VI. came down to pass the holidays. His coming is introduced with this allusion, that, as Christ came at this time, sitting on an ass, to eat the passover at Jerusalem, so our lord the king came down, at this season, *ad manducandum agnellum paschalem cum ducibus et baronibus*. At the king's departure, he ordered the keeper of his robes to deliver to the prior his best robe, which he had worn one day this Easter. The treasurer of the kingdom was present, and heard the king's command; and, knowing that this was the only robe fit and suitable for the king to appear in, and competent to his dignity, he stepped up to the prior, and, promising to redeem it for 50 marcs, retained the robe. The king could scarcely consent to this act of prudent œconomy; but ordered the prior to come soon to London: which the prior having done, and waiting on the treasurer, this officer, in presence of the king, counted out the money; and the king directed that the same be laid out in the purchase of gold cloth, of great value, and commonly called *crimesyne thissuue*; and this to be made up in one cope, a chasuble, two tunics, and one complete suit for the covert of the great altar. And, this done, the king begged one favour, that the abbot and monks would appoint one anniversary, to remember him their benefactor; and to fix on the day of his death for this solemn memorial, &c. The prior consented, and the appointment was made, and signified to the king in writing; and, in this concession, the abbot shews what mention shall be made of the king in the office and the form of the collect; and that they should direct six poor men to attend the service, and sit in the cloister, and receive bread, and money, and other articles, in relief of their wants; after the manner that was practised in the memorial days of other great and noble benefactors: but, in the mean time, that they should be particularly employed in praying for the felicity and prosperity of the king while he remained on earth. 'We also promise,' says the abbot, 'to observe and celebrate this obit day with wax torches, the ringing of bells, and all other solemnities used and practised by us in the obit days of your illustrious ancestors, king Henry II. Edward II. and Henry V. of divine memory. And we promise and engage ourselves to observe the same, after your decease, for ever and ever, (*per omne ævum et in secula seculorum*). In full testimony whereof, and to the full and perfect faith and observance of our premises, we here affix our seal, this 15th day of May, 1459. Given in our chapter-house,' &c.

I

In

In the 9th year of John, Sir Ralph Buttiller, and Elizabeth, his wife, took measures to mortgage their interests in the manor of More, Asheles, Battchworth, Britwell, and Estbury; and this was transacted, as the law then required, before the King and Parliament. But which transaction had nothing in it worthy of remark; except that the manors contained 16 messuages, 12 tofts, 22 cartilages; one thousand and 90 acres of land, 30 acres of meadow, and 30 acres of wood; quit rents amounting to 22s. and 11d.; with waters, fisheries, ways, paths, &c. in Rickmerefworth and Watford. The whole interest therein, being to hold only during the life of the said Sir Ralph Buttiller and his wife; and then the estates to revert to the abbot and monastery, on their payment of 3000 marcs in six years. The witnesses to this deed were Robert Whyttingham, John Say, Edmund Brudnell, Robert Knollys, Ralph Gray, and others.

The year 1460 proved fatal to the duke of York and the Nevills; for, in the conflict, or battle, at Wakefield, the queen routed their army; and the duke, with his son, the earl of Rutland, was slain. The queen's army then marched southward; and, in 1461, met the forces of the Yorkists at St. Albans. The latter came by the Dunstable road, and took possession of the town. The queen's army had marched parallel to the other, came through Bedfordshire, and took post on Bernard heath. The Yorkists met the king's troops in the streets leading to the North, and chiefly in the back street leading from the lower end of the town, and drove them back to the heath; where about four or five thousand of the king's troops sustained the fight, the whole day; but, these having suffered great loss in slain and wounded, the whole army of the king, although 20,000 in number, took to flight. The king was conducted by one of his attendants, Sir Thomas Hoo, to the tent of the Lord Clifford, near adjoining the king's camp. To this tent Sir Thomas soon after conducted the queen and prince of Wales. Thence the king was conducted with the queen and prince to the abbey, and first led to the great altar, as if to return thanks, then to the shrine, and last to his chamber of state. The monks had met him, on his coming, and formed an irregular procession about him; chaunting and offering prayers for his safety. Before he entered the chamber, the old abbot intreated his majesty to give strict orders, that no soldier might presume to plunder the abbey or town; but no order could avail; for, the northern men thought themselves intitled to retaliate on all the people south of Trent. And in the rage of their victory as well as

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thirst of plunder, they ravaged the houses, stripped the aged and the orphan, and robbed even the poor who were relieved daily at the gates; yet they broke not into the abbey. The prior, the archdeacon, and many of the brethren, fled away through fear, and concealed themselves in the country. But the abbot stood his ground, and remained on the spot; and, when in a few days the king, and queen, and prince, were departed, he called together the remaining persons of the abbey, and inquired into the state of their stores: for, out of the monastery, scarcely any provision was to be found in the country, either for friend or foe. The northern men, who had here proved victorious, had committed terrible ravages during the progress of their march; and now began to be more insolent by their victory: they not only were permitted to rob, and plunder, and carry away all provisions, but to drive away the cattle, and commit the most wanton waste. And the licentious behaviour of these northern men was so new and monstrous in these southern parts, that the country people fled, and left their homes desolate and unguarded; the victors refused to bury the dead themselves, and none of the country people could be brought in to do that office. These followers of the earl of March were looked on as monsters in barbarity, when compared with the southern men and the people of the king's party. But the old abbot was enabled to preserve some kind of rule and order, and had influence enough with the conquerors, and those who had the king in custody, to prevent any rapine or violence against the monastery or great church. And, on the eighth day after the action, the earl of March came. His commander had conveyed away the captive monarch and queen, a few days before, to the tower of London; but, when the earl came, he composed every disorder, and withdrew all his armed men, and marched to London.

It was on the 4th of March, 1461, when the Earl went to the palace at Westminster, and seated himself in the throne: and (though only 19 years of age) he went abruptly into the House of Lords, the Parliament then sitting; and, in a speech of some vehemence, and with much genealogical knowledge, asserted his right to the Crown. It is easy to imagine, that any title, supported by a victorious army, and the popular favour of the citizens, would be admitted: and, accordingly, he shewed how the Henrys had been usurpers; that, while Richard II. was employed in Ireland, to punish and revenge the death of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, then next heir to Richard (being son of Philippa, the daughter of Clarence, second son of Edward

ward III.); Henry the son of John of Lancaster, who was fourth son of the same Edward, on a sudden returned from his exile, and procured an election to the throne by favour of Parliament. John VI. re-
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Soon after followed the coronation of the new king, now called Edward IV. The abbot was told, that a resumption was made by parliament of their priory of Pembroke, with all its lands, rents, goods, and appurtenances; as having been part of the possessions of those, who had been the near relations, as well as guardians and protectors, of the Lancastrian line. On this the abbot directs one of the brethren, named Archyn, to repair to London, and present a bill to the Upper House of Parliament, for the preservation of this estate. This was done, and, by the interest of the bishop of Exeter, then chancellor, and a near relation of the king's, the resumption was prevented, and the king granted his letters patent, bearing date the 22d of December, in the first year of his reign, to confirm the said priory, and all its dependencies, &c. to the abbot and his successors. This Parliament passed a bill of attainder against the heads and chiefs of the Lancastrians; against Margaret, the wife (*sponsa* not *regina*) of Henry VI. against his son Edward; Henry Holland, duke of Exeter; and Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset. And never had this kingdom seen so perfect a depression of one royal family, and so sudden an elevation of another; caused by the weakness and ill policy of the late prince, the death and extirpation of all his adherents, and the rising valour, and better pretensions, of an enterprising father and son, supported by great family connections (a), and leading to battle the hardy and intrepid men of the north.

Though John had lived, during his last election, in times of trouble and public dangers, he did not omit such repairs and improvements as were necessary, or decent and suitable. In the 2d year he thought proper to build a library, which he covered with lead; and, beside the charge of glazing, plastering, and fitting up (b), the plain structure cost upwards of 150 pounds.

While this work was in hand he rebuilt the bakehouse, the old one being much cracked, and going to ruin; and a more beautiful or convenient one no monastery in England can boast: this was conducted by the care of William Wallingford, his principal official,

(a) The Nevills, that is, the earls of Warwick and Salisbury; the lords Clifford and Fauconberg; aided by the Perceys.

(b) *Deducta vitriatione, crestatione, et positione decorum.*

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and cost above 105 pounds. In contemplation of his latter end he prepared a marble bed, or coffin, for his future and final repose; and, during his life-time, erected the present monument and sepulchre, the cost of which, with that of the pavement adjoining, was above 20 pounds. He had laboured many years to complete a picture of the Saviour, seated in the front, and surrounded by various saints and followers. It is not said who was the artist, nor that it was his own work; but, for the enriching the same with gold and silver, and as a reward to the painter, he had expended 157 pounds. He also repaired the parish-church and chancel of Appulton Kydale, in the county of York, and in so strong and complete a manner, that it would want nothing more for 100 years; and here he expended above 25 pounds.

The lands of one John Swanbourne, situated in the town and near it, and which had been alienated by fraud for many years, he now recovered; and, by giving to some claimant a yearly pension of 5 marcs, he has (says Blakney) annexed the same to the church for ever. He obtained also of the lord Hastings, who then dwelt near to the monastery or town, certain very rich and curious hangings (a), wrought with great art, and used on days of solemnity, and which hung up in the said lord's great chamber in the summer season. And for these hangings the abbot was said to remit above 40l. of a large debt, due from the said lord, and thought to be desperate.

He procured also a discharge of twenty pounds a year, due to the king's exchequer, and which now came to 600 pounds, as already mentioned; and these, being contrary to the pleasure of the barons, cost him much trouble and difficulty to obtain: and here he expended above 30 l. He caused also the Life of Alban to be translated from the Latin into our vulgar tongue, and the copy to be deposited on the shrine for edification: and this cost 3l. During his first rule he had left a new and solemn missale in his private chapel (b), for the use of his successor; but John Stoke sold this and 2 phials of silver gilt, to a monk of Wyndham. Wheathampstead, on his return, demanded them, and caused them to be placed in that little chapel, where now his bones rest; assigning them for the use of those who should celebrate mass in that place.

(a) Panni, qui vulgariter ARRAS vocati sunt.

(b) In the abbot's lodging.

His

His predecessor had caused divers barriers and defences to be constructed about town; but had left them incomplete, and the costs of them unpaid. And, in payments to the workmen in compensation, he expended above 12l. John VI. re-
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He caused an old chapel (dedicated to St. Andrew, and situate on the north side toward the west door, without) to be demolished, and then rebuilt; having procured stone from the quarry, and furnished ornaments to the value of ten marcs of gold. He also caused the cloister to be new glazed, and with painted or stained glass, expressing a series of scripture histories with verses (a).

In the contest which he supported against Thomas Charleton, knt. concerning Burston, and in which the knight, though speaker of the House of Commons, was frustrated, he expended above 23l.

A special assize was holden in the town of St. Albans. And here the said knight was compelled to appear at the bar (b), and confess his error in the whole claim, and renounce the same for ever. He purchased, at Barnet, of one John Cowper, a parcel of land, for which he received a yearly rent of 15s. and paid for it above 10l.

The manor of Legates, in Walden, was burdened with a quit-rent of 10s. 2d. payable to the manor of Bushey, in the parish of Kympton. And he procured a discharge of this quit-rent, and the lord of Bushey quitted his claim: the expence incurred exceeded 10 marcs.

He also had caused a picture of the saint, curiously enriched with gold and silver, and suspended over the shrine, to be made at his own expence. It is now and long since perished; but the ornament exceeded the merit of the artist, and cost above 50 marcs, beside 795 ounces of plate silver used in embellishing.

The manor of Aygnells, below Redburn, which he obtained from a lady of rank, named Joan Spendlove, as before mentioned, for an annuity of 40s. cost him a present expence of 18l. He caused also two psalteries to be made at a great expence. He procured also, from the lord of More Park, who was then seneschal, or steward of the king's household, a mansion in London on the banks of the Thames; in recompence for the quit-rents and debts due from the said lord to the abbey.

(a) A copy of all these is to be seen in the Bodl. Lib. Oxf. MS. Laud, E. 4. This practice of adorning the walls with verse, &c. had begun in the time of De la Mare. Pictures and painting is the first mode of instruction, and writing is an additional improvement.

(b) Ad barreram accedere.

He

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chofen.

He caused to be made a pair of basons of silver, gilt, and placed on the great altar, to the no small ornament of that place; and these cost above 7l. He made also, for the use of the choir, a set of organs(a); and these cost above 50l. The tithes of Luton, lying up and down the parish, and at a distance from the farm, or grange, used to receive them; he procured a manse and 17 acres at Newmill End, for the better convenience of gathering them. He recovered also the lands of Blackets, Spyneys, and Conellys, which had been alienated, or unjustly withholden from the abbey; so that they were now recovered, and returned to their old masters.

The manor of De la Mare had been formerly a grant from some royal donor; but, having been alienated, it was by this abbot recovered, and appropriated to his church; and he expended in this acquisition more than 1000 marks. But, whether this was at the visitation already mentioned, (p. 359), and with the lord of Sudley, my author does not say.

One of the last acts of John's rule and government, and indeed but just before his death, was a petition to the new king Edward IV. on the impoverished state of the abbey; for, not to mention the frequent great charge of sustaining the armed soldiers which passed through this town, whether of friends or of foes, the spoil and depredation by them committed, the loss of many of their estates during the late civil wars, and the ruin of many tenants on such as they could keep, the waste made by John Stoke, and the losses by him suffered, had never been recovered; and this impoverished condition of the revenue put John on a supplication to the king for relief. Edward granted, in part, the prayer of the petition; but not by commanding restitution of the lost estates, but by an honorary augmentation of the abbot's civil power. For, now it was, that he granted a power to hold pleas of all felonies, in as ample a manner as was usually given by commission to the judges of assize. The grant runs thus: 'The king to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, 'dukes, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, head officers, ministers, and 'all bailiffs, and others his faithful, greeting. Whereas, the abbot 'of St. Alban, in the county of Hertford, which is the foundation 'of our progenitors, formerly kings of England, and of our patronage,

(a) Par organorum; quo aut visu pulchrius aut auditu suavius non facile poterat reperiri.

' is diminished in its possessions, as well in spirituals as in tem-^{John VI. re-}
 ' porals, and the church manors, lordships, granges, and other the ^{chosen.}
 ' buildings to the said abbey belonging, by the insolence and
 ' wrong governance of the pastors there, being so much wasted and
 ' destroyed, that, unless they are soon repaired, they will (which
 ' God forbid!) in a short time fall to ruin; which said possessions, and
 ' also the rents, profits, and revenues, of the said possessions, manors,
 ' lordships, granges, and other the lands and tenements to the abbey
 ' of ancient times collated, yearly coming, will scarce suffice, as we
 ' have heard, for the divine duties, and other works of piety in the
 ' said abbey to be celebrated, and the repairs of the said church,
 ' manors, granges, and other buildings, to be sustained and supported.
 ' We, being willing to succour the said abbey, and all the possessions
 ' thereof, as much as in us lies, and all the possessions to maintain
 ' and support, and rather to augment than diminish; and also, for
 ' the inward affection and devotion which we bear and have to that glo-
 ' rious martyr, St. Alban, and to whose honour the church is dedicated,
 ' being willing to adorn the said abbey with divers liberties, franchises,
 ' privileges, and immunities, of our special grace; and to the honour
 ' of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ; the Holy Mary, his mother; of the
 ' said St. Alban; and of all the heavenly court; we have granted,
 ' and, by this our present charter, do grant, for us and our heirs,
 ' as far as in us lies, to God and the church of St. Alban, to our be-
 ' loved in Christ, John, now abbot, and the convent of the same
 ' place, and to their successors for ever, that they shall have cogni-
 ' zance of all and all manner of pleas, arising or touching of lands
 ' or tenements, within their towns of St. Alban, Barnet, and Wat-
 ' ford, and also the hundred of Caisio, and all their whole liberty of
 ' St. Alban; and also of assizes of novel disseisin, mort ancessour, cer-
 ' tificates and attaints of the said lands and tenements, as before us and
 ' our heirs, our justices, and those of our heirs assigned, to take assizes
 ' in our county of Hertford, Middlesex, or elsewhere, taken or to be
 ' taken, arraigned or to be arraigned, or other our justices, or of our
 ' heirs, begun or to be begun; and also of attaints, debts, accounts,
 ' trespasses, convents, contempts, deceits, and of all other whatso-
 ' ever pleas and complaints, real, personal, or mixt, and pleas of the
 ' Crown, within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid, any
 ' manner of way arising, or henceforward to arise; whereof the
 ' cognizance of the same, or of any of them to us or our heirs,
 ' or to our courts or of our heirs, doth belong, or in any manner of

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‘ wife ought, by the aforeſaid abbot and convent, and their ſucceſ-
 ‘ ſors, or their attorney or attorneys in this behalf, before ſuch juſ-
 ‘ tices from time to time as the caſe ſhall require, to be challenged,
 ‘ and before the ſteward of the ſaid abbot and convent, for the time
 ‘ being, at the ſaid town of St. Alban or elſewhere, within the liber-
 ‘ ty aforeſaid, and where it ſhall pleaſe them to be holden and deter-
 ‘ mined. And that the ſaid ſteward, ſo for the time being, ſhall hear
 ‘ and determine all and ſingular the ſaid things, according to the
 ‘ exigency of the law, within the ſaid town of St. Alban, or elſe-
 ‘ where, within the liberty aforeſaid, ſo that none of our juſtices or
 ‘ of our heirs, barons or baron of our exchequer, or of our heirs,
 ‘ commiſſioners aſſigned to take inquisitions, ſteward and marſhal,
 ‘ or clerk of the market of our houſehold, or of our heirs, ſheriff,
 ‘ coroner, officer, or our miniſter, or of our heirs, ſhall any wiſe
 ‘ go within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforeſaid; nor ſhall
 ‘ any ways intermeddle within the towns, hundred, or liberty, afore-
 ‘ ſaid, or any parcel thereof; nor of any pleas there to be held, or
 ‘ within the ſaid town, hundred, or liberty, aforeſaid, emerging or
 ‘ to emerge, nor of any jury or juries, pannel or pannels, inquisition
 ‘ or inquisitions, or of any other things, lands, tenements, or other
 ‘ cauſes or matter whatſoever, touching, or ariſing, or to ariſe, or
 ‘ concerning, the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforeſaid, or any
 ‘ parcel thereof: unleſs only the ſteward, bailiffs, officers, or mi-
 ‘ niſters, of the aforeſaid abbot and convent, or their ſucceſſors for
 ‘ ever. We have alſo granted to the ſaid abbot and convent, that
 ‘ they and their ſucceſſors, by their letters patent, may make, con-
 ‘ ſtitute, and aſſign for ever, within the towns, hundred, and liberty,
 ‘ aforeſaid, their juſtices to keep the peace within the ſame; and to
 ‘ hear and determine all manner of felonies, treſpaſſes, and ill doings,
 ‘ within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforeſaid, happening and
 ‘ emerging; which ſaid juſtices, by them to be aſſigned, ſhall have
 ‘ the ſame power and authority within the towns, hundred, and li-
 ‘ berty, aforeſaid, in all and by all, as any juſtices of the peace in
 ‘ the county of Hertford, or in any other county of our kingdom;
 ‘ ſo that neither of our juſtices of the peace in the county aforeſaid,
 ‘ nor any other juſtices of our ſaid kingdom, unleſs only juſtices by
 ‘ the ſaid abbot and convent, or their ſucceſſors, as aforeſaid, to be
 ‘ aſſigned, ſhall make any ſittings within the town, hundred, and li-
 ‘ berty, aforeſaid, nor ſhall inquire of any thing within the ſame ari-
 ‘ ſing, nor ſhall any manner of ways intermeddle. And that the ſaid
 ‘ abbot

‘ abbot and convent shall have a goal, within the town of St. Alban
 ‘ aforesaid, safely to keep felons and other malefactors in the same,
 ‘ until from the same, according to the law and custom of our realm
 ‘ of England, they be delivered. And that the steward of the said
 ‘ abbot and convent, associating to themselves one or two skilful in
 ‘ the law, whereof the steward for the time being shall be always
 ‘ one, shall be our justices, and of our heirs, from time to time, to
 ‘ deliver that gaol of persons in the same being, and to the said prison,
 ‘ for whatsoever cause, to be committed; so that no justice or justices
 ‘ of us or our heirs, for the future to be assigned to deliver that goal
 ‘ by us or our heirs, shall any ways go into the said towns, hundred,
 ‘ or liberty, for this cause or any other cause whatsoever; and that
 ‘ the bailiff of the said abbot and convent, and their successors of the
 ‘ liberty aforesaid, for the time being, shall make, return, and take
 ‘ care of, all juries, pannels, inquisitions, attachments, and intendencies,
 ‘ to the aforesaid justices and steward, or two of them, as is aforesaid
 ‘ assigned, justices to deliver that gaol; and that the precepts, man-
 ‘ dates, warrants, and judgements, of the said justices and steward,
 ‘ or two of them, for the time being, shall do and execute, in all
 ‘ things, in the same manner and form, as any sheriff of our realm
 ‘ of England doth make return, take care of, and execute, in any
 ‘ manner of wise, to such justices assigned to deliver the gaols of
 ‘ our kingdom. And we have farther granted unto the said abbot
 ‘ and convent, and their successors, that they shall have within the
 ‘ towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid, assay and assize of bread,
 ‘ wine, beer, meat, and all other victuals, measures, and weights,
 ‘ whatsoever; and also of other things to the office of clerk of the
 ‘ market of our household belonging or appertaining, with the pu-
 ‘ nishment and correction of the same, and every thing which to
 ‘ that office doth appertain, to be made and exercised as often and
 ‘ when it shall be expedient and necessary, and also all fines, ran-
 ‘ soms, and amerciaments, and all other profits thereof coming; so
 ‘ that the clerk of the market of our household shall in no ways
 ‘ enter into the towns, hundred, or liberty, aforesaid, for any thing
 ‘ to be done or exercised belonging to such office.’

Then follows a clause forbidding the royal purveyors from taking
 any provision, horse, beast, or carriage, from any of the tenants of
 the abbey; or to enter, for that purpose, into the said towns, hun-
 dred, or liberty. And lastly, it is provided, that, if any defect or
 misinterpretation should arise in these letters patent, the same shall

John VI. re-
chosen. thirst of plunder, they ravaged the houses, stripped the aged and the orphan, and robbed even the poor who were relieved daily at the gates; yet they broke not into the abbey. The prior, the archdeacon, and many of the brethren, fled away through fear, and concealed themselves in the country. But the abbot stood his ground, and remained on the spot; and, when in a few days the king, and queen, and prince, were departed, he called together the remaining persons of the abbey, and inquired into the state of their stores: for, out of the monastery, scarcely any provision was to be found in the country, either for friend or foe. The northern men, who had here proved victorious, had committed terrible ravages during the progress of their march; and now began to be more insolent by their victory: they not only were permitted to rob, and plunder, and carry away all provisions, but to drive away the cattle, and commit the most wanton waste. And the licentious behaviour of these northern men was so new and monstrous in these southern parts, that the country people fled, and left their homes desolate and unguarded; the victors refused to bury the dead themselves, and none of the country people could be brought in to do that office. These followers of the earl of March were looked on as monsters in barbarity, when compared with the southern men and the people of the king's party. But the old abbot was enabled to preserve some kind of rule and order, and had influence enough with the conquerors, and those who had the king in custody, to prevent any rapine or violence against the monastery or great church. And, on the eighth day after the action, the earl of March came. His commander had conveyed away the captive monarch and queen, a few days before, to the tower of London; but, when the earl came, he composed every disorder, and withdrew all his armed men, and marched to London.

It was on the 4th of March, 1461, when the Earl went to the palace at Westminster, and seated himself in the throne: and (though only 19 years of age) he went abruptly into the House of Lords, the Parliament then sitting; and, in a speech of some vehemence, and with much genealogical knowledge, asserted his right to the Crown. It is easy to imagine, that any title, supported by a victorious army, and the popular favour of the citizens, would be admitted: and, accordingly, he shewed how the Henrys had been usurpers; that, while Richard II. was employed in Ireland, to punish and revenge the death of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, then next heir to Richard (being son of Philippa, the daughter of Clarence, second son of Edward

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chosen.

Soon after followed the coronation of the new king, now called Edward IV. The abbot was told, that a resumption was made by parliament of their priory of Pembroke, with all its lands, rents, goods, and appurtenances; as having been part of the possessions of those, who had been the near relations, as well as guardians and protectors, of the Lancastrian line. On this the abbot directs one of the brethren, named Archyn, to repair to London, and present a bill to the Upper House of Parliament, for the preservation of this estate. This was done, and, by the interest of the bishop of Exeter, then chancellor, and a near relation of the king's, the resumption was prevented, and the king granted his letters patent, bearing date the 22d of December, in the first year of his reign, to confirm the said priory, and all its dependencies, &c. to the abbot and his successors. This Parliament passed a bill of attainder against the heads and chiefs of the Lancastrians; against Margaret, the wife (*sponsa not regina*) of Henry VI. against his son Edward; Henry Holland, duke of Exeter; and Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset. And never had this kingdom seen so perfect a depression of one royal family, and so sudden an elevation of another; caused by the weakness and ill policy of the late prince, the death and extirpation of all his adherents, and the rising valour, and better pretensions, of an enterprising father and son, supported by great family connections (a), and leading to battle the hardy and intrepid men of the north.

Though John had lived, during his last election, in times of trouble and public dangers, he did not omit such repairs and improvements as were necessary, or decent and suitable. In the 2d year he thought proper to build a library, which he covered with lead; and, beside the charge of glazing, plastering, and fitting up (b), the plain structure cost upwards of 150 pounds.

While this work was in hand he rebuilt the bakehouse, the old one being much cracked, and going to ruin; and a more beautiful or convenient one no monastery in England can boast: this was conducted by the care of William Wallingford, his principal official,

(a) The Nevills, that is, the earls of Warwick and Salisbury; the lords Clifford and Fauconberg; aided by the Perceys.

(b) *Deducta vitriatione, crestatione, et positione descorum.*

John VI. re-
chosen.

But the said Egremond was compelled to keep the peace, toward the said earl of Salisbury and his countess, for ten years to come; and to enter into a recognizance in the penalty of 4000 marks, towards his sons, servants, and tenants. 'And whereas,' says the king's writ, 'divers foldiers, esquires, and others, as well servants as tenants, belonging to the said earl of Northumberland, and the said lord Egremond, on occasion of these debates, have become bound, by special obligations, to some person on behalf of our said kinsmen, the duke of York, the earl of Salisbury, or his sons; we will and adjudge, that the said obligations be given us before the feast of St. Peter, at our city of York; or, that they have sufficient releases of the same.' And other matters are enjoined, in order to restore peace between the contending parties; who, on both sides, are styled the *consanguinei* of the king, dated March 24, anno regni 36.

In this same year, a termination was put to a dispute, which had been kept up many years, by Sir John Cheyne, of Ismanstede Cheyne, in the county of Bucks. This knight had held a virgate and half of land, under the abbey, situate in Chalphunt St. Giles, at a rent of 40s. per annum; but he had refused to pay it for many years: and now it was agreed that, on remitting all the arrears, he should pay regularly for the future.

About this time, John Bamborough, the sub-prior of the cell of Tynmouth, sent a book to the abbot, containing the life and transactions of St. John, the prior of the same, who had been the uncle of Wheathampstead, as well as of singular merit in the care and discharge of his duty. The abbot was so well pleased with the work, that he wrote to the author the following letter: 'In Christo carissime frater, confrater, et consocia; libellulum tuæ gratuitæ compilationis de vitâ, cura, et conversatione, carissimi nostri avunculi, tui prioris, nuper nobis præmissum, promptâ manu recepimus; læto oculo perspeximus; &c. Nisi labor iste tuus fuisset, jacuisset etiam hic noster avunculus inter oblitos.'

There came, at this time, three monks of the Cluniac order into England; and, finding at London that the king was come down to this abbey, they followed; and, being received, they were entertained by the abbot. They said they had three things to mention, as the causes of their journey; as first, to declare and shew, that the kings of England had been among their greatest and best benefactors, for, that Henry II. had been their principal founder; in the next place, to seek possession and confirmation of those grants of good, which had

been

been given to their order by the royal progenitors, but had been withholden and detained; and, lastly, to obtain full licence, to enter all the religious houses, belonging to, and dependent on, their abbey; and which had been founded by noble progenitors, and placed under their rule and government. For these three reasons they sought to be admitted to the king's presence; who, on hearing their request, ordered them to await his answer at London. They then paid their duty to the queen, because she was daughter of the king of Sicily, and *de Gallicanâ Natione*; who recommended them to the abbot for farther entertainment. But, at their departure, the senior sent the abbot a letter of thanks, together with a habit of their order, which he had brought with him; and, after returning thanks for the entertainment received, he speaks of the habit, *utinam esset novus, licet sit miser, tamen ad tegendam humanam fragilitatem terream aptior est et melior. Omnes enim beati patris benedicti nostri filii hoc habitu tegimur in vitâ, et, post mortem, involvitur.* 'I send you also,' he says, a small tract, which I have here prepared, not for the use of the clergy, but for the king and the nobles. It contains, indeed, no science: for, I am not master of one book. But it is to inform his majesty, that, having spent four months and a half in our journey, and the prosecution of our rights with the king and his council, we find ourselves disappointed, and have obtained nothing. Indeed, we return in great grief and sorrow, finding ourselves deprived of our manors, and stripped of our pensions; and, what is worst, robbed and denied of the obedience of all our convents, which are 38 in number. Nor are our lawful documents allowed any authority, nor will the testimony of your chronicles and histories avail us. So that, our affairs being in utter confusion, disorder, and loss, and our money all spent, we are compelled to return empty. After discharging our board and entertainment, there remains only 5 crowns to carry us 260 leagues.'

The abbot wrote a letter of thanks in return. 'In tanto, etiam, duo vestra munuscula fuerunt nobis acceptiora, de quanto illorum unum invitat nos ad bonum, alterum vero instruit ad mores et ad doctrinationem. Habitus enim vester ad vitam sanctiorem nos invitat; sanctus enim est, et sanctum ad se trahit, non sanctum autem emendat. Tractatulus quippe plenus est pinguedine moralis scientiæ; moraliter quoque unumquemque instruit qui in ipso vel legere vel studere velit. Valeatis, amen, cursivo calamo et festivo (a).'

(a) Here my author closes his yearly chronicle with these words: 'Finiunt acta anni septimi; finit etiam et labor registrantis.'

John VI. re-
chofen.

At Easter, in the 8th year of John's re-election, in 1459, the king, Henry VI. came down to pass the holidays. His coming is introduced with this allusion, that, as Christ came at this time, sitting on an ass, to eat the passover at Jerusalem, so our lord the king came down, at this season, *ad manducandum agnellum paschalem cum ducibus et baronibus*. At the king's departure, he ordered the keeper of his robes to deliver to the prior his best robe, which he had worn one day this Easter. The treasurer of the kingdom was present, and heard the king's command; and, knowing that this was the only robe fit and suitable for the king to appear in, and competent to his dignity, he stepped up to the prior, and, promising to redeem it for 50 marcs, retained the robe. The king could scarcely consent to this act of prudent œconomy; but ordered the prior to come soon to London: which the prior having done, and waiting on the treasurer, this officer, in presence of the king, counted out the money; and the king directed that the same be laid out in the purchase of gold cloth, of great value, and commonly called *crimesyne thissuue*; and this to be made up in one cope, a chasuble, two tunics, and one complete suit for the covert of the great altar. And, this done, the king begged one favour, that the abbot and monks would appoint one anniversary, to remember him their benefactor; and to fix on the day of his death for this solemn memorial, &c. The prior consented, and the appointment was made, and signified to the king in writing; and, in this concession, the abbot shews what mention shall be made of the king in the office and the form of the collect; and that they should direct six poor men to attend the service, and sit in the cloister, and receive bread, and money, and other articles, in relief of their wants; after the manner that was practised in the memorial days of other great and noble benefactors: but, in the mean time, that they should be particularly employed in praying for the felicity and prosperity of the king while he remained on earth. 'We also promise,' says the abbot, 'to observe and celebrate this obit day with wax torches, the ringing of bells, and all other solemnities used and practised by us in the obit days of your illustrious ancestors, king Henry II. Edward II. and Henry V. of divine memory. And we promise and engage ourselves to observe the same, after your decease, for ever and ever, (*per omne ævum et in secula seculorum*). In full testimony whereof, and to the full and perfect faith and observance of our premises, we here affix our seal, this 15th day of May, 1459. Given in our chapter-house,' &c.

In

In the 9th year of John, Sir Ralph Buttiller, and Elizabeth, his wife, took measures to mortgage their interests in the manor of More, Asheles, Battchworth, Britwell, and Estbury; and this was transacted, as the law then required, before the King and Parliament. But which transaction had nothing in it worthy of remark; except that the manors contained 16 messuages, 12 tofts, 22 cartilages; one thousand and 90 acres of land, 30 acres of meadow, and 30 acres of wood; quit rents amounting to 22s. and 11d.; with waters, fisheries, ways, paths, &c. in Rickmersworth and Watford. The whole interest therein, being to hold only during the life of the said Sir Ralph Buttiller and his wife; and then the estates to revert to the abbot and monastery, on their payment of 3000 marcs in six years. The witnesses to this deed were Robert Whyttingham, John Say, Edmund Brudnell, Robert Knollys, Ralph Gray, and others.

The year 1460 proved fatal to the duke of York and the Nevills; for, in the conflict, or battle, at Wakefield, the queen routed their army; and the duke, with his son, the earl of Rutland, was slain. The queen's army then marched southward; and, in 1461, met the forces of the Yorkists at St. Albans. The latter came by the Dunstable road, and took possession of the town. The queen's army had marched parallel to the other, came through Bedfordshire, and took post on Bernard heath. The Yorkists met the king's troops in the streets leading to the North, and chiefly in the back street leading from the lower end of the town, and drove them back to the heath; where about four or five thousand of the king's troops sustained the fight, the whole day; but, these having suffered great loss in slain and wounded, the whole army of the king, although 20,000 in number, took to flight. The king was conducted by one of his attendants, Sir Thomas Hoo, to the tent of the Lord Clifford, near adjoining the king's camp. To this tent Sir Thomas soon after conducted the queen and prince of Wales. Thence the king was conducted with the queen and prince to the abbey, and first led to the great altar, as if to return thanks, then to the shrine, and last to his chamber of state. The monks had met him, on his coming, and formed an irregular procession about him; chaunting and offering prayers for his safety. Before he entered the chamber, the old abbot intreated his majesty to give strict orders, that no soldier might presume to plunder the abbey or town; but no order could avail; for, the northern men thought themselves intitled to retaliate on all the people south of Trent. And in the rage of their victory as well as

John VI. re-
 chosen. thirst of plunder, they ravaged the houses, stripped the aged and the orphan, and robbed even the poor who were relieved daily at the gates; yet they broke not into the abbey. The prior, the archdeacon, and many of the brethren, fled away through fear, and concealed themselves in the country. But the abbot stood his ground, and remained on the spot; and, when in a few days the king, and queen, and prince, were departed, he called together the remaining persons of the abbey, and inquired into the state of their stores: for, out of the monastery, scarcely any provision was to be found in the country, either for friend or foe. The northern men, who had here proved victorious, had committed terrible ravages during the progress of their march; and now began to be more insolent by their victory: they not only were permitted to rob, and plunder, and carry away all provisions, but to drive away the cattle, and commit the most wanton waste. And the licentious behaviour of these northern men was so new and monstrous in these southern parts, that the country people fled, and left their homes desolate and unguarded; the victors refused to bury the dead themselves, and none of the country people could be brought in to do that office. These followers of the earl of March were looked on as monsters in barbarity, when compared with the southern men and the people of the king's party. But the old abbot was enabled to preserve some kind of rule and order, and had influence enough with the conquerors, and those who had the king in custody, to prevent any rapine or violence against the monastery or great church. And, on the eighth day after the action, the earl of March came. His commander had conveyed away the captive monarch and queen, a few days before, to the tower of London; but, when the earl came, he composed every disorder, and withdrew all his armed men, and marched to London.

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chosen.

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John VI. re-
chofen.

and cost above 105 pounds. In contemplation of his latter end he prepared a marble bed, or coffin, for his future and final repose; and, during his life-time, erected the present monument and sepulchre, the cost of which, with that of the pavement adjoining, was above 20 pounds. He had laboured many years to complete a picture of the Saviour, seated in the front, and surrounded by various saints and followers. It is not said who was the artist, nor that it was his own work; but, for the enriching the same with gold and silver, and as a reward to the painter, he had expended 157 pounds. He also repaired the parish-church and chancel of Appulton Kydale, in the county of York, and in so strong and complete a manner, that it would want nothing more for 100 years; and here he expended above 25 pounds.

The lands of one John Swanbourne, situated in the town and near it, and which had been alienated by fraud for many years, he now recovered; and, by giving to some claimant a yearly pension of 5 marcs, he has (says Blakney) annexed the same to the church for ever. He obtained also of the lord Hastings, who then dwelt near to the monastery or town, certain very rich and curious hangings (a), wrought with great art, and used on days of solemnity, and which hung up in the said lord's great chamber in the summer season. And for these hangings the abbot was said to remit above 40l. of a large debt, due from the said lord, and thought to be desperate.

He procured also a discharge of twenty pounds a year, due to the king's exchequer, and which now came to 600 pounds, as already mentioned; and these, being contrary to the pleasure of the barons, cost him much trouble and difficulty to obtain: and here he expended above 30 l. He caused also the Life of Alban to be translated from the Latin into our vulgar tongue, and the copy to be deposited on the shrine for edification: and this cost 3l. During his first rule he had left a new and solemn missale in his private chapel (b), for the use of his successor; but John Stoke sold this and 2 phials of silver gilt, to a monk of Wyndham. Wheathampstead, on his return, demanded them, and caused them to be placed in that little chapel, where now his bones rest; assigning them for the use of those who should celebrate mass in that place.

(a) Panni, qui vulgariter ARRAS vocati sunt.

(b) In the abbot's lodging.

His

His predecessor had caused divers barriers and defences to be constructed about town; but had left them incomplete, and the costs of them unpaid. And, in payments to the workmen in compensation, he expended above 12l. John VI. re-
chosen.

He caused an old chapel (dedicated to St. Andrew, and situate on the north side toward the west door, without) to be demolished, and then rebuilt; having procured stone from the quarry, and furnished ornaments to the value of ten marcs of gold. He also caused the cloister to be new glazed, and with painted or stained glass, expressing a series of scripture histories with verses (a).

In the contest which he supported against Thomas Charleton, knt. concerning Burston, and in which the knight, though speaker of the House of Commons, was frustrated, he expended above 23l.

A special assize was holden in the town of St. Albans. And here the said knight was compelled to appear at the bar (b), and confess his error in the whole claim, and renounce the same for ever. He purchased, at Barnet, of one John Cowper, a parcel of land, for which he received a yearly rent of 15s. and paid for it above 10l.

The manor of Legates, in Walden, was burdened with a quit-rent of 10s. 2d. payable to the manor of Bushey, in the parish of Kympton. And he procured a discharge of this quit-rent, and the lord of Bushey quitted his claim: the expence incurred exceeded 10 marcs.

He also had caused a picture of the saint, curiously enriched with gold and silver, and suspended over the shrine, to be made at his own expence. It is now and long since perished; but the ornament exceeded the merit of the artist, and cost above 50 marcs, beside 795 ounces of plate silver used in embellishing.

The manor of Aygnells, below Redburn, which he obtained from a lady of rank, named Joan Spendlove, as before mentioned, for an annuity of 40s. cost him a present expence of 18l. He caused also two psalteries to be made at a great expence. He procured also, from the lord of More Park, who was then seneschal, or steward of the king's household, a mansion in London on the banks of the Thames; in recompence for the quit-rents and debts due from the said lord to the abbey.

(a) A copy of all these is to be seen in the Bodl. Lib. Oxf. MS. Laud, E. 4. This practice of adorning the walls with verse, &c. had begun in the time of De la Mare. Pictures and painting is the first mode of instruction, and writing is an additional improvement.

(b) Ad barreram accedere.

He

John VI. re-
chofen.

He caused to be made a pair of basons of silver, gilt, and placed on the great altar, to the no small ornament of that place; and these cost above 7l. He made also, for the use of the choir, a set of organs(a); and these cost above 50l. The tithes of Luton, lying up and down the parish, and at a distance from the farm, or grange, used to receive them; he procured a manse and 17 acres at Newmill End, for the better convenience of gathering them. He recovered also the lands of Blackets, Spyneys, and Conellys, which had been alienated, or unjustly withholden from the abbey; so that they were now recovered, and returned to their old masters.

The manor of De la Mare had been formerly a grant from some royal donor; but, having been alienated, it was by this abbot recovered, and appropriated to his church; and he expended in this acquisition more than 1000 marks. But, whether this was at the visitation already mentioned, (p. 359), and with the lord of Sudley, my author does not say.

One of the last acts of John's rule and government, and indeed but just before his death, was a petition to the new king Edward IV. on the impoverished state of the abbey; for, not to mention the frequent great charge of sustaining the armed soldiers which passed through this town, whether of friends or of foes, the spoil and depredation by them committed, the loss of many of their estates during the late civil wars, and the ruin of many tenants on such as they could keep, the waste made by John Stoke, and the losses by him suffered, had never been recovered; and this impoverished condition of the revenue put John on a supplication to the king for relief. Edward granted, in part, the prayer of the petition; but not by commanding restitution of the lost estates, but by an honorary augmentation of the abbot's civil power. For, now it was, that he granted a power to hold pleas of all felonies, in as ample a manner as was usually given by commission to the judges of assize. The grant runs thus: 'The king to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, 'dukes, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, head officers, ministers, and 'all bailiffs, and others his faithful, greeting. Whereas, the abbot 'of St. Alban, in the county of Hertford, which is the foundation 'of our progenitors, formerly kings of England, and of our patronage,

(a) Par organorum; quo aut visu pulchrius aut auditu suavius non facile poterat reperiri.

' is diminished in its possessions, as well in spirituals as in tem-^{John VI. re-}
 ' porals, and the church manors, lordships, granges, and other the ^{chosen.}
 ' buildings to the said abbey belonging, by the insolence and
 ' wrong governance of the pastors there, being so much wasted and
 ' destroyed, that, unless they are soon repaired, they will (which
 ' God forbid!) in a short time fall to ruin; which said possessions, and
 ' also the rents, profits, and revenues, of the said possessions, manors,
 ' lordships, granges, and other the lands and tenements to the abbey
 ' of ancient times collated, yearly coming, will scarce suffice, as we
 ' have heard, for the divine duties, and other works of piety in the
 ' said abbey to be celebrated, and the repairs of the said church,
 ' manors, granges, and other buildings, to be sustained and supported.
 ' We, being willing to succour the said abbey, and all the possessions
 ' thereof, as much as in us lies, and all the possessions to maintain
 ' and support, and rather to augment than diminish; and also, for
 ' the inward affection and devotion which we bear and have to that glo-
 ' rious martyr, St. Alban, and to whose honour the church is dedicated,
 ' being willing to adorn the said abbey with divers liberties, franchises,
 ' privileges, and immunities, of our special grace; and to the honour
 ' of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ; the Holy Mary, his mother; of the
 ' said St. Alban; and of all the heavenly court; we have granted,
 ' and, by this our present charter, do grant, for us and our heirs,
 ' as far as in us lies, to God and the church of St. Alban, to our be-
 ' loved in Christ, John, now abbot, and the convent of the same
 ' place, and to their successors for ever, that they shall have cogni-
 ' zance of all and all manner of pleas, arising or touching of lands
 ' or tenements, within their towns of St. Alban, Barnet, and Wat-
 ' ford, and also the hundred of Cassio, and all their whole liberty of
 ' St. Alban; and also of assizes of novel disseisin, mort ancestor, cer-
 ' tificates and attaints of the said lands and tenements, as before us and
 ' our heirs, our justices, and those of our heirs assigned, to take assizes
 ' in our county of Hertford, Middlesex, or elsewhere, taken or to be
 ' taken, arraigned or to be arraigned, or other our justices, or of our
 ' heirs, begun or to be begun; and also of attaints, debts, accounts,
 ' trespasses, convents, contempts, deceits, and of all other whatso-
 ' ever pleas and complaints, real, personal, or mixt, and pleas of the
 ' Crown, within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid, any
 ' manner of way arising, or henceforward to arise; whereof the
 ' cognizance of the same, or of any of them to us or our heirs,
 ' or to our courts or of our heirs, doth belong, or in any manner of

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‘ wise ought, by the aforesaid abbot and convent, and their succes-
 ‘ sors, or their attorney or attorneys in this behalf, before such jus-
 ‘ tices from time to time as the case shall require, to be challenged,
 ‘ and before the steward of the said abbot and convent, for the time
 ‘ being, at the said town of St. Alban or elsewhere, within the liber-
 ‘ ty aforesaid, and where it shall please them to be holden and deter-
 ‘ mined. And that the said steward, so for the time being, shall hear
 ‘ and determine all and singular the said things, according to the
 ‘ exigency of the law, within the said town of St. Alban, or else-
 ‘ where, within the liberty aforesaid, so that none of our justices or
 ‘ of our heirs, barons or baron of our exchequer, or of our heirs,
 ‘ commissioners assigned to take inquisitions, steward and marshal,
 ‘ or clerk of the market of our household, or of our heirs, sheriff,
 ‘ coroner, officer, or our minister, or of our heirs, shall any wise
 ‘ go within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid; nor shall
 ‘ any ways intermeddle within the towns, hundred, or liberty, afore-
 ‘ said, or any parcel thereof; nor of any pleas there to be held, or
 ‘ within the said town, hundred, or liberty, aforesaid, emerging or
 ‘ to emerge, nor of any jury or juries, pannel or pannels, inquisition
 ‘ or inquisitions, or of any other things, lands, tenements, or other
 ‘ causes or matter whatsoever, touching, or arising, or to arise, or
 ‘ concerning, the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid, or any
 ‘ parcel thereof: unless only the steward, bailiffs, officers, or mi-
 ‘ nisters, of the aforesaid abbot and convent, or their successors for
 ‘ ever. We have also granted to the said abbot and convent, that
 ‘ they and their successors, by their letters patent, may make, con-
 ‘ stitute, and assign for ever, within the towns, hundred, and liberty,
 ‘ aforesaid, their justices to keep the peace within the same; and to
 ‘ hear and determine all manner of felonies, trespasses, and ill doings,
 ‘ within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid, happening and
 ‘ emerging; which said justices, by them to be assigned, shall have
 ‘ the same power and authority within the towns, hundred, and li-
 ‘ berty, aforesaid, in all and by all, as any justices of the peace in
 ‘ the county of Hertford, or in any other county of our kingdom;
 ‘ so that neither of our justices of the peace in the county aforesaid,
 ‘ nor any other justices of our said kingdom, unless only justices by
 ‘ the said abbot and convent, or their successors, as aforesaid, to be
 ‘ assigned, shall make any sittings within the town, hundred, and li-
 ‘ berty, aforesaid, nor shall inquire of any thing within the same ari-
 ‘ sing, nor shall any manner of ways intermeddle. And that the said
 ‘ abbot

‘ abbot and convent shall have a goal, within the town of St. Alban
 ‘ aforesaid, safely to keep felons and other malefactors in the same,
 ‘ until from the same, according to the law and custom of our realm <sup>John VI. re-
 chosen.</sup>
 ‘ of England, they be delivered. And that the steward of the said
 ‘ abbot and convent, associating to themselves one or two skilful in
 ‘ the law, whereof the steward for the time being shall be always
 ‘ one, shall be our justices, and of our heirs, from time to time, to
 ‘ deliver that gaol of persons in the same being, and to the said prison,
 ‘ for whatsoever cause, to be committed; so that no justice or justices
 ‘ of us or our heirs, for the future to be assigned to deliver that goal
 ‘ by us or our heirs, shall any ways go into the said towns, hundred,
 ‘ or liberty, for this cause or any other cause whatsoever; and that
 ‘ the bailiff of the said abbot and convent, and their successors of the
 ‘ liberty aforesaid, for the time being, shall make, return, and take
 ‘ care of, all juries, pannels, inquisitions, attachments, and intendencies,
 ‘ to the aforesaid justices and steward, or two of them, as is aforesaid
 ‘ assigned, justices to deliver that gaol; and that the precepts, man-
 ‘ dates, warrants, and judgements, of the said justices and steward,
 ‘ or two of them, for the time being, shall do and execute, in all
 ‘ things, in the same manner and form, as any sheriff of our realm
 ‘ of England doth make return, take care of, and execute, in any
 ‘ manner of wise, to such justices assigned to deliver the gaols of
 ‘ our kingdom. And we have farther granted unto the said abbot
 ‘ and convent, and their successors, that they shall have within the
 ‘ towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid, assay and assize of bread,
 ‘ wine, beer, meat, and all other victuals, measures, and weights,
 ‘ whatsoever; and also of other things to the office of clerk of the
 ‘ market of our household belonging or appertaining, with the pu-
 ‘ nishment and correction of the same, and every thing which to
 ‘ that office doth appertain, to be made and exercised as often and
 ‘ when it shall be expedient and necessary, and also all fines, ran-
 ‘ soms, and amerciaments, and all other profits thereof coming; so
 ‘ that the clerk of the market of our household shall in no ways
 ‘ enter into the towns, hundred, or liberty, aforesaid, for any thing
 ‘ to be done or exercised belonging to such office.’

Then follows a clause forbidding the royal purveyors from taking
 any provision, horse, beast, or carriage, from any of the tenants of
 the abbey; or to enter, for that purpose, into the said towns, hun-
 dred, or liberty. And lastly, it is provided, that, if any defect or
 misinterpretation should arise in these letters patent, the same shall

John VI. re- be construed in favour of the abbot and convent, and other letters
 chosen. patent made to their satisfaction and advantage. Attested by the ve-
 nerable fathers,

Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, of all England primate,
 (*Bouchier*).

William (*Booth*), of England primate, archbishop of York.

Thomas (*Kemp*), bishop of London.

George (*Neville*), bishop of Exeter, chancellor.

George, duke of Clarence.

Richard, duke of Gloucester.

Richard, earl of Warwick, (*Neville*), chamberlain of England.

John, earl of Worcester, treasurer, (*Tiptoft*).

Sir John Neville, of Mountague,

Sir William Hastryng, of Hastryng, chamberlain,

Sir John Fogg, treasurer of the household,

} knights.

Given by our hands, at Westminster, November 3, 1461.

Thus it appears, by this charter, or grant, that a kind of palatine jurisdiction was given to the abbot; such as still remains, and is enjoyed and possessed by the great prelates of the sees of Durham and of Ely. Which jurisdiction, though diminished in those churches at this time, and lessened by prudent concessions from time to time, were anciently a full regality of authority and power. And such was at this time given by young king Edward, as a compensation for the losses and damages the abbey had sustained; as if additional powers and accession of honours was a compensation for the ruin of their estates, and the loss of rents, &c. Here was given a full power of life and death, and the cognizance of all the most capital offences. Even treason was now cognizable in this court; but, it appears not that the great forfeitures, that follow the conviction of that offence, were yielded and granted to this supreme head of the same: and the several fines, penalties, and amerciaments, beside those that arose in the former quarter-sessions court, and which had always fallen to the abbey, could not probably be very great, or augment in any degree their impoverished revenue.

The gaol had ever belonged to the abbot, from the time of the first grant of the liberty to abbot Geoffry, in the time of Henry I. and now it was assigned to the custody of such criminals as fell under the new and higher jurisdiction. This new authority made it necessary to have a steward that was knowing in the laws and eminent in rank; or, if the old and former officer, called their seneschal, was possessed

possessed of the first property, the abbot chose to make an additional steward, who might possess the second, and act for them as a patron and friend at court; and thus, while the first officer sat on the bench, and conducted the legal proceedings of their court; the second was securing their interest above, and keeping up a good understanding with the Crown.

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These new powers and authorities were undoubtedly exercised: but nothing remains to shew the nature of their proceedings, what crimes were indicted, or what judgements were pronounced; for, all these records perished at the general wreck of the abbey, and of all its goods, at the dissolution. And, indeed, we learn only the name of their first new steward; which was Sir Williams Hastings, elected such soon after the grant. And it is doubtful who was the efficient man, that actually conducted the judicial and fiscal matters of the abbey; but it will be seen in the course of a few years who was that person then. It is to be observed here, that the town was not yet incorporated; but made a part of the liberty, and had no separate and distinct jurisdiction, and resorted for justice, on all occasions, to the quarter-sessions and new court of assize.

These powers remained, and were in force, until the 24th of Henry VIII. who, beginning to abridge all the corporate authorities of the clergy, passed an act in that year, entitled An Act for re-continuing Liberties in the Crown; which runs thus (a); ‘ And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition, soever, they be, from the first day of July, shall have any power or authority, to make any justices of eyre, justices of assize, justices of peace, or justices of gaol-delivery; but that all such offices shall be made by letters patent under the king’s great seal, in the name, and by the authority, of the king’s highness, and his heirs kings of this realm, in all shires, counties, counties palatine, and other places of this realm, Wales, and the marshes of the same, or in any other his dominions, at their pleasure and wills, in such manner and form as justices of the peace, and justices of gaol delivery, be commonly made in every shire of this realm; any grants, usages, prescriptions, allowance, act or acts of parliament, or any other thing or things to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. Provided also (b), that all cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, within this realm, which

(a) Section II.

(b) Section VI.

‘ have

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‘ have liberty, power, and authority, to have justices of peace, or
‘ justices of gaol-delivery, shall still have and enjoy their liberties and
‘ authorities in that behalf, after such like manner as they have been
‘ accustomed, without any alteration by occasion of this act, any thing
‘ in this act or any article therein contained, to the contrary thereof,
‘ notwithstanding.’

And thus did this act abolish the new and exalted prerogative given to the abbot by Edward IV. and not only the authority aforesaid sunk down to its former and ancient level, whereby the quarter-session was the only criminal court subordinate to the abbot; but the very name and dignity of steward was abolished; and remained so, until the said office was revived under the new incorporation by the charter of Edward VI. in 1553.

The power of the abbot, and the authority of his court of assize, being thus reduced by the 24th of Henry VIII. and his whole power being abolished by the act of the 31st of Henry, the sessions was the only criminal court; and the justices of the liberty, made by the king after the 24th of Henry, constituted the only jurisdiction: and this fell to a perfect resemblance of all other quarter-sessions. But, by the charter of incorporation of Edward, in 1553, a special clause is inserted, that they may and shall have their gaol within the limits of the borough, for the custody of prisoners taken within the liberty. And it is also provided, in the same clause, ‘ that the justices of the liberty shall have power to keep and hold their sessions
‘ of the peace and goal delivery, within the said borough; and that
‘ they may come thither with all their bailiffs, constables, and other
‘ officers and servants, whatsoever; and with such other person and
‘ persons as are required to be at the said sessions and goal delivery,
‘ in such manner and form as they have heretofore done, and have
‘ been accustomed to do; any thing in these presents contained to
‘ the contrary notwithstanding.’ And the place, where the said sessions had been ever held and continued to be held, was the great room over the gateway; and here also sat the steward, and convened his court of assize, and general commission of oyer and terminer. This use of the said room continued, for all session-business, until the year 1651; at which time the justices of the liberty, Sir John Witte-
wonge of Harden, William Leman of Northaw, Henry Ewer of Watford, John King of St. Alban’s town, Alban Coxe of Beaumonts, and John Marsh of Shenley, purchased the upper part of the great gate; (for, the lower rooms only on the ground, and composing the
liberty-

liberty-prison, belonged to the liberty or the justices thereof;) and converted the whole upper part into a house of correction. This is a condition of the purchase; and the justices then, by agreement with the mayor, and justices, and corporation, held their session in the Town-Hall; and have ever since continued so to do. Which Town-Hall had been the property of the abbey at the dissolution; and was called their Chancel-House; and, in 1553, is granted, by that express name, to serve the corporation for their council chamber, as is set forth in the charter, section 22.

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ch. 15. n.

The said justices purchased the said great gate of one Godfrey Ellis, and Griffantius Phillips, of Gloucester, as being interested therein, and having property in the same; 'then known by the name of the Great Gate, and being part or parcel of the dissolved monastery of St. Albans; and since then belonging to the office of the equerries of the stables there, and situate, lying, and being, on the north side of the court or yard, commonly called the abbey-court; together with one little garden to the same premises adjoining, and one stable, or edifice, standing or being on the east part of the said great gate; to the said justices, their heirs and assigns, for ever.' And thus the mayor and corporation, having had their council-chamber and borough-gaol from the year 1553, now gave leave to the justices of the liberty to sit there, and hold their sessions; and the forementioned indenture, after reciting a former indenture of the purchase from Ellis and Phillips, set forth the mayor and principal burghesses as a party: and by this indenture the said 'justices do hereby covenant, promise, grant, and agree, to and with the mayor and principal burghesses and their successors, for ever, for and on behalf of the inhabitants of the liberty aforesaid, that all and singular the premises shall be, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, peaceably and quietly used, enjoyed, and employed, as aforesaid, (*that is, by the inhabitants of the liberty,*) without any claim, title, or right, to be thereunto or any part thereof made by them the said justices or their respective heirs and assigns, to their own use or uses. And the said justices do farther covenant with the said mayor and principal burghesses, that they will and shall stand seized of the said premises in trust, and to the use, intent, and purpose, aforesaid, and to none other whatsoever.'

The above title of equerry was a kind of office anciently belonging to the abbots, and included the care of the stables; and it was held by a patent from the abbots, with a certain salary annexed.

On

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 chosen. On the dissolution, the said office devolved to the crown; at this time,
 rests in the crown, and hath been granted from the king's exchequer
 at divers times.

Another place and office under the abbot, and probably bestowed by patent, (as it hath been of late years since the whole property, rights, and privileges, have devolved to the crown by the dissolving act,) was that of the gaoler, or porter, of the great gate. Gates and gateways were anciently applied to the use of a prison; not through any necessity, but perhaps with a view to excite compassion and charity to the imprisoned, in all passengers and visitors; and here this office hath been granted for many years to the family of Kentish, and a salary of 11l. 1s. 4d. affixed and payable out of the exchequer. The first grant, or letters patent to this family, that I have seen, bears date in 1702, in the beginning of queen Anne's reign; and gives the office to Ralph Kentish: 'to hold, exercise, and enjoy, by himself or his sufficient deputy or deputies, during his natural life, together with the ancient fee or salary of 11l. 1s. 4d. *per annum*, payable as formerly by the receiver-general of the county of Hertford at Lady Day and Michaelmas, by equal portions, and all other fees, profits, and commodities, to the said offices belonging.'

But, before the grant to Ralph Kentish, William Morris was appointed to these offices, by a patent under the exchequer seal, dated December 19, 1695, on the death of Thomas Sturgeon, and Roger Sturgeon, with the usual fees and the use of a chamber. And the patent hath been renewed at divers times, since the death of Morris, to the family of Kentish; and William Kentish, by patent dated June 29, 1787, is the present gaoler and porter of the great gate so appointed.

Another office inherent in the abbot, and granted by patent under the abbey seal, was that of hundredor. This had been an ancient office, and of great port and consequence in the Saxon times; when almost all business of contention and dispute, as well as of right and property, was determined in this court. And the duty of hundredor, or, as otherwise called in the Norman times, the bailiff of the hundred, was to preside in this court; give judgement, and receive the fines and amercements for the use of the king, or that lord to whom the king granted them: and every hundred had an officer of this kind. When Henry I. granted the hundred of Caishow to the abbot, with certain privileges and prerogatives, he granted a degree of his royal authority, and gave some kind of palatine jurisdiction,
 and

and invested the abbot with a part of his royal privilege. By this immunity it was denominated a liberty; and the abbot had power to create an hundredor, or bailiff: he was often called seneschal or steward; but under that title was included, together with being judge of the hundred courts, the care and managements of the abbey's estates. This office of hundredor was always conferred by patent; was given, in the time of Richard III. to William lord Hastings; and, after his death, to Sir William Catesby; but who succeeded him is not known. At the dissolution this office was found among the possessions of the abbey, and laid dormant in the crown until the 9th of king James; at which time that king made a grant, or donation, of divers small estates that had fallen into the crown; and, among the rest, of this office of hundredor, belonging to the ancient dissolved abbey of St. Alban. These grants were made to George and Thomas Whitmore, esqrs. of London; and from them they have come, by purchase, to the earls of Salisbury: and this office of hundredor is now vested in the present noble marquis of that title. But so much of the grant as relates to this abbey may be seen in the Appendix (a).

The great care and attention of Wheathamstead (b), to put into good condition all their farms and other buildings, and to make other improvements, was manifested by his instituting a new officer, called The Master of the Works. This began in 1429, as I have already noted; but it was the space of three years before the respective duties of this office could be settled, and the pope's bull obtained for confirmation of the same. In 1432, it was allotted by the body, and confirmed by the pope, that all their rents in Bedfordshire should be applied to this office. It was called in the Latin epistles to the pope, and in the instruments to establish it, by the appellation of *Nova Ordinatio*. The rents to be applied were from Clophall, or Beaulieu, and other farms in the same county, 24l. 6s. 8d. All the rents of Gorham and Westwick (except the woods) amounting to 25l. 6s. 0d. The tenants in this manor are 38 in number, all specified by name; to this was added the farm or rent of the manor of Gorham, 6l. 13s. 4d. and the pasture or keeping of 200 sheep. Rent in London assigned to this office was the sum of 6l. 13s. 4d. arising from a tenement in Al-

(a) N° IX.

(b) What follows relating to this abbot is extracted from a MSS. written by Blake-ney, secretary to Ramridge, *de terris adquisitis per Joan. Whet. et Tho Ramridge*, and now in the Library of the Royal Society, London.

D d d

derichegate-

John VI. re-derichgate-street. From certain tenants in Barnet, 3l. 17s. 11d. From
 chofen. Newlane, 7l. 16s. 9d. From Squillers, 13l. 6s. 8d. Together with
 other rents from other places, amounting in the whole to 132l. 15s. 0d.

Now in this *Nova Ordinatio*, as it was called, some of this money was to be applied by the Magister Operis to celebrate anniversaries; in particular, for the students at Oxford to celebrate a day with festivity and prayer for the soul of Robert D'Aubigny, the founder of Beaulieu; and another for the soul of this present abbot, and of his parents. A further sum for the purchase of torches (*torticiorum*) on certain solemn days. Another sum of 13s. 4d. to the reader of grammar, and to the keeper of this chest no less than 3l. 6s. 8d. And in consideration of the remainder being applied toward repairs, &c. the several officers, who before were chargeable with certain sums for that purpose, are now discharged and excused; to the amount of 56l. 7s. 0d.

The abbot had procured a new declaration, from the King, of the Liberty, that is, reciting and confirming the grant of Henry I. to Geoffrey.

The several charges of this business are here stated; and, after reciting the payment to the clerk of the Chancery, to William Paston, the justice, for amending and correcting the bill, and to the clerk of the seneschal for writing the same; and to Edward Hall, the king's esquire, for his labours in expediting the same, it recites a sum of forty shillings to Thomas Norton, the duke of Gloucester's chaplain, for his effectual promoting of the same; then for inrolling the same, 50l. for John Wells, his expences in riding often to London on this business, 40s. Then, for a certain book presented to the duke of Gloucester at his coming to the abbey, 6l. 13s. 4d. for one Palfrey given to his highness, 3l. 6s. 8d. and in money and gowns given to his chaplains and his esquires, 11l. 6s. 8d. This whole charge amounted to more than 80l.

It appears also that he gave a pair of gilt basons to queen Catharine, that cost 55l. and another pair to the duchess of Bedford of the value of 25l. and a large cup of silver-gilt to Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester, valued at 13l. 13s. 4d. and another of like value to the duchess of Bedford. In entertaining the young king, at his first visit after his coronation, he expended 85l. He gave also to Sir William Babynton, chief justice of the Common Bench, a silver cup, value 5l. and the like to Thomas Bekynton, official of the arches. He sent

sent three saltcellars to the scholars at Oxford, worth 4l. and, to compleat the repair of their chapel, 20l. in money. To a certain monk of Bury (Lydgate probably), for translating the Life of Alban into the vulgar tongue, he sent as a present 3l. 6s. 8d. He sent to pope Martin a silver cup and ewer (*aquario*) gilt, worth 16l. 3s. 4d. He gave to duke Humphry three books, value 10l. one of which was a Cato with a glossary, and the other two of his own composing. He gave to the duke of Bedford a book of astronomy, value 3l. 6s. 8d. many other cups he presented; and to the cell at Tynmouth, a purple cope that cost 20l. The whole value of these presents came to 326l. 15s. 8d.

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chosen.

The several repairs and improvements made within the convent amounted to 886l.

Repairs within the church, 142l. 15s.

In providing chasubles and copes, 200l.

In the making of one mitre, 100 marcs.

In the making of one pastoral staff, 50l.

For other copes, basons, fur robes, &c. to the amount in all of 641l.

Improvements within the choir, 80l.

In the refectory, in seven salt-cellars, weight 7 lb. 10 oz. 16l. 14s.

In providing six spoons, weight 8 oz. 17s.

One myrrhine cup for the side-board (a), 13s. 4d.

In repairs about the abbot's lodging, and the making the pent-house (b), or walk leading to the same, 126l. 6s. 8d.

In the purchase of plate for the ewry (c), 151l. 9s. 11d.

In purchasing one suit of pontificals for the abbot's chapel, 5l.

In repair of buildings within the town, 565l. 3s. 10d.

In repairs in the sundry manors, 580l. 17s. 2d.

At Oxford in building a chapel and a wall, 108l. 13s. 4d.

The sum total of all his expences in the purchase of new estates was 1362l. 17s. 1d.

Of which the purchase of the manor of Newlane, and of discharging the same from the Mortmain, was 128l. 6s. 2d.

For the manor of Butterwyk, 111l.

For the manor formerly of Thomas Legat in Walden, besides a corrody of 10l. a year, and he lived only two years, 20l.

(a) Pro desco.

(b) Penticii.

(b) Gardroba.

John VI. re-
chufen.

For the purchase of Harpsfield, 13l. 6s. 8d.

For the lands of Simon Pekfithale in Barnet, 100 marcs.

For the purchase of squyllers, 200l.

For the purchase of the manor of Radwell, from Sir John Fray, chief baron of the Exchequer, and discharging the same from Mortmain, 262l.

For the manor of Burston and discharge, 267l. 3s. 4d.

To Sir Thomas Charlton, *pro sua benevolentia in venditione* (of what is uncertain), 12l. 3s. 4d.

He expended, in procuring the union of Beaulieu, and a release of the Advowson of that priory, from the lord Grey de Ruthyn, the sum of 79l. 6s. 8d.

It is also, faith Blakeney, worthy of notice and of record, as it is also of imitation, that the abbot, in making these acquisitions never sold any wood more than the usual quantity, never granted a corrody to any one for life, never mortgaged or borrowed money upon any one farm, or pawned the least valuable article of the house; but, by his known integrity and punctuality, procured universal quiet and satisfaction.

During this abbot's time many rich presents were made to the convent: as,

By the illustrious lady Margaret, duchess of Clarence, one whole dress, with three copes, and a complete dress for the altar, of the value of 200 marcs.

By her also, a pair of censers, value 40 marcs.

By Sir John Cornwail, lord of Amptehall, one compleat vestment, with three copes, and a compleat dress for the altar worth 40l.

By the lady Ann Tyrell, one cup of gold adorned with precious stones, worth 100l.

By the bishop of Litchfield (Heyworth) a whole suit of cloth gold, for the altar; and ten copes, of the same, valued at 100l.

By the same, a large missale for the use of visitors and guests, of the Salisbury form, worth 13l. 6s.

By him also, one large Morning Prayer in two volumes, for their use likewise, worth 10l. 8s.

The books which he caused to be composed, that is, to be written and copied, are here recited, and among them is,

For the making of one Cato, with a Glossary, 6l. 13s. 4d.

For the making of a book on the Consolation of Philosophy, 5l.

For

For the making of Gorham upon Luke, 4l. This Gorham was a ^{John VI. re-}
learned monk in this house. _{choven}

For the making the Polycraticon of John Salisbury, 40s.

With many others.

His own books also are enumerated, viz. for the making of one book, intituled, *Granarium Joannis de Loco Frumenti in quatuor vol. divisum*, 20 marcs. In making another, intituled, *Palearium Pœtarum*, 40s. and other books, which have all perished.

He made also many large books for the choir, among which was a *Gradale*, in 4 vol. and valued at 20l.

CHAP.

C H A P T E R VIII.

WILLIAM ALBAN (a).

Will. III. the
34th abbot.

A Certificate was sent to the king, to inform him of the vacancy, beginning thus, 'Metuendissimo ac excellentissimo dom. Edwardo,' &c. and dated 1460, Jan. 26. Then followed letters of certification to all the priors, setting forth that John had died on the 20th of January, and that the election would be held on the 25th of February following, and to intreat their presence therein; and these were sent to Tinmouth and all the other cells; and bore date on the 30th of January 1460. But the king's licence was not granted until the 23d of January, in the 4th year of his reign; when he consented also to the restitution of the temporalities. However, Alban was chosen, and he acted in all the functions of abbot without any scruple: and we find not that the king's escheator made a seizure of any thing, nor took any advantage of the vacancy; nor did the new abbot go to court to swear fealty and allegiance. It is probable that the distracted state of the crown might cause these omissions on the part of Edward, who was now at the head of armies, and fighting to secure a throne which the Parliamen had just voted

(a) The life of this abbot is taken chiefly from a Register of Alban, in the Bodleian Library.

to him: and the abbot did not choose to hasten in proofs of his loyalty, while Henry was alive, and no lawful sovereign yet acknowledged. The abbot, however, proceeded to every act and duty which his new honour required; and in this year he presented to the bishop of Lincoln, Humphry Grainger (who is called a chaplain), for the rectory of Potsgrave, this church being vacant by the free resignation of Thomas Baker; and soon after, in June, the vicarage of Sandrugge was given to William Tyler, a chaplain, vacant by the death of Thomas Ridley; and Codicote vicarage was given to John Harding, chaplain.

Will. III. the
34th abbot.

A provincial chapter of the Benedictine Order had been held last year at Northampton; and the abbot of Peterborough was there deputed to visit all the monasteries in the diocese of Lincoln. And he signifies, by a letter dated the 4th of January 1460, that he would visit the monastery of St. Alban. The abbot, with much form and deliberation, in chapel assembled, consents; and writes for answer, that they shall, with great joy, await his visitation.

Henry Castell resigns the vicarage of Hexton, and in a Latin form to this purpose. In nomine Dei, amen. Coram vobis reverendo in Christo patre et dom. dom. Willielmo &c. ego Hen. Castell vicarius perpetuus eccles. paroch. de Hexton vestræ exemptæ jurisdictionis, volenti ex affectione ex certis causis veris et hic me ad hoc moventibus a cura et regimine dictæ vicariæ penitus exoneravi. Et ipsam vicariam meam cum omnib. pertin. in vestras hic manus non metu fraude aut dolo ductus sed pura sponte simpliciter absolutè resigno. Ab eademque et ejus possess. re & verbo totaliter hinc recedo.

This was done in the study of the abbot; and in the presence of him, of John Peyton Mag. decret. and of Dr. William Pope, who had the jurisdiction belonging to the Papal, official, and Imperial, notary, and of Robert Chaunter, a chaplain.

In December 1460 Thyrfeld, or Turvil, (in Bucks), then a vicarage, was given to Thomas Shave, a chaplain, vacant by the death of Thomas Lee; and Sudbury, in Suffolk, then a vicarage, was given to Robert Hyndwell. In 1462, on July 3, the vicarage of Rugge (Ridge) was conferred on Mr. James Waleys, chaplain, at the instance of Henry Frowyk, esq. and this reason is given 'Because the late vicar, John Bernard, had been indicted by the parishioners of Hadley, in the county of Middlesex, for certain deep treasons and felonies, on which account he had taken flight and absented himself from the place.'

In

Will. III. the
34th abbot.

In 1465, the abbot of Abyndon sent letters to Alban, to propose an appointment of a prior to superintend the studies of the young men at Cambridge; and Richard Thylbury, a monk of St. Mary, at York, was appointed to that office. In the year 1466, the church of East Barnet, then called a rectory (a), was given to Richard Bennet. This year there was a manumission to William Nash, and Robert, his son, to Sandrugge, *ab omni Jugo Servitutis*. And soon after, the same was granted to Thomas Atwode, and his son, of Baldock, *nativos de Dominio suo de Newenham*. This was a release or enfranchisement of their persons from the services of villanage; and this year also St. Peter's vicarage was resigned in form by Robert Chaunter, above-mentioned, and given to Edmond Westby. In 1467 four young men, named Thomas Hanke, Richard Pernham, John Maynard, and Thomas Auncell, were admitted to the habit of a monk. They made profession before the great altar, in the presence of the abbot, then officiating in his pontific robes. This was called *Rasura Monachorum*; and was practised every third or fourth year; when there were five or six candidates or novices. In 1470 Great

(a) The rectors of East Barnet have been the following persons:

- 1471, Richard Bennet.
- Anthony Blage.
- 1553, William Laruke.
- 1567, John Underne.
- 1591, Dr. Edward Grant (b).
- 1601, Edward Munnes.
- 1603, Matthias Milward.
- 1609, John Goodwyn.
- 1679, John Goodwyn, probably his son.
- 1681, Robert Taylor.
- 1719, Gilbert Burnet, second son of bishop Burnet.
- 1724, William Day.
- 1733, Dr. Richard Bundy.
- 1739, David Beaufort.
- 1743, Samuel Grove.
- 1769, Benjamin Underwood.

Before the incumbency of Dr. Richard Bennet there were two parishes (as now), and served by the same priest; but although John Moot had built a church or chapel at Market Barnet, for, that is the meaning of Chipping, yet much neglect of duty and irregularity ensued; and the parishioners of Chipping Barnet complained to the abbot, William Alban; who directed that Sir Richard Bennet, the rector, should provide a deputy (c). A proof this that East Barnet is the Mother Church, and that the rectory house was situate in that parish.

(b) Of whom see Bentham's History of Ely, p. 253.

(c) Dr. Middleton's Miscellaneous Works, vol. V. p. 253.

Stanmer

Stanmer was vacant; and a handsome letter was sent to the abbot ^{Will. III. the 35th abbot.} by George Nevil, archbishop of York, begging the presentation, for this turn, for his chaplain William Syngleton. The archbishop dates his letter from his manor of De la Moor, in Rickmersworth. This was the great archbishop, who was brother to the famous earl of Warwick, and who gave the grand dinner (still upon record), when installed at York, in 1466. He now lived at Moor Park, built a large house, and sometimes entertained the young king here; having probably purchased that interest in the estate which Sir Ralph Buttiler parted from and sold. And in this year the abbot, being possessed of the priory of Pembroke, appointed Ralph Roose to be prior. In 1471, he presented to Abbots Aston; to Brantfield; to Middleton Keynes; to Radwell, a rectory; to Norton, a vicarage; and to Idelf-tree, a rectory; and, in 1473, to St. Stephen, a vicarage.

In this monastic rule and government, where obedience and submission was not only a law but a virtue also, we may perceive how necessary it was that forms and ceremonies should be kept up by those who ruled and directed. And accordingly every event, even the most trifling, was conducted with much form and solemnity; for instance, the abbot had been accustomed to have from the chase of Horewode, near their estate of Winslow, three bucks and three does, at two several times, viz. on Holy Rood Day, 3 fat bucks, *tres feras quæ damæ vocantur*; and, on the Feast of the Purification, 3 fat does. He sends a pompous Latin letter (for, in Latin every pleasure of his will was made known) that he would have *tres damas masculos* on the Feast of St. Peter, and *tres famellas feras damas* at the Feast of the Nativity. 'And these to be given to us and our successors for ever.'

And in the three following events great solemnity and form was used in composing the Latin letters then written on the occasion. In 1473, at the general chapter of the Benedictine order, holden at Northampton, our abbot was appointed to make a visit of the monastery of Glastonbury; and the abbot of Eynsham to visit St. Albans. In 1475, the vicar of Rickmersworth, and the vicar of Sandrugge, had a mind to travel: they asked leave: something more than devotion to Rome tempted: leave was given, in form, to visit the *Apostolica Limina*. This year also, solemn letters patent are granted to one Ralph Ferrer, constituting him master of the hospital of St. Julian. And all this was done in a communication by Latin.

Bushey was in the patronage of George duke of Clarence, and, at the intercession and petition of the abbot, was given to John Hylle. And

Will. III. the 35th abbot. the abbot gave the vicarage of Kymbell Parva to William Hall, chaplain. In the second year of Edward's reign, he had given leave, by letters patent, to bring all prisoners who should be taken in the towns of St. Alban, Barnet, and Watford, and the hundred of Caishe, to trial, by their seneschal, or steward: this privilege was given, that the felons might not be kept a long time in custody. And the abbot appoints the seneschal, taking unto him two or three of his majesty's justices of the peace, to proceed on the commission of oyer and terminer, given by the king. This appointment was given to the seneschal by the abbot's mandate, directed and dated April 20, 1476.

And this grant of Edward is the foundation of that great mistake made by Sir Henry Chancey, when he says that the liberty was first constituted by this king, and all the civil rights thereof then first granted to the abbot. William Alban died in 1476.

WILLIAM WALLINGFORD.

Will. IV. the 36th abbot. The register of William Wallingford begins August 4, 1476, and of Edward IV. the 16th. Alban had died, on the 1st day of July, in the clock-chamber; and his funeral obsequies were performed by the right reverend *John Hunden*, then prior of King's Langley, lord bishop of Landaff. The usual certificate was sent to the king, with a petition for the restitution of the temporals. William Wallingford, their prior, was elected: and, this being made known to the king in form, he grants a confirmation, and restores the temporalities on the 10th of August, 1476; and, on the 13th, Thomas Nayland, the co-quinarius, was elected to be prior. The bishop made some stay here, abode often at King's Langley, and lodged one night together with the abbot at Tydenhangre. It was customary for the abbot to swear allegiance, and the very form, now sworn to by William, is extant in these words, 'I shall faithful be and true; and faith and truth shall have to you my sovereign lord, and to your heirs kings of England, of life and lymme and of earthly worship, for to lif and die agenst all pepell, &c. &c. So help me God and his Seints.' Norton,

ton, the vicar of St. Stephen, was allowed to be absent; but, by a ^{Will. IV. the} letter of concession from the abbot. The advowson and patronage ^{36th abbot.} of two rectories, viz. of Barnet and of Tenby in South Wales, were now given to Richard, duke of Gloucester, styled *Magno Camerario et Admirallo Angliæ*. In 1476, a commission, in form, was given to the archdean and two or three others, to examine heretics. This same year the patronage of Walynton was given up by the abbot, for himself and his successors, to George, duke of Clarence, and to his assigns, for ever: and, about this time, the abbot granted the next turn, to present, to Cicely the king's mother, of the rectory of St. Peter in the Chepe (East Cheap) in London. One Sanimes, who is styled perpetual vicar of Luton, had made a will, and disposed of his effects, leaving Thomas Ramrugge, now first mentioned, his executor, being his relation. But he could not act or accept the trust without leave of the abbot; and a specious form in Latin is here given. Banns of marriage had been used in all former times, and directed to be published thrice in the parish church: but here it occurs, that the abbot could give licence for two persons to be married in the chapel situated in his manor, in the parish of Bushey, although the banns had been published twice in the parish church: it is directed to the man named Kylborn, *ut absque ulteriore bannarum predicat. matrim. complere valeas; juribus, ad. ecc. de Bushey pertinent. salvis*; and this licence was dated *In manerio nostro de Titenbangre, anno 1476*. A licence, to the same effect and uses, was given also this year to one William Fitz, or Fitch, who had contracted marriage with Margaret Gylbert, a widow, in the parish of Rugge (Ridge), that they be married in the chapel situate *in our Manor de la Weld* (a). The abbot intreats the university of Cambridge to confer the degree of B. T. on John Woolman, *confratrem et commonachum*.

The new abbot had a mind to visit the cell at Hertford, and sent the following letter, in English, to certify the prior: ‘ Welbeloved
‘ Broder in God, I grete you welle; bating you have knowlache, that I
‘ purpose, with Goddes sufferance, for to be here with you in my pro-

(a) It is highly probable that this chapel is the same that was afterward called Colney Chapel; and, if so, this proves that the estate called Colney Chapel, though situate in Shenley (as part of the Weld or Wild Manor is), does lie in the manor of Weld. This chapel did serve for the devotion of that neighbourhood, and the great families there residing; and fell into disuse and decay only at the rebuilding of Shenley Church, viz. in the time of Henry VII. when, on rebuilding, it was much enlarged. The foundation of the former church is still visible, in very dry weather, in the church yard.

Will. IV. the 36th abbot. per parsons, accompayned with 20 horses, upon Monday the 28th day of this present Jule at my soper; and to sojourne with you unto the Thursday next ensuing in the morning, for to visit this my priory, in every matter and cause, according unto the laudable accustom of our religion. Wherefore to you priour, and to your broder everich and all, in the virtue of holy obedience, strictly I charge and command, that ye and they with orders, interessed in the said visitation, do your personalle attendaunce and obedience pay, &c. from Titenhanger.' Notice to the same purpose went forth to William Hardwyk, bachelor of divinity, that the abbot would visit the nunnery of the *Pray*, near St. Alban's town; and to inquire of the state of the said place and nunnery, as well in spirituals as in temporals. In this year the abbot gave away the vicarages of Sudbury, Sandrugge, St. Peter's, Morton, and Luton; and in March released Robert Heath of Codicote, *cum totâ sequelâ procreatâ et procreandâ*.

In 1478, the abbot granted to the queen, one turn, or presentation, of the vicarage of Winslow: about this time Nicolas Boston, who was archdeacon and almoner, was appointed to the priory of Tinmouth; to which it is remarked he set forth, but reached not the place in less than 10 days: and Rothebury was made archdeacon. In 1478, the abbot gave the living of Leechworth to Robert Bysslet, at the instance of John Stourton of Hitchin; it had been vacated by the free resignation of Thomas Whitaker, into the hands of Thomas, lord bishop of Lincoln; and, the patronage being in the abbey, the abbot and convent could only present: whereas of such parish-churches as belonged *pleno jure* to the abbey, and of consequence partook of the exemption, the abbot was said to fill them by collation. In 1479, the abbot granted one pension of 5l. to John Barry, *jantylman*, with a long robe *de secta generosorum*, reaching to the heels of the said John, and to be worn in his manor of Biggyn, in the county of Bucks. In this year, Wyngrave and Shephall, two vicarages, were given; and William lord Hastings was made marshall, or equerry, for the lyfe of the present abbot; *habend. & tenend. omnia vadia, ffeoda, annuitates, liberas cameras, togas, stabula, sustentationes equorum, cum eorum ferruris*: these terms in the patent intimate, that it belonged to him to superintend the lodging and equipage of the abbey, uniting as it were the two great offices under the crown of high constable and earl marshal. In this year Leechworth and Abbot's Langley became vacant, and were given: and also the rectory of St. Michael, in Hogen-lane,

lane, near Wode-strete, London, was given to Master John Cooke, <sup>Will. IV. the
36th abbot.</sup>
doctor in laws.

In this year, a certain gentlewoman, named Elizabeth Catharine Holstead, widow, was admitted into the office of *anchorite* of St. Peter's. This was done with great solemnity, and by the abbot in person. It was a more than ordinary dedication of this woman to the devotion and religious offices of this church; for, living near it, she chose, rather than go into the sisterhood at Sopwell, to devote herself at the church of St. Peter. This office hath nothing now existing that bears any resemblance; but it implied a constant attendance on the holy offices.

Three years before, a letter had come from the king's exchequer, directing the abbot, or rather allowing him, to collect, for the use of the holy see, the first fruits or annates, and other payments, due to the pope, and arising within the abbot's jurisdiction: and this year, 1480, the pope's collector in England, by name John Gighe, came to the abbot, at his usual abode at Titenhangre, *causâ recreationis suæ*, it is said: he brought six servants and one chaplain, and staid six days. In this year, Henry, earl of Northumberland, grants unto the prior of Tynmouth (William), an annuity during the said lord's pleasure, of 10l. a year. The grant is in English, 'given in my castell of Aylenwick in the 20th year of king Edward.' This earl was grandson of the earl of Northumberland, slain in 1455, and interred in this church; and who bore especial regard to the abbey, and its cell at Tinmouth: but, having taken offence at Boston, he secretly fomented the quarrel between him and Durwell, with a view to make Boston quit. A monk, who was styled Keeper of the chapel of St. Andrew, desired leave of absence, and petitioned the abbot in Latin: the abbot's answer is returned in Latin, in a solemn and formal epistle, granting leave; but on condition that he left some careful person in charge of the altar; and to give security that none of the *jocalia*, the ornaments or trinkets thereof, be lost. In this year a letter was sent to the bishop of Durham, praying him to admit a new prior to the cell of Tinmouth; and another letter to the bishop of Norwich, that he would admit and institute a new prior to Bynham. The abbot of Westminster also sent a letter, signifying that, in the last general chapter of the Benedictines holden at Northampton, he had been appointed to visit the abbey of St. Alban, in the place of the abbot of Eynsham. This he performed: and, in the return which he was directed to make to the next general chapter, he remarks only the
names.

Will. IV. the 36th abbot. names and number of the monks found in this monastery, and they are as follows :

- Dom. Wilhelmus Walyngford, *abbas.*
- Dom. Thomas Neylond, *prior et coquinarius.*
- Dom. Joan. Eyton, *custos feretri.*
- Dom. Richard Waltham, *cistarius.*
- Dom. Thomas Blaknall, *cistarius.*
- Dom. Thomas Albon, *prior Redborne.*
- Dom. Thomas Wytton, *bursarius.*
- Dom. Thomas Walmesford, *eleemosynarius.*
- Dom. Wilhelmus Goodrede, *gistarius.*
- Dom. Shyrewsbury.
- Dom. Wilhelmus Hardwyk, *bacal. theolog. et cancellarius abbatis.*
- Dom. Wilhelmus Hythefeld, *mag. novæ ordinationis.*
- Dom. Tho. Roose, *custos monialium.*
- Dom. Richardus Whillington, *tertius prior.*
- Dom. Galfridus Wyntyr.
- Dom. Torpurley, *subinfirmarius.*
- Dom. Wilhelmus Holveden, *primus scrutator.*
- Dom. Johannes Rothebury, *archidiac. et sacrista.*
- Dom. Nychol. Kyrkeby, *precentor et magist. capellæ.*
- Dom. Joan. Basnet, *capellanus abbatis.*
- Dom. Henricus Martyn, *camerarius.*
- Dom. Georg. Colt, *subinfirm. et subcantor.*
- Dom. Thomas Ramrugg, *sub-prior.*
- Dom. Willielmus Whelpley, *ostilarius.*
- Dom. Johan. Sleethe, *tertius scrutator.*
- Dom. Wilhelmus Malehurst.
- Dom. Joan. Bensted, *capellanus abbatis.*
- Dom. Johan. Havarde, *secundus scrutator.*
- Dom. Johan. Strenger, *sub-sacrista.*
- Dom. Wilhelmus Andrew.
- Dom. Thomas Bayly.
- Dom. Thomas Sudbury, *cellerarius.*
- Dom. Adam Gelebrand.
- Dom. Rob. Netlam, *capellanus prioris.*
- Dom. Wilhelmus Baron, *magister novistiorum.*
- Dom. Johannes Thornton.
- Dom. Johan. Kyllingworth.
- Dom. Wilhelmus Runcham.
- Dom. Richard Felde.

Dom.

Dom. Wilhelmus Lything.

Dom. Wilhelmus Martyn.

Dom. Johan. Smirth.

Dom. Thomas Retlond.

Dom. Thomas Holgrave.

Dom. Richard Beavyr.

Dom. Johannes Martyn.

Dom. Johannes Wodeley.

Dom. Johannes Erly.

Dom. Willielmus Holme,

Dom. Thomas Patwyn,

Dom. Johannes Auncelle, } *Novicii.*

Dom. Johannes Lything,

Dom. Thomas Williams,

Dom. Richard Runkins,

Dom. Johannes Maynard, } *Scolares.*

Dom. Thomas Loryng,

Num. Monach. 56.

Will. IV. the
36th abbot.

The new prior was lately sent to Tynmouth, to supply the place of Boston, who had run away and absented himself. And in September, a citation issued from the abbot, commanding him to surrender himself to the new prior within seven days, and to answer to such things as should be alleged against him, *Quæ tibi objicientur* (a). Then issued a command to the new prior to take into custody and examine the said Boston; and a letter to the bishop of Durham, to request his aid to take the fugitive, and to assist in repressing such insolence. In September, 1480, the abbot gave a release, and probably for some consideration, to William Hale, alias Mylward, and all his family born in the manor of Hexton, *ab omni jugo servitutis et bondagii*; and this was styled *Manumissio*. And, in December, John Hatfield, the prior of Belvoir, was directed to visit the cell of Tynmouth, and make inquiry into the state and condition thereof; for, it was now found, that grievous quarrels and suits at law had happened between Boston and William Durwell, and great losses had been incurred. In this year, the vicarages of Rickmersworth, Wyngrave, and Appulton, in Rydale in Yorkshire, had been given; and the next presentation of Leechworth (*quando contigerit*) granted to William Westby, esq. In the end of this year, a commission is given to Rothebury, the

(a) Another imitation of law process. The cause of Boston's flight may have been the prejudice taken against him by the earl of Northumberland; for, Durwell was the prior patronised by the earl.

cellarer,

Will. IV. the cellarer, and Thomas Ramrugge, sub-prior, to visit the cell of Sop-
 36th abbot. well, and there to set aside, from her office of prioress, Joan Chapell,
 now very old, and too infirm to discharge her duty in the care of the
 house; and to place in that office Elizabeth Webb, one of the sisters.

In 1480, the art of printing was introduced at this place, and the
 press set up in the monastery; while Caxton was printing in the mo-
 nastery at Westminster: and another press was set up at Sion, though
 40 years later than this time. The printer's name was John Her-
 ford, and he printed here the following books. Typog. Antiq.

1. *Rhetorica nova Fratris Laur. Gal. de Saonâ Ord. Minorum.*
 Imp. ap. Villam St. Albani, 1480.

It is a small quarto, and was in Dr. Mead's collection.

2. *Alberti Liber modorum significandi*, 1480.
3. *Incipiunt Exempla Sacræ Scripturæ*, 1480.
4. *In Aristotelis Physica*, 1481.
5. *The St. Alban's Chronicle*; compiled also at this place, 1483.

Some part of this, viz. what related to English affairs, had been
 printed by Caxton in the year 1480, and called the Chronicle of Eng-
 land. But now much foreign history and scripture was interwoven,
 collected from the *Fasciculus Temporum*, printed 1481, and named
Fructus Temporum. This chronicle was printed again, in 1497, by
 Wynken de Worde at Westmestre, and he says in the title, 'It was
 compiled in a booke, and also empyrnted by one sometyme scole mayf-
 ter of St. Albon's.' In the Register of Wallingford's Acts and Deeds
 no notice is taken of this new and curious art; nor of the renowned
 author that appeared a few years after, 1486, within their own
 walls; and this was the Lady Juliana Barnes, or Berners (a), the
 prioress of Sopwell; who had composed a book containing three trea-
 tises, one on hawking, another on hunting and fishing, and the third
 on Coots Armuris. Her name is affixed only to the end of the second;
 but the whole was printed by Herford, in the year 1486. This art
 seems then to have been dropt by Herford: for, the monks gave no en-
 couragement to printing; and it is recorded that Woolsey afterwards
 discountenanced it very much, having said, at a convocation of

(a) This Juliana Berners was the daughter of Sir James Berners, of Berners Red-
 ing, in Essex, knt. and sister to Richard Lord Berners. Was living in 1460, accord-
 ing to John Bale, cent. 8, fol. 611; and became lady prioress of Sopwell. This is
 said by Mr. Barton, in a letter to Thomas Hearne, dated December 16, 1733; and
 is written in a blank leaf in a copy once belonging to bishop More, and now in the
 university library of Cambridge.

the clergy at St. Paul's, in his early days, 'that if they did not forbid printing it would prove the ruin of the church.' After this time, there was here, as also at Oxford and at Cambridge, a long intermission of Printing. Herford went to London, settled in Aldersgate-street, and printed again in 1536, and some years after. And in 1534, at the request of abbot Cotton, he printed *The Lyfe and Passion of Seint Alban*, as it was then translated, out of French and Latin, by John Lydgate, monk of Bury.

Will. IV. the
36th abbot.

In 1480, the general chapter of Benedictines at Northampton, having appointed our abbot to visit all the monasteries in the diocese of Lincoln, he deputed two of the brethren to go in his stead: and the command to this purpose is directed to William Hardwyk, B. D. and John Maynard; and the progress of their visitation was thus, and is marked with these distances,

	miles.
From St. Alban's to Stevenage,	14
From Stevenage to Bykleswade,	14
From Bykleswade to Seyneodes, St. Neots,	8
From Seyneodes to Huntynston,	5
From Huntynston to Ramesey,	7
From Ramesey to Steleton,	10
From Steleton to Petyrbourith,	4
From Petyrbourith to Croyland, by land,	4
and by water,	4
From Croyland to Spalding,	8
From Spalding to Boston,	7
From Boston to Tatyrsale,	9
From Tatyrsale to Berdeney,	9

This was the extent of their journey, and then they turned homeward.

	miles.
From Berdeney to Lincoln,	7
From Lincoln to Nawnby,	7
From Nawnby to Grantham,	12
From Grantham to Melton Mowbray,	10
From Melton Mowbray to Leicester,	10
From Leicester to Lytteryworth,	10
From Lytteryworth to Daventre,	10
From Daventre to Brakele,	14
From Brakele to Myddelton,	7
From Myddylton to Ensam,	10
From Ensam to Oxon,	7

F f f

From

Vill. IV. the
36th abbot.

	miles.
From Oxon to Tame, - - -	10
From Tame to Aylesbury, - - -	6
From Aylesbury to Berkampstead, - - -	8
From Berkampstead to St. Alban's - - -	8

From this journal it appears that their computed miles were at least double the present, now measured.

The churches in South Wales, at this time in the patronage of the abbey, were these; the rectories of Tenby, Angulo, Porterawhan, and Cranwer; the vicarages of Moniton, Castro Martini, and St. Michael, Pembroke: all given, together with lands and estates, by duke Humphry.

The abbot dispensed with banns of marriage in such churches as were in his jurisdiction: as in St. Peter's, in 1482, he dispensed with banns after one proclamation, and ordered the vicar to proceed to the solemnization.

John Hylle, (Hill), the rector of Bushey, becoming very old and infirm, he resigned the said church, and one John Cortelle was presented to the same; and it was agreed, probably before Hill resigned, that Cortelle should make him some compensation: accordingly the abbot decreed, in a solemn and set form, under seal, that Cortelle should allow Hill 6l. 13s. 4d. annually, during his life. It is said, that Edward, the young son of the late George duke of Clarence, was lawful patron of the said church; but, by reason of his minority, the presentation belonged to the abbot: and Cortelle resigned Abbots Langley for Bushey. William Durwell, who had great contests with Boston at Tynmouth, was now confirmed in the perpetual possession of that priory. In 1482, and on the 3d of March, the next turn to the church of Tenby was granted to Roger Harley, at the instance of Richard, duke of Glocester; and Barnet was now granted to the same duke, when it should become vacant.

A convocation of the clergy was appointed to be holden at St. Paul's on the 21st of March, 1481; but the abbot sent a letter to the abbot of Westminster to appear on his behalf, and beg an excuse for him, being unable to attend. And this convocation being adjourned to the 5th of June, he sent master John Cooke, LL. D. and John Rothebury, his archdeacon, as procurators to appear for and in his stead. This same Dr. Cooke was then rector of the church in Hogen-lane,

lane, and in November he resigned it; on which the abbot, &c. presented Robert Knight, who was rector of Leechworth; and the abbot presented to Leechworth William Whiteways, M. A. In December, 1481, the vicarage of Tyrfelde, or Turville, was given to John Botelley after John Willson, chaplain, at the instance of the lord Hastings, the king's chamberlain; on the condition that the said John should resign whensoever he should be required by the said chamberlain. This vicarage had been given, in November last year, to Willson, on the resignation of Thomas Shaw: and, in 1482, Idelestre was given to one John Jubbe, and Caldecot and Brantfield to two other clerks.

Will. IV. the
36th abbot.

The office of seneschal (which was not only that of steward to their manors, but judge also of the civil courts held for this hundred) being vacant by the death of Westby, letters patent under the abbey seal were given, on the 8th of February 1482, to William lord Hastings (a), constituting him to this office, together with one John Forster to act as deputy. King Edward died on the 9th of April following: and then began the machinations of the duke of Gloucester, to gain the crown, in concert with Buckingham and this lord Hastings. Rapin speaks nothing of this lord's being confined by Gloucester before the very day, viz. the 12th of June 1483, when his head was cut off in the tower, while the council were sitting, and the duke had charged him with a conspiracy not an hour before, and and caused him to be led forth to a speedy execution. Yet the MS. register whence this account is taken, speaks of his confinement, recites a letter, or petition, from the abbot and body to the king, to supplicate for him. But it availed nothing; for, he was put to death without the least form of trial, *absque judicio*. Forster was committed to the tower on the next day, June 13, and confined there

(a) This man was descended from Matthew de Hastings in Suffex, where, in the Norman times, one of them held the manor of Grenocle. Ashby de la Zouch in Leiceſter was given to ſome deſcendant of the ſaid Matthew by Henry VI. from whom William Haſtings obtained the privilege of ſome fairs for the town of Aſhby. His ſon engraſtiated himſelf with the houſe of York, and, as ſoon as Edward made himſelf maſter of the realm and was crowned king, he conſtituted this Willam Haſtings lord chamberlain, and gave him the honour of knighthood. He continued in this office during the whole reign of Edward, and until his death under Richard. He had married the heiress of the Hungerfords, in the county of Wilts, and received very large eſtates with her, all which, at his death, Richard gave to the duke of Norfolk. He dwelt ſomewhere near to St. Albans; and, I believe, at the Weld, after the death of Humphry duke of Glouceſter.

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until the 10th of March following: but he gave up his office of *neschal*, the day after he was arrested, to William Catesby, then a great counsellor of the king's, and styled *jurisperitus*; and the abbot confirmed Catesby herein by a patent bearing date August 1, 1483. As Hastings had great estates and concerns in the counties of Leicester and Northampton, so Catesby, being his agent and confident friend herein, this accounts for that great confidence with which Hastings entrusted him in his secret suspicions against the duke of Gloucester. But nothing can excuse the extreme perfidy and treachery of this man towards Hastings; nor has it any parallel, except in his own family, and perhaps descendants, who were concerned in the Powder Plot, 1605. This William Catesby was much caressed, and knighted by king Richard: and, being taken prisoner at Bosworth Field, was beheaded two days after. In this same year, a petition was offered to the abbot, &c. by one Hethner, who kept an inn known by the sign of the George; that he might be allowed to have mass said, and divine service performed, in a chapel just below his house, for the benefit of the nobles, and other guests, who resorted to his house on their journey. And licence was granted for the same; the mass to be said *submissa voce*; and on condition that no loss or prejudice should arise by the same to the offerings and rights of the parish-church of St. Andrew in this town, and near that Inn.

In 1483, on November 19, Boston was replaced in the priory of Tynmouth, at the instance of Richard, our serene king; because (for, a reason must be given) the king had promised to give ten pounds to repair some works there in the water, *ad opus fabricæ aquaticæ*, and belonging to the haven. The vicarage of Norton was now given to one William Preston, a Cistercian, who came from Rome with a bull from the most holy father Pope Sixtus IV. declaring him fit to hold any benefice with cure of souls, even if it should be a vicarage; and the last vicar of Norton having been deprived, Preston came to the abbot and produced his title from Rome.

This abbot had been very prudent in the management of his church's revenue, having made some addition by purchase, and strenuously defended the rights of the abbey against some claims and pretensions of archbishop Bouchier, who, being archbishop and cardinal, oppressed and harrassed this abbot with suits at law. However, the abbot made an appeal to the Romish Court, by two of the brethren sent on purpose, and there obtained satisfaction and repose. He was

also very munificent to the church, and built that stately front to the great altar; a work of very nice and curious device, and intended to strike the beholder with the awe and reverence which a new and splendid object would produce; whereas the sight of the shrine was no longer a novelty, nor causing that awful astonishment which it had done formerly. And beside, the shrine being now enclosed, was visited with greater solemnity, seen but rarely, and, being heard of only, created a new degree of respect and veneration. This front, with the curious images placed thereon, cost 1100 marks (a). He also built a small chapel with a tomb, having his effigies, cut in marble, placed thereon, near the great altar, and on the south side; intending this for his place of burial: and all this cost 100l. sterling. He died in 1484, on the 8th of August. But his tomb, which was placed between Wheathampstead and the duke's, hath perished.

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(a) This screen is a well-preserved piece of curious work, and displays the ingenuity and labour of some able artist now unknown. It seems as if meant to conceal the shrine, and to serve the same purpose as was intended by the large frontal, or curtain of crimson velvet, or gold tissue, which used to be suspended in this place on great festivals: and in the middle of this front is now seen a large plain flat surface, as if intended to receive a small curtain or picture: all the rest of the surface is occupied by small tabernacles for the reception of images.

It is probable this screen was at first designed by Wheathampstead, as it bears his arms over the doors, was making in the time of Albon, and finally erected by Wallingford; though this latter has all the merit. If it be asked why its position is between two arches, and not between two piers, the reason is, that in the latter place it would have been an obstruction to Wheathampstead's monument.

A good engraving of this screen has been made by Carter; and the monuments of Wheathampstead and Ramridge are well drawn by Schnebbelie, engraved, and printed.

The picture of the last supper, suspended against the screen, over the communion table, hath some history [belonging to it. It was painted by Thornhill, and ordered by Dr. Welton, rector of White Chapel, for his church; and the doctor, having conceived some pique or enmity against White Kennet, caused the Judas to be painted in exact likeness of him: the picture was hung up in the church of White Chapel, as intended by Welton: but Kennet, hearing of this insult, made complaint to Compton, then bishop of London, who ordered the picture to be taken down. This was done; and it lay aside for some years, until a gentleman of this town purchased it as a present and decoration to this church. His pious generosity was worthy of a better picture.

THOMAS

THOMAS RAMRIDGE.

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 He was succeeded by Thomas Ramrügge, or, as he has been since called, Ramridge, from a place so named near to Kimpton; for, so the modern Sandridge was called Sandrugge, and Ridge was Rugge. But the election of Ramridge did not take place till 1492; though for what cause is uncertain; unless from the king's displeasure, and refusal to allow an election, on finding the abbey's great seneschal among the traitors at Bosworth; and who, together with divers others of Richard's friends, was attainted by act of Parliament in the end of 1485. These attainders brought to the king great estates and wealth, as well as security to his seat on the throne. And it is possible that this merited disgrace of Catesby might involve the estates and rights of the abbey in great difficulties; insomuch, that no regular election did take place till 1492: and perhaps the king gratified his revenge on Catesby by keeping in his hands the temporalities of the deceased abbot. At all events this period of eight years is very obscure. But, before I proceed to consider Ramridge's time, I will view the literary state of this abbey.

Learning, before the art of printing, was no where a general attainment; and fell to the lot of a few only, who could apply great ingenuity to combat the numberless difficulties that attended the study of the ancient tongues. Yet we may perceive a few men in every age, within the walls of this abbey, who seem as well accomplished in learning as any men of these ancient orders. Formerly, we find Eadmer of great repute for his learning: and then Ralph, the abbot, who is said to have written the life of Alexander the Great; and Leland adds, also, that he wrote of St. Alban in elegant verse. There was next, about 1181, a monk, named William, who was distinguished among the men of science: and Walter, the monk, who was also librarian and historiographer. There was also John Hanwill, in 1200; celebrated by many foreigners for the elegance of his Latinity, and author of a very melancholy poem, called *Archithronium*, said to be now in MS. in Bennet College, Cambridge. Then followed Roger Windsor, monk, who, for his learning, was appointed historiographer, and wrote a chronicle of the English affairs down to 1235. Matthew Paris appears the next man of any note: and, indeed, his large historical works bear ample testimony to his diligence, judgment,

ment, perspicuity, and loyalty to his king; with just indignation at the vices and depravity of the clergy, and the exactions of the see of Rome. It is probable that the example of Paris inspired others with a love of letters, and Rishanger was appointed historiographer on the decease of Paris, in 1259. He continued the annals of Paris to the death of Henry, in 1272, was continued in the office, under Edward I. and II. and wrote many tracts of the events during those reigns, until his own death, in 1312. The next remarkable scholar was Richard Wallingford, the abbot, whom I have noted before for his singular and profound learning, and who flourished in 1326. John of Tinmouth appeared next, and wrote, with great diligence, a life of Alban, the founder; but I believe it hath perished: he also compiled the lives of all the saints of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and called it *Sanctilogium Servorum Dei*: he flourished in 1336. The novelty of Wycliff's doctrines stirred up some strong opponents at this church: in 1381, we find Simon Southray writing against him: and, in 1390, Richard Radcliffe, monk and archdeacon (whose tomb we noted in the time of Wheathampstead), signalized himself in defence of the old opinions. Then appeared, in 1400, Hugh Legat, a deep scholar, but a lover of mortification; for, rejecting all other books, he devoted himself to the reading *Hanwill's Archithronium*, and wrote comments on this pious and mournful subject. Soon after, Thomas Walsingham and John of Wheathampstead distinguished themselves; as John Lydgate did, at the same time, at Bury. Wynteshall and Ware continued Rishanger's Chronicle from 1273 to 1423; Walsingham wrote also the actions of Henry IV. though we know not how far (a): but he wrote with such veracity, that none doubt his truth; and with such precision, that he has supplied the defects of many other historians. The eminence of Wheathampstead's learning may be justly allowed from this circumstance only, that he was sent by the king to the council of Sienna, and that of Pavia, and made there very notable speeches: he also collected many books; and had become the admired favourite of Humphry, duke of Glocester, who was the patron of all learned men: he wrote a great number of tracts; but I believe all are perished, or sunk into oblivion, except his epistles in Amerham's life of him. About the same time lived John of Amerham, a faithful friend to

(a) He died before he had fully digested his historic notes, which he had been long and carefully collecting; and it is likely Ware availed himself of them.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot. John Wheathampstead, and firmly united in the love of letters and virtue. Amerſham wrote the life of Wheathampstead about 1440, on the resignation of the abbot, to rescue his character from the tongue of calumny. In the time of Ramridge lived Robert Blakeney, who compiled the last ten years of Wheathampstead's Life, in good classical Latin (a). But when they began to sink in the prince's favour and to lose the public esteem, they appear to have fallen in their own estimation, discipline became relaxed, piety decayed, and all love of learning and good letters seems to have forsaken the place.

The last royal favours shewn to this abbey were in the reign of Edward IV. and of Richard, at the end of whose reign they ceased for ever: and neither its ancient splendor or its literary fame could any longer secure to it the grace and favour of the sovereign. The circumstances which had made Edward and his brothers so friendly to this abbey were these: Edward gained an early acquaintance with the house and its rulers, by having often travelled this road when a young man, and accompanied his armed troops with his father. Then, after he became king, he followed the pleasures of the chase in the forest of Whittelbury; and his connection with the country about the forest became more close and frequent when he married the lady Grey from Grafton. This prince lived much at Windsor, but he frequented this part of his kingdom by repeated visits to his relations and friends; for, at this time, his mother, Cicely, the old duchess of York, had her residence at Berkampstead, and lived there till the middle of Henry the VIIth's reign. The dukes of Gloucester and Clarence abode often at the royal palace of king's Langley. George Nevil, the splendid archbishop of York, resided at More Park, and here the king frequently honoured this place with his presence. The lord Hastings, chamberlain to the court under Edward, dwelt near this abbey, as appears by his transaction with Wheathampstead. Richard, both before and after his accession, shewed great favour to this abbey, and greatly encouraged the compiling and publishing the Chronicle. But a fatal reverse was experienced when Henry became king.

The disgrace and loss, which the abbey suffered by the attainder of their seneschal Catesby, was a most unfortunate circumstance; for, by giving that avaricious Monarch, Henry VII. a taste of abbatic wealth, he failed not to indulge his thirst both here and elsewhere;

(a) The book is in the library at the Heralds Office, and finely written.

and

and it is probable that at the death of Wallingford, though the monks might elect the prior, or any other, yet the temporalities fell into the king's hands, and the new abbot had nothing but title. As the king found two lawyers, Empson and Dudley, to justify all his exactions on the laity; and who invented crimes and charges against them, from which they must redeem themselves with money; so did he find two prelates who were equally willing to manage the clergy, Morton and Fox. They had been faithful servants to the king, and he had rewarded them. But they continued to execute his plan, and coincide with his views, in a manner that could be justified in no men, even the lowest and most indigent. It is on record, that 'Morton, when advanced to Canterbury, in 1486, though he was then chancellor, did lay a great imposition on the clergy of his province; forcing them, by the pope's authority, to contribute so largely toward the charges of his translation, as of his own diocese only (which is one of the least in England) he received 354l.' And when Fox was consulting with Hugh Oldham, his particular friend, bishop of Exeter, and confessor to the countess of Richmond, what he should do with his money at his death; and that he had a mind to build and endow a monastery. 'No,' saith Oldham, the monks have more already than they are like long to keep;' to which Fox assented, and determined to build and endow a college. Corpus Christi in Oxford arose from that resolution; and Oldham added his money as the greatest benefactor to such a work. Now from these practices, and these declared sentiments, of the two greatest churchmen at that time in England, I think it is no breach of historic truth to say, that Morton and Fox were as ready and as useful, in fleecing the clergy, as Empson and Dudley were in stripping and extorting from the unhappy laity. And something of such inclination, and such practice, appears from this circumstance; that, with regard to bishopricks, the king would keep them vacant two or three years; or else appoint a bishop, and then remove him: and, by these frequent changes, he seemed to be advancing his friends; but he never restored the temporalities till he could move the bishop no farther. And thus, he could make three or four vacancies follow after the first. We have no doubt but this artifice was practised with abbeys as with episcopal sees; but the records and registers of abbeys are so generally destroyed, that we cannot so easily make out the proof.

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Yet

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Yet this king affected to manifest great respect and devotion to this abbey; for, in the 20th year of his reign, he caused the abbot and convent of Westminster to pay yearly to the abbey of St. Alban one hundred shillings, in order to keep and observe a most solemn anniversary on the 7th day of February, and therein to pray for the king and his father; and, when his mother should be dead (this was the old countess of Richmond), for her also.

This injunction, or rather agreement and covenant, is drawn up in good English and correct grammar, and with great legal precision, and forms an indenture quadripartite; for, the king is the one party, the abbot and convent of Westminster another, the abbot and convent of St. Alban the third part, and the mayor and commonalty of the city of London the fourth. The payment to be paid on Michaelmas-day, every year, *for ever, and while the world shall endure*; and, on failure of payment for twenty-one days, the forfeiture to be 10l. to be paid to St. Alban. After the king's death, to observe this anniversary on the day of the king's sepulture, for ever, and as long *as the world shall endure*. The king directs also certain collects to be sung for the prosperity of his realms; and likewise ordains that, at every celebration, the abbot shall yearly, and *for ever while the world shall endure*, provide and have an hearse to be set in the midst of the high chancel, before the high altar, covered and appareled with the best and most honorable stuff in the monastery; and also four tapers of wax, weighing each of them eight pounds, to be set about the same hearse; to be lighted and to burn continually. And after the end of the same high mass, the abbot and monks shall go together in order to the said hearse, and there devoutly sing this Responde, Libera me Domine de Morte. And, whenever the abbot should fail to solemnize this obit, the body should forfeit and pay the sum of ten pounds; and for omission of any one particular before directed, forty shillings to the Mayor and Commons of London (a).

These exactions and extortions, as formerly and frequently put in practice, were the consequence of the clergy being under a double head. Being distinct from the civil subjects, and taxed apart from them, by the high authority of the pope, and the bishops under him, the clergy were forced to submit to all oppressions; and had no redress from the Crown, or appeal to any power, but that which caused the grievance and inflicted the distress. So that the clergy,

(a) Harl. MS. N^o 28.

had

had they seen the benefit of having one head both of church as well as of state, would have rejoiced at the exclusion and downfall of that head, which cherished them, with no other view but to make them contribute to the grandeur and power of it and its instruments. Since, by being reduced in number, and melted down as it were into the mass of the people, they are made to partake of all the privileges and rights enjoyed by the laity, beside some few peculiar to their own order. And to be an individual under the mild and equitable laws of the state is far preferable to the most elevated rank under the laws and arbitrary edicts of the Roman pontiff: since the first confers a freedom, which the greatest man would covet and desire; and the latter holds out a splendid servitude, that the meanest man ought to reject and contemn.

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These monastic institutions had seen their best days. Their meridian glory was in the time of Henry III. when they, or most of them, had brought the rule of their order and the government of their temporalities to a great perfection; when we may perceive them keeping up a strict rule of religion, in fasting, praying, and a splendid devotion in the choir, with great sobriety and chastity in all the members of the body; when they relieved more people at their gate every day than were fed in their refectory; when these places received all younger children, and provided for many who seemed destitute of any means of living; when they were useful also in draining great tracts of land, and clearing and reclaiming heaths and commons, and undertaking works of this kind which seemed above the ability of the lord or owner; and which unprofitable lands the lords of manors were accustomed to give (as long as they were allowed), as a consideration for taking into the order younger sons or poor relations.

These houses also were extremely useful in receiving trusts, and being security for future payments; such was the character of abbots for probity, and for perpetuity: and thus were they enabled to serve many lay families, who could not trust to the bond or other security of lay lords and gentry. They likewise afforded great helps of religion and devotion to the aged and infirm; who, coming to the decline of life, sought the comforts of religion, and were anxiously contemplating their latter end: hence their choir was always filled with many persons out of the town, and of the meaner sort, who resorted thither to pray and worship God. In short, these houses

Tho. II. the 37th abbot. served all those purposes, which have since been performed by the separate and distinct offices of poor laws, parish-churches, hospitals, schools, inns, and almshouses.

But they began to decline in the time of Edward I. and were now approaching toward their dissolution; not so much through the ill-government and change of morals which prevailed within as from the change of times that prevailed without. The world was not such as it had been; and many causes conspired to the downfall of these institutions. The poor and lower ranks of men found more employment by the great increase of the woollen manufacture; which, together with other improvements in trade, had begun in the time of Henry VII. The rich began to travel abroad, especially into Italy, where they imbibed a new taste for polite literature, and the learning of ancient Greece and Rome. The learned and studious men had conceived new opinions of the doctrines and worship of the Established Romish Church, from the books of Wycliff, and from being able to read the Holy Bible: a consequence of which was, their veneration for the sovereign pontiff abated much; and they thought the worship of God, then in common use, was not the sort of worship which the Saviour of the World proclaimed must be in spirit and in truth. But what operated most strongly against these houses was, that the court, and necessitous courtiers, had begun to taste the sweets of their temporalities.

The time of Thomas Ramridge's death is no where recorded, and not the least history left of his rule and transactions (a); indeed, no memorial of him, beside a sumptuous and elaborate monument in stone work, and a flat grave-stone, inlaid with brass, representing his image or portrait. But it is very probable that he lived until the year 1523, when Wolsey, then bishop of Winchester, archbishop of York, chancellor of England, the pope's legate, and a cardinal, thought proper to resign the bishoprick of Lincoln, and take this abbey in commendam. The utter silence, and want of information, relative to abbot Ramridge and his times, can be accounted for on no other supposition than that the first plunderers, after the surrender of the seals at the dissolution in 1539, seized all the writings, registers, deeds, and documents, not merely as waste and useless paper, but as proofs and evidences of the estates and properties belonging to the house. And, if the king's commissioners made booty of these, first of all, it argues that the temporalities had been in a very

(a) See Appendix, N° X.

doubtful and concealed state before, and perhaps embezzled and withheld; and they judged this the only prudent way to save the remainder. By an instant seizure of the evidences, the commissioners could not only discover what belonged to the house, but they could also make terms with those persons who were found to have clandestinely or fraudulently possessed any of the rents or property. Tho. II. the
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It is impossible to ascertain, and to make out, a fair rent-roll of the abbey's possessions, at this period, or at the fatal surrender, or at any one period from the foundation, because the abbots often made long leases; and the heirs of the lessee, by long usage after, claimed the estate, kept possession, and so harassed the ancient owners and their successors, that they often yielded to the usurpation as unable to contest the point. They received also many estates, or parts of estates, together with the admission of a young monk of family; and this they did, in despite of the restraints put on them by Edward I. But they evaded those acts also by taking the gifts in trust. And thus they more readily consented to lose on one side, when they found themselves gaining on the other. Another cause of their losses, and fluctuation of property, was, the great difficulty of obtaining justice in any of the law-courts; and the very bad or weak titles, under which they held their lands: for, in the first instance, even the mitred lord abbot of St. Albans could never obtain redress, unless he could previously make a friend at court, and interest even the king, or some great noble, on his behalf: and, in the latter case, no title *in capite* was good and irreversible unless confirmed by an act of Parliament. No man, before the time of Henry VIII. could devise his lands by will; of course such gifts, though among the laity, were easily made void, and the heir recovered; and gifts in frankalmoigne, made to the clergy in free donation, were much easier torn from them. And, from these causes, which were internal defects of the law of the land, arose that frequent change, fluctuation, and losses, in monastic property.

But here, before I proceed to describe the downfall and dissolution of this ancient foundation, I will exhibit an extract from a curious old work, which was written expressly to shew the names of the principal benefactors, both of estates and movables; as the same is exemplified in the MS. composed by Ware; and now in the library of Bennet College, Cambridge, written about the time of king Richard II. and near the end of abbot de la Mare's time.

BENEFACTORS.

Offa gave to this abbey, at the first endowing thereof, the following places or manors; viz. Edelmetan, or Edmonton; Wittleseia, or Wittlesey; Caygesho, or Cassio; Berethund; Rykemeresworth; Bacheworth; Crokesleye, or Crosley; Michelfeld; Britewell; Watford; Bisseye, or Bushey; Merdele, or Murdel; Haldenham; Saret; Enefelde; Stanmere; Henamstede, or Hempstead; Wyneslawe, or Wynflow; Bischopscote, a manor in Surrey; Eedendone; Mildenton, or Milton; and two villis or farms called Birstone, or Burston; and Wyncelfeld, or Windridge.

These were all confirmed by the charter of king Ethelred in 870.

Egfrid, the son of Offa, gave, after his father's example, five manors, in a place called Pynesfeld, a part of the parish of Rickmeresworth; and the manor of Sandrugge, or Sandridge; and Tyr-feld, or Turvill, in Bucks; and confirmed all his fathers grants.

Many of their successors contributed, though we know not the particulars of their liberality: these were Ceolwulphus, Bernulphus, Ethelred, Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, Edmund, Edred, Edwin, Edgar, and Edward the Confessor. Ethelred, as mentioned above, confirmed all the grants of his predecessors, and, in honour of the martyr, conferred also a precious stone, called an onyx.

Hardyknute and Harold were benefactors; and then the Conqueror and his son Rufus.

The brother of Rufus, Henry I. bore an especial grace and favour to this abbey; was present, together with his queen and court, at the dedication, in 1115; and, at this period, is thought to have given Bishopscote: but most certainly he conferred on the abbot the civil privileges of the hundred of Caisho, by terming it the liberty of St. Alban, and giving him all the power and authority therein that usually belonged to the king, or was by him granted to any great lord or military chief. And it is probable, that, as the Saxon kings had dwelt near this place at times, and possessed a house or palace here, they had kept this royalty in their hands, and had never bestowed it before.

King Stephen also, at the request of abbot Robert, gave him the castle of Kingsburie, and permitted him to demolish the same. This royal

royal mansion was situate on the high grounds to the west of the town, and comprehended a large space surrounding it as a park; with an entrance from the town, near the old clock-house, which probably was part of the grand portal. The royal servants were accused of being disorderly: and, in favour to the abbot and honour to the saint, they were removed, all vestiges of royalty were demolished, and the land was given to the church.

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Henry II. was reckoned a meritorious benefactor, in having composed and laid to rest the controversy with the bishop of Lincoln, and for bestowing on this church, at the same time, a very noble cup, for receiving the holy wafer or bread (a). The kings Richard and John were well affected to the abbey; but nothing is recorded of their gift. Henry III. presented the church with many vestments (Pallas) of the stuff called Baldokyn, (not of silk merely, but a sort of tiffue,) one of which was called *Vinea*, from the figure of a vine, and the other *Paradise*, from a figure of Adam driven out. These were very rich, and the ground was embroidered (b) with these figures. Richard also, the brother of Henry, gave two baldokyns.

Edward I. gave a large cloth of silk to the great altar, and another to the altar of Amphibal; and to the shrine he presented a large image, or figure, of silver gilt.

Edward II. gave to the church a golden cross; and towards the repairs 100l. He gave also to the refectory one large cup of silver gilt.

Edward III. was a strenuous defender of the abbey's rights, and ever gave it his protection and patronage. His son likewise bestowed many rich trinkets and relics to the church and to the shrine; but nothing of better value.

Richard II. gave to the shrine a necklace of gold, for the image of the Virgin; and to the church two patins, or plates, of gold, having a vine represented thereon, spreading its branches and its bunches of fruit in a very comely manner. In money he gave 100 shillings to the convent, and to the repair of the haven (a) at Tynmouth 500l.

John, duke of Lancaster, gave two cloths of gold, in gratitude for the favor done by the abbot, in giving permission to have the body

(a) Corpus Christi.

(b) Opere plumario

(c) *Portui* rather than *Portæ*.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot. of his deceased wife, Blanch, rest here one night in its way to Westminster. He gave 10l. to the repair of Tynmouth, and many times sent presents of wine to this monastery. The lord Thomas of Woodstock, brother to Lancaster, was received into the fraternity, and gave to the shrine a necklace of gold, adorned with sapphire stones, and with a white swan, expanding its wings. He gave two cloths of gold (tissue) for a covering of the shrine; twelve other cloths of gold, with a crimson ground (a) and various work embroidered; and three other cloths of gold with a green ground, and twenty choral copes with very costly gold fringe (b) to be applied by the sacrist.

The lady Joan, the princess and daughter of Edward III. made many offerings; among which was a noble necklace of gold, and to the convent 100 shillings. To the abbot she gave one cup of silver gilt, with a cover; and an image of the Virgin holding the child in her arms, made of very deep and yellow amber, having the arms made of a white amber. She gave also, for many years, to the abbot a cask of wine, in recompence for his adorning the shrine of Oswyn.

The lady Constance, wife of John, duke of Lancaster, gave 10l. for the repair of the kitchen; and to the same abbot a noble cloth of gold, of a sky blue colour.

Queen Matilda had given Pewyk and Lylleburne, in the time of Edward III.

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, gave to the cell at Tynmouth 100 marcs; and above 1000 trees for the repair of the damage done by the Scots.

The lord Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and his countess Margaret, bore great affection to this church; and gave some timber (c) for the repair of the refectory.

The lady Margaret, countess of Norfolk, gave to the repair of the kitchen 20 marcs, praying the convent to remember, in their supplications to Heaven, the lord John de Hasting, earl of Pembroke, her first husband. She was admitted into the fraternity, and gave 30 marcs; and 20 more, to repair the damage the cell of Beaulieu had suffered by fire.

(a) Campi rubri.

(b) Aurifrigiis pretioc.

(c) Duas grossas trabes.

The countess of Pembroke, named Mary de St. Paul, in the time of Henry III. left, as a legacy, an image of St. Vicentia, of silver gilt; holding in its hands a box, or shrine, which contained the face of the Martyr. Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

The lady Blanch Wake, a sister of the chapter, honoured the church with many oblations; and, dying, bequeathed 50 shillings to it, as a legacy. The lady Elizabeth de la Zouch gave many rich vestments. The lady Mary Percy, wife of the above Henry, and sister of the duke of Lancaster, did the same; together with a silver cup, gilt, which exhibited shields of arms belonging to her family.

Many privileges and immunities had been granted to this church by popes, at divers times; but, as they relate not to gifts or grants of land, I omit them, except these; viz. that pope Gregory IX. confirmed to this monastery the church of Eglingham; and that Anastasius, the pope, confirmed the church of Luton.

Athelric, bishop of Worcester, gave to God and his saint the vill called Syftiwa, Syncumb, and Tiwa (Tewin).

Llanfranc gave to this church 1000 mares to the building of the church; and bequeathed 100l. at his death, but no more than 50 was ever paid. He recovered also the land or manor of Redburn, which had been unjustly taken from the church, perhaps by the Conqueror. He gave the manor of Northaugh, together with many rich vestments, and all the vessels and utensils proper for the choir, with candlesticks, &c.

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and uterine brother to the Conqueror, gave three hides of land at Apfa (Napsbury), together with the wood, called Eyewode, for which the abbot Paul promised him 20l. but Odo forgave the debt. He restored also the vill of Tewin, which had been unjustly granted to him; and Paul ordained that the rents should be applied for the monks food.

Richard de Marisco, bishop of Durham, gave the church of Eglingham; for the sole purpose of improving the malt liquor given to the monks: and this, as above related, was confirmed by the pope. Walter, bishop of Durham, in Henry the III'd's time, conferred on them the church of Hertburn, for the uses of hospitality. Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham(a), gave many and various books, of

(a) A learned prelate in Edward the III'd's time.

Tho. II. the great value. The cell of Tynmouth, being well known to the
 37th abbot. bishops of Durham, this circumstance created an intercourse and a
 good understanding between these great personages.

The bishop of Ardfert, in Ireland, gave to this church many books; and also a stone, of a light airy colour, marked with white spots, called the serpent stone, thought to be very efficacious against lunacy; it was square in form, and encompassed in a margin of silver. He gave also three noble rings, one set with an oriental sapphire; the second with a sapphire that possessed some medicinal quality, and formed like a shield; and the other with a sapphire, of less size.

Henry de Blois, bishop of Winton, gave to this church one large ring, set with jewels: in the middle was a sapphire, of a faint colour; and in the circuit four pearls, and four garnets.

Hotham, bishop of Ely, gave to this church 100 marcs in the time of Edward II.

Thomas de Hatfield, bishop of Durham, in Edward the III^d's time, after many tokens of good affection to this church, gave to the convent one myrrhine cup, called by my author *Wofbeyl*, in these times; and, at his death, he left to it 100 marcs.

John Barnet, bishop of Ely (a), gave to the repairs of the abbey a quantity of timber; as did also Thomas Arundel, the archbishop.

The donors and founders of the Cells were these: Robert de Mombray, earl of Northumberland, gave the church of St. Mary, at Tynmouth, in which had been buried the body of Oswyn, king and martyr; and the said earl, in regard to Oswyn, procured an endowment, and put it under the patronage of this abbey: coming hither afterward, he assumed the monastic life; and, at his death, was buried in the chapel of Symeon. William de Albaneio, or D'Aubigny, cup-bearer to Henry I. of Norman extraction, and probably fixed at this place by a grant from the Conqueror, gave the cell of Wymondham; and the manor of Tyngeherste, now called Fingest, in Berkshire: and his son confirmed these grants. Robert de Valoignes, seated at Hertingfordbury, gave the cell at Bynham. Robert de Toteney, or Todenei, gave the cell of Beauvoir, or Belvoir. Geoffry the chamberlain gave the cell of Wallingford. Ralph de Lymesi, a baron of high rank, gave the cell of Hertford. William de Pyperell,

(a) In the time of Edward III. He lived and died at Hatfield.

or Peverell, conferred the cell of Hatfield, in Essex. Robert de Albigny gave the cell of Beaulieu, and the chapel of St. Machatus (a). Tho. II. the
37th abbot.

These donors were all Normans, and had grants from the Conqueror; and always thought, like prudent men, that a body of clergy was a necessary institution to accompany a grant, they being capable of many services both to the lord and to his tenants, beside their religious duties: and, as the abbots from the time of the Conquest were Normans, they formed by these institutions a firm and indissoluble connection of Church and State, to the mutual aid, support, and strength, of each other.

The manor of Codicote was given to this church by Etheline, the faithful minister of King Ethelred. Stodham, or Studham, was given by Oswulph and his wife Ayeliza before the Conquest; the wife joining in the donation, that the convent might pray for the soul of her first husband, Ulphus.

Wult, a Dane, (a great man under St. Edward the King, son of Ethelred), gave the land, called Easton, (or Eastwic, to distinguish it from Westwicke), with all its appurtenances. He gave also the manor of Oxwic, or Oxeys; at the same time a cup, a missale, and a dorfale. Edwyn of Cadington gave the land, called Waterford and Beoronley; and, at his death, bequeathed 20 oxen and 30 cows.

Egelwine, the Swarte, (or Black,) and his wife Wynfled, in the time of Edward, next before the Conquest, gave Redburn, Greneburwe, Llangeley, and Thwangton; and the wife gave also a great bell. Æthelgive, a lady of high rank (b), gave the land called Gatesden, or Gaddesden; and a vill called Standen; and another by name Offeley. She bestowed also on this monastery 30 mancuses of gold, 30 oxen, 20 cows, 250 sheep; with a herd of hogs, together with the herdsman; at the same time she gave two silver cups; and two others, called *horns*, one book, one large curtain, and one great bench, called *Bancale*.

Sexi, a Dane, well affected to the Saint, gave Hekstunton, or Hexton. One Hadda, a man of high rank, and Christina, his wife, gave, *pro salute animarum*, Newenham and Beandish. A religious matron, named Tharefled, gave Shenlea, or Shenley, and Bridley,

(a) I shall have occasion to be more full in the History of the Cells when I come to take a view of them at the dissolution.

(a) Nobilis matrona.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot. in perpetuity. Ethelbert, a great and powerful man in his times, gave Cramford. Walsine, another rich and great man, gave Esenden. Another Walsine, a man of honorable rank, gave Ealdenham. Æelfstan, a man well affected to God and the Church, gave the vill of Ensham. Wulfgar, a servant of king Ethelbert, gave the land, vulgarly called Walden. Matildis, of Eftan, gave her land called Owynge. Godefrid of Rokamstade, now called Rethamsted, gave 25 acres of land in that vill. Walter de Valoignes gave the vill of Berney. William de Marlow, and Rohays his wife, gave the vill of Walsington. Nigel de Merston gave as much land as was worth ten shillings a year in London. Richard de Crokefly gave 84 acres of land in Wrokushulle.

Roger de Valoignes gave land in Gunsthorp, and in Walsingham, and in Wells (in Norfolk), and half of Berney. Berenger of Totaney, and his wife Albreda, gave Thorp, and the tithes of Pederynkton. Nigel of Albigny, and his wife Amicia, gave the vill or town of Hendred (in Berks), and the town of St. Christopher, in Wallingford; and half another church there, consecrated in honour of St. Mary: this Nigel gave also Eastwell, in Kent. Hardewin de Scaliers gave the vill of Brantfield, with the church thereof. This was said early in the history to have been bought with gold melted out of the vestments. William de Bosrohard, and Adeliza his wife, gave Talington, in Lincolnshire, for the support of the monks. Hugo de Biburfwurthe gave half an hyde of land in the vill of Biburfwurthe. Adelize, the wife of Theodoni de Forrho, gave one hyde of land in Grenestead. Roger de Burun gave a mansion in the parish of Thole, and one acre of meadow; and at his death bequeathed to the brethren fifty shillings. Ingod de Lyndesey gave one carucate of land in Herdreshille. Roger de Hertford gave one house in that town, and his tithes in Boxa. Afric de Hiege gave one house in London of the yearly rent of six shillings. Godolena, a lady dwelling in London, gave a house there of 5 shillings yearly rent. William, a clerk in London, gave half the church of St. Alban, and half that of St. Michael; and houses in that city of 14 shillings yearly rent. A man named Roger, whose surname is not known, gave a portion of land in Wellgan (or Wellwyn) worth 8 shillings a year. Rodbert, earl of Morton, and Almodis his wife, gave a virgate of land in Codicote, and half an hide in Redburn. Intheta, a countess, and widow of earl Walthin, gave three virgates of land in Pottune (Potton). Gof-
fricus,

fricus, a deacon, gave an house situate in Cambridge, together with some land. Humfrey de Everfdon gave two acres of land in that village. Manaffes de Arfi gave lands in Oxfordshire worth a yearly rent of forty shillings. Henry de Albigny gave a village called Wybaldington (in Norfolk). Emma de Bradway, and her son Hugo, gave the manor of Bradway. Ernulp of Hefdun gave one carucate in the county of Warwick, and the church of Erpeltone, and ten pounds. Alnered, the cup-bearer of earl Morton, gave a manor of seven carucates, in Norton in Warwickshire. Nigel de Wast gave one carucate of land, called Seccyng, and the tithe of Rington, and 100 shillings; and afterwards he gave the church of Mylbrook and one carucate, with all things belonging to the church; and the church of Hamptehull, or Ampthill; all in Bedfordshire. Nigel de Stafford gave the church of Norton, and one carucate, and the tithes of his demesne in Norton. Wydo de Bailul gave one virgate of land in Hexton. William, earl of Morton (who lived in 1100) gave to St. Alban, and the sole use of food for the monks, the manor of Stanmere; which had been unjustly taken away, perhaps at the Conquest. Matildis, a certain widow, and the daughter of Ernald de Hyfdyng, gave half an hyde in the village called Hare; (perhaps Harestreet near Puckridge). Hugo, son of Osbern, gave a saltpit at the Wych (a) (but it is not said where situate), and the salinator, or workman, therewith. Humphrey de Kymbell gave the church of Kymbell, situate in the county of Bucks. Nigel de Merston gave, *pro salute animæ*, the church of Tyrefeld, or Turvill, in Bucks *perpetuo jure possidendam*. William de Weedon, in honour of the glorious protomartyr, gave the church of Wyngrave.

William de Albigny gave the churches of Wulfthrop and of Redynild, situated in Norfolk. Walter Blancfront gave the church of Potsgrave. William de la Val gave the village called Ducentun, in the country of the Northumbrians. William — gave the church of Walynton, in Herts. Nigel de Berwyll gave one hyde of land in Middleton, and the tithes of that church.

Richard de Clothall, a knight of great fame, as mentioned before, gave to the altar of the Virgin four wax-lights for constant use, and one cup of gold. John, the rector of Hoddesden, gave one great bell and

(a) This is the common name of all saltworks.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot. the rest. Gerard, a baker in London, gave land of 10 shillings a year rent. William, son of Symon, gave some lands in the village of Hatfield for the use of the copyists. Alan de Wynton gave half of the land that lies in Bishopscote. Geoffry de Childwick gave the tithe of Wand. Nigel, a miller, gave, for the use of the monks kitchen, a yearly rent of four shillings. William de Albigny, and Cecilia his wife, gave the churches of Talyngton and of Burston, with two carucates of land; with the mill in the village of Belver. Ailward of Leofwyn gave four hides of land in Hexton. Henry de Kenelworth gave one virgate in Potsgrave. Roger de Eywode gave to the monks kitchen a yearly rent of one marc. Ægelwine gave one house in London, yielding a yearly rent of eight shillings. William Limet gave all the tithes of Montune, except that of the mills of Montune and of Flitwyk.

Robert the mason, who laboured hard at the building of the church in the time of Paul, gave, every year, as long as he lived, ten shillings. Bermond of St. Owen, and Cana his wife, gave the tithe of all things that could be tithed in Bolinton, and in Estawicewyrth, and in Eastun.

Thurstan, the brother of William de Mara, gave his tithes in the village of Wilia, or Willian; and Robert de Mara likewise gave his tithes. This seems to argue that they gave the tithes of their own lands, though the parish had a rector or vicar. Humfridus de Knybworth gave his tithes of Efresdin, or Friethsden. Walter Gifford gave one acre of land, and houses in Wallingford worth nine shillings a year. Norman de Muntfaltrel gave two parts of his tithe of Holpole, and of Pyr, and one virgate of land. Walter de Mandaville and Gimmilda his wife, gave a third of the tithes of Rotley, Brinfield, Cetteham, and Retlege, and laid the grant of this donation on the great altar. Serlo de Marcer, and his wife Mabil, granted, *in perpetuum*, the tithes of Perendon, Tropyngton, and of Fishhide.

Edward, of Cambridge, and his mother, gave the church of St. Bennet in Cambridge. Robert Desbans gave his tithes of Mordune. Alvered (Alfred) gave his tithe of Cranden. Habenger, and his wife Hugolina, and his son Rollond, and his daughter, gave the tithe of Conington and of Toftes.

Henry de Albigny, and his two brothers, gave the church of Clop-hill, with the lands belonging to it: viz. half an hide; and the tithes of that village, and of Cot, and of Kegenho; and the father

con-

confirmed the gift. Nigel, one of the brothers, gave the church of ^{Tho. II. the} the Holy Trinity in Wallingford, and the other half of the church ^{37th abbot.} of St. Mary in that town, and thirty acres of land without the town. He gave also the manor of Henred.

Robert and William, the sons of Turgis de Meduanâ, gave the tithes of Rodinges, Herlagh (Hurley), and of Briztham (Bisham). William, at his death, bequeathed to the church his sword and his arms. In the time of abbot Paul two of the great bells were given by Eipolf, a great man in these parts, and his wife. Robert de Oili (D'Oiley) gave at that time 120 pounds, and one good cup in shape of an horn.

William de Albigny gave all his tythes in Snedesham, in Fretgignes, in Flitcham, in Bruneham, in Grenestun, and in Pykenham; and two carucates of land, one in Fretgignes, and the other in Bruneham (a).

Uno de Tigernull, with his wife and son Berenger, gave to this church a church called Gleston (Glaiston in Rutland), and one carucate of land in the same vill. William Meschines, and his wife Cecilia, gave the tithe of the village of Netnesby. (Naseby) in Northamptonshire.

Alan, the son of Piro, gave his chapel of Kenonton, with the tithes of the vill.

William Noreys, a villanus of St. Alban, (that is, a copyhold tenant on some estate of St. Alban,) with his wife Mary, gave so much in one instance and another that they were received into the fraternity; and, after their death, the abbot appointed an anniversary, to celebrate their memory; and forty shillings were ordered to be expended in feasting the convent. Adam de Belver, a man of known fame and great family, forgave a debt to the abbey of 233 marcs; and bestowed on the altar of St. Blaze a golden cup, adorned with precious stones, and of the weight of forty shillings.

Lawrence, a clerk, forgave the church a debt of 100l. and fifteen marcs; and gave a ring, set with a ruby. Robert de Hertford, dean

(a) This manner of giving tithes could take place only before a parish was here set out, and a minister appointed, to whom they might be appropriated; and is a sure proof that manors were prior to parishes; and that the latter were appointed and set out by degrees, and when the lord had built a church, and fixed a clerk to dwell near it; to whom the tithes were then allotted as a maintenance: but, before that, they were paid to whom the lord of the land pleased.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot. of the choir, gave 100 marcs, and two silver cups gilt. At this time was killed Walter de Hamundesham (Amerham) a faithful servant of this church (a). The lady Petronilla (or Parnel) of Bansted, gave a large round cover for the altar, adorned with stones of jasper, set in silver; said to be the altar-cloth of Augustine, the apostle of England. She made an offering also of two vials, the bodies of which were chrystal, the orifices and the feet of silver, ornamented with jewels and pearls.

Reginald, who built the chapel of the Virgin, is intitled to a special rank among the benefactors. He is said to be of this town. Mass was celebrated in this chapel every day, and the service performed *per notam* (b).

The Lord William de Clynton, earl of Huntingdon, reported as above to have been interred under the shrine, gave many rich vestments; one, curiously wrought with a field like copper, and in parts shewing all the effulgence of gold. John Aynel (or Aignell) gave a precious stone of admirable beauty, called a sapphire, to be deposited on the shrine of the saint. William Purser, of this town, gave a yearly rent of four marcs; and to the church at Redburn he gave a tapestry, or covering for a table, two table-cloths, and a chest, or coffer.

At the time of building the cloister, the lord Nigel Loring gave to that work ten marcs; and a second time ten marcs. He gave also to the convent a cask of wine, and at his death forgave a debt of 100 marcs. Robert Knollis, knight, a valiant and famous man, contributed to the works of the monastery; and, for the soul of his wife the lady Constancia, he gave ten marcs. He had the fraternity, and by right thereof the money was applied to that use. He gave afterward to the building of the kitchen 100l.

The lord Geoffry Lucy, a famous knight, gave five marcs; but the abbot and convent thought him worthy of a place among their benefactors.

Another renowned knight, named John of St. Albans, gave, as a legacy, a number of rings containing many precious stones.

Sir Thomas Fything, knight, gave to the work of the cloister 10l. Sir Richard de la Vache, knight, gave 30l. Sir John Hay, knight, gave 6s. 8d. Sir Richard Havering gave to the work of

(a) See p. 221, part 1, Life of Wallingford.

(b) That is, with more correctness, singing by note.

the refectory some timber (a). Sir William Troyfere, knight, gave the like. Tho. II. the
37th abbot.

Sir Robert de Walsam, precentor of Sarum (to whom we are, faith Ware, for ever obliged for his many kindneses and gratuitous expences on our account), gave at times, for the work of the cloister, forty marcs. He gave also by legacy 100 marcs; and bequeathed to the high altar a bason and ewer of pure silver (b), for the monks to use in washing their hands on feast-days. He gave also to the saint some trinkets of gold; and, to each monk, forty pence.

Sir Bartholomew de Weedon, rector of the church of Schakreston, in the county of Leiceſter, gave 240 marcs, to have a corrody among us; but, in reality, to aid the work of the cloister; for, it far exceeded the value of any corrody, even for the life of a young man. He was admitted to the fraternity at his earnest request; and, dying, bequeathed to the abbot 20l. to the prior 20 marcs, to every priest one marc, and to every other monk half a marc.

Master William Burton, well skilled in the law, and a clerk under the archdeacon of this church, had exercised the jurisdiction and authority of that office for thirty years and more, and kept the laws of the church pure and unviolated. At his death he left five marcs to the cloister, and all his books (*utriusque legis*) to the office of the archdeacon.

Sir John Rouland, (Rowland,) rector of the church of Todyngton, had been a strenuous advocate in many causes and suits relating to this abbey, and an indefatigable promoter of its interests; and, being left executor by Richard Eccleshal and John Stoke, he gave 50l. out of the manor of Walhale (or Woral), for building or repairing the great gate of the abbey, viz. the present gate under the gaol; but on condition, that the convent prayed for the souls of the deceased testators. He gave to the cloister 23l. and to the convent 20s. to pray for the souls of John Peacock, and his children, parents, family, friends, and benefactors. At another time he gave 10l. to the use of the bells, and 10l. to the convent. He paid to abbot John 700 marcs, to enable him to recover the land of Gorham; and forgave the abbot a debt of 80 marcs, which the abbot had agreed to pay him as a rent of Gorham for eight years. This manor had been unjustly torn from its first owner the abbey, and had lately been sold

(a) Unam trabem.

(b) Pelvem cum lavatorio.

Tho II. th^e 37th abbot. to the countess of Oxford. The abbot agreed to rent it, rather than lose all benefit whatever from it; and was to pay this Rowland eight marcs a year: he perhaps acted as steward to the purchaser, or otherwise became intitled to 80 marcs. The whole rent appears to have been 40l. yearly; and, the countess agreeing to sell and quit claim, Rowland furnished the money, 700 marcs, for the purchase, and the manor was restored to the abbot. Rowland, at the same time, distributed to the convent 20l. viz. to every brother half a marc, so that the number at this time was no more than sixty: this was in Moot's time.

Sir Richard de Tretoun, rector of Tindell, and executor of Sir Robert de Thorp, chief justice, and then chancellor of the realm, conferred seven score marcs for the soul of the deceased, and to be applied to divers works. This man was master of Bennet College, Cambridge; and Thorpe, had been a benefactor to the university, having built the chapel in which the regents sat in convocation, (before the present senate house was built,) as appeared by the coloured glass in the window; since demolished (a).

Master John Appelby gave a curious dress, or cope, the ground of which was green, worked in gold, with figures of beasts. He gave also the book called the Rosary; and 10l. to purchase the Collectarium; and to the cloister he gave 6l. 8s. 4d.

Master William Burcot, rector of the parish church at Waltham, who, from his earliest days, had served the interests of this church, gave the Catholicon, and the whole body of civil law; and, by the labour of the abbot, was procured the whole body of the canon law. He gave to every member of the convent 40 pence; and paid to the abbot 10l. to obtain a privilege from Rome, that, in future, any abbot chosen by unanimous consent should not need any farther confirmation.

Sir David Wellover, clerk of the rolls of Chancery, conferred on this monastery 20l. Sir John Lowkyn, canon of the church of Easing Spittle, and executor of Adam Lowkyn, gave 20 marcs to pray for the soul of the deceased, and to be applied to the cloister. Sir Richard Totel, rector of Barnet, gave to the work of repairing the kitchen forty shillings. Sir William Burges, formerly rector of North Mymms, gave to the building of the kitchen ten marcs, and left a legacy of ten marcs.

(a) See Masters's History of Bennet College.

Master William Tankerville gave to the work of the new gate 100 shillings, and 100 to the cloister. Tho. II. the
37th abbot.

Master John Enderby, clerk to the archdeacon, gave as a legacy to every monk twelve pence. Master John Wyliot gave to the work of the cloister 20 shillings; Master William Rouse gave to the same use twenty shillings.

Sir William (a), vicar of Redburn, gave to the convent twenty shillings. Sir Roger, the chaplain of the countess of Warwick, at Flamsted, gave twice 6s. 8d. to the cloister.

John Whittewell, formerly seneschall of the liberty, gave in Childwyhay, Kyngsbury, and Sandrugge, one messuage, six tofts, three carucates of land, three acres of wood worth three shillings rent. And, in Watford and in Oxheye, Walrand gave five tofts, two carucates of land, twenty acres of meadow, six acres of pasture, eight acres of wood, the moiety of a certain mill; all of the annual rent of sixty shillings and eight pence farthing.

Master Adam Rous gave a noble cope, and a chasuble of red velvet, both powdered with trees and leopards in gold. He gave also to the great altar a gold cup; and bestowed on the abbey a house in London, situate next to Dowgate, of the yearly value of forty shillings, from which rent the sub-cellarer allows ten shillings to the convent, for a pittance (b) on the anniversary. Stephen de la Mare, nephew to Thomas the abbot, sold his house situate in Dagnal for ten pounds, and gave the money to the monastery.

John Gele (or Gale) bestowed his house at the corner of Church-street on the under cook, whenever one is deputed to that office.

John Gumbard gave a house situate in Dagnal, and twenty-nine acres of land with it; and to the cloister forty shillings. John de Lagleye gave also an house well built, in Dagnal, and of the yearly rent of sixty shillings. William Chewpain and his wife gave many ornamental vestments, and many utensils for the refectory. John Pykebon (Pickborn) gave his noble mansion and two acres of land in French-row, in this town. Robert de la Chambre gave his house in St. Peter's street, situate opposite the church. William Kynshull gave an house with twenty shillings rent. Agnes de Langford gave an house in the street leading to Sopwell (now Sopwell-lane), worth

(a) Mentioned as being buried in the church in the time of Edward III.

(b) *Piotancia*, it is generally written; that is, a gift for God's sake, and in regard to our duty to him.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot. one marc, to pray for the soul of Joan Langford. Joan de Ware gave her house in this town, and accepted a corrody for life.

John Cheston gave 20l. and three acres of wood, now rented by Thomas Norton.

Reginald Heynot gave up his house in Romeland, situated next the great gate, and accepted a corrody for life. Richard Eccleshal bequeathed his house in Halywell, called Stonehall, which was afterward sold for 30l. and the money applied to the office of the co-quinar.

John Philpot, a citizen of London, bestowed on the cloister 40l. and gave to the convent two seam, or quarters, of dates and almonds.

Alexander Onger gave, for the safety of his soul, 20l. At this time, and through the whole rule of de la Mare, the gifts were innumerable, and always in money or plate, or trinkets for the image of the Virgin.

Roger gave to the refectory twelve silver spoons. William Fimmer gave to the Virgin's Chapel one marc and a zone of silver.

Theodoric Stannar gave a zone to the shrine of Alban, richly ornamented.

Thomas Tydene, esq. styled *custos nemorum*, or woodward, contributed ornaments of silver and money to the cloisters. More than twenty others contributed money to the same works; and the repair of the cloisters seems to have furnished pretence for a continual call on the beneficence of the pious.

Most of these gifts were made in the time of De la Mare; and two persons gave forty shillings each toward writing this list of benefactors; and painting their heads (a), in proper character, opposite their name.

In the Tower of London are to be found a great number of original grants in confirmation of the donations and privileges conferred on this abbey.

In the 27th of Edward I. (1299) there is an inquisition before the justices of the King's Bench against one A. B. why he had made waste of the woods of Shenlee; which had been granted to him for life, by the prioress of Sopwell (b). And in p. 1176

(a) Vide the MS. mentioned above, in lib. Ben. Coll.

(b) Harl. MSS, 744, p. 1037, referring to the rolls in the Tower.

of the Harl. MS. it is recorded, that the church of Shenley Spend-^{Tho. II. the} hurst was appointed *pro cantaria in eccles. Sancti Lawrentii de Candle-*^{37th abbot.} *wick-strete*, London, anno 19, Edward III. 1346 (a). Hence it appears, that the church of Shenley was in the Poultneys in 1346, and the lands and the manor probably in the abbey, until the dissolution; that the tithes only were settled on the chantry; and that, after the Dissolution, the descendents of the Poultneys purchased the tithes, manors, and lands, of the Crown; for, this family possessed the same, until they sold the above unto the Crews, in the last century.

There is a grant also in the 12th of Edward III. to confirm a donation of lands called Le Traye, in the vill of Sarret (b). Also an inquisition taken before John de Ramesden, anno 15 Edward II. against the abbot of St. Alban, *de certis plateis et aliis minutis parcellis terræ in eâdem villâ, et de duob. part. unius messag. et centum acris in Tydenbangre* (c).

In the ninth year of Richard II. there is a grant for forty shillings and four pence, to be paid annually by the House of Merton Hall, in Oxford, from their lands in Watford in Langley (d); and in the 7th of Henry VI. a grant to confirm an exchange of lands in Childwykshay, Slapewalden, and in Hexton, for tenements belonging to the hospital of St. Anthony, in the city of London (e).

(a) Roll. pat. 1. m. 1.

(b) Pat. 2. m. 20.

(c) Pat. 1. m. 26.

(d) Pat. 9. m. 40.

(e) Pat. 1. m. 9.

C H A P T E R IX.

THOMAS WOOLSEY.

Tho. III. the
38th abbot.

WHEN Woolsey took this abbey in commendam, it was such a breach of the canon law, and such an invasion of that rule and government in which abbeyes had been holden, that it amazed all soberminded persons who revered the ancient constitution of abbeyes; and seemed to portend some fatal blow to that order of the clergy. For, holding in commendam, though it was an ancient usage, yet it was allowed and practised by the head of the church, as giving over some church or secular preferment to be taken care of; the church was not said to be filled, nor any investiture made of the same; but the supreme dispensed with the usual forms of institution, and delivered it over for its protection and safety; and this power of holding was at first revocable at the pleasure and will of the supreme head. But this never had been practised with regard to abbeyes and convential institutions; because the care of these required a personal attendance, and the constant presence of the ruler: whereas, in the secular preferments, this was not thought so necessary, nor a constant residence required by the canons.

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Woolsey, being legate or supreme head in England, had no leave ^{Tho. III. the} to obtain or to ask, in making his own appointment; nor was there ^{38th abbot.} any danger of being questioned for being thus appointed. It doth not appear that he ever came down even to take possession; nor, indeed, is there the least tittle of record remaining to shew what was done during his commendamship, which lasted till his downfall; nor who was his prior; or what material events then affected this house. But it is probable, and very fair to conjecture, that he took it in order to be assisted by its revenue in building and founding his new college at Oxford. For, in 1525, he had finished Hampton Court, and made a present of it to the king; and was next meditating to build as splendid a structure for science and learning as he had done for royalty and grandeur: and, for this purpose, he obtained consent from the pope and the king for the suppression of eighteen small monasteries in 1526; and, in 1529, he procured a grant for dissolving the priory of Wallingford, and the hospital of St. Pree, and for applying the revenues to the use of his new college.

The abbey continued in the hands of Woolsey at the time of his founding and building his two colleges; of which that at Oxford is said to have its foundations only laid and the hall and kitchen built, at the time when their founder was convicted on the statute of premunire, October 18, 1529: and his goods of every kind, and all his estates, were then forfeited to the king.

This abbey, and all its real and personal property, ought then to have reverted to its true original owners, the prior and monks of the house. But the king, when he granted a pardon to Woolsey in the spring of 1530, permitted him to keep the archbishopric of York, with all its estates and dependencies, except York-place, afterward called Whitehall; and allowed him also the titles of bishop of Winton, and abbot of St. Albans; but reserving to himself all the revenues of these two last preferments. At the death of Woolsey, on November 29, 1530, the abbey ought to have returned to its freedom; but Henry still grasped close and detained the whole, causing one Robert Catton to be elected in the place of abbot; a method of saving appearances; while the king's agents and secret ministers lived as guests in the monastery and ruled all. They were called idle gentlemen; but were in truth spies. This continued until the death of Catton, in 1538; at which time one Richard Boreman, or de Stevenache, (as he affected to be called, after the old manner,) was
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Tho. III. the
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chosen by the royal interest; being put in, to present an appearance of abbatical rule and government, and to execute with a better grace the intentions of the king and Parliament, which had been by this time brought to maturity.

No event prior to this time so strongly demonstrates the great superiority which the civil power had gained, together with the authority of king and Parliament, and how low the power of the church was fallen, as the downfall of Woolsey. Kings had wisely chosen great ecclesiastics for their ministers, because there were always two great ruling interests in the kingdom; and it was easy to the king to govern both, when he placed the head of the church in the direction of his civil affairs. And this elevation of Woolsey had contributed to enable Henry to govern peaceably and successfully through the former part of his reign. But now, the king found himself with a better support from the temporal lords, and from the House of Commons, than he ever had before experienced. He had ventured to tell the pope that he could rule England without him, and that his delay or refusal to dispense with the dispensation of a former pope (which was a thing impossible even for infallibility to effect) would cause the Catholics of England to seek another head. Though Woolsey was skilful at the business of negotiation, he failed here; and was caught in that trap in which he generally had ensnared others. He secretly advised the pope to use delays; and probably urged the king openly to seek other remedies, which he (the adviser) thought would never join in gratifying the wish of the King. But this double conduct became known to Henry, and excited a fatal resolution in his breast to destroy the bane of his peace, and seek new counsel, which he thought would be faithful. He boldly ordered his attorney general to indict his minister in the star-chamber, on the statute of premunire, which had been enacted by Edward I. with a view to separate his clergy and people from Rome, and set them farther off from connection and communication therewith. Woolsey was convicted, and degradation and confiscation followed. Yet, not content with this, Henry directs an impeachment to be opened against him in the House of Lords; which impeachment, consisting of forty-four articles, was allowed and passed without trial;

trial (a); and was sent down to the commons to be completed into an act; when Thomas Cromwell, then a member and dependent of Woolsey, pleaded for his master with such force of reason and eloquence as caused the house to dismiss the bill. The king gave him a full pardon on the 10th of February, and restored to him goods and furniture to the amount of six thousand pounds (b); yet in October he sent down the earl of Northumberland with a warrant to arrest him on a charge of high treason. Now, whatever crimes the king might have discovered, as committed by Woolsey before, yet the pardon covered and extinguished all. And this whole prosecution of Woolsey was so capricious and wanton, as well as unjust and cruel, that no act of that impetuous and passionate monarch argued a mind less governed by wisdom or justice, or less tempered with mercy and tenderness.

But this whole conduct shewed, that the king had listened to other advisers, and found they were numerous enough to support him in Parliament, and inclined also to do his business without the authority or the advice of the church. Had it been otherwise, the lords never would have passed the bill of impeachment, in a house where the bishops, and abbots, and priors, who had seats, amounted to forty-three in number; viz. eighteen bishops, twenty-four abbots, and the prior of Coventry; and the temporal lords to no more than about sixty.

The parliament had been prorogued to the 6th of January 1531; at which time Sir Thomas Audley was speaker; Sir Thomas More was chancellor, having received the great seal of the king when Woolsey resigned it in April last; and Thomas Cromwell, late servant and dependent of Woolsey, had been taken into the king's council. By the advice of these, or at least with their concurrence and approbation, the king entertained new projects of raising money on the clergy. Woolsey had shewn him the way by demands and extortions, in the year 1527, and had himself fallen a sacrifice to the rapine as well as resentment of the king: and the clergy beheld, with little regret, the avarice and lawless exactions of that man revenged on himself. But the king, seeing his success in having ruined the first ecclesiastic in the kingdom, although his minister and chancellor, proceeded farther to employ the same artifices, and with the

(a) Lord Herbert, p. 175.

(b) Rapin, vol. I. p. 785, and the note from Rym. Fed. XIV. p. 375.

same views, against the other clergy. His inclination to rapine met with concurrence from his council and his chancellor; and an indictment was preferred in the King's Bench against all the bishops and clergy of both provinces, for having acted against the statutes of premunire and provisors. As Woolsey had been convicted of exercising his legatine authority without licence from the king, as the statute of premunire requires; and of disposing of several benefices as legate, contrary to the statute of provisors; so all the clergy were considered as consenting and approving, and as accomplices in the same crime, because some had received these benefices. The clergy had already, in this session, given their opinion, among other determinations of the universities both at home and abroad, in favour of the king's divorce, by saying, that pope Julius II. could not dispense with Henry's marriage with his brother's widow. But Henry made no other requital for this judgement on his case than to make them all criminal: and he did this for two reasons; first, to shew the world that he had not extorted this determination from them; and, secondly, that he might extort something else, of more value. Accordingly, the convocation, with Warham at the head, debated this matter; and agreed, January 24, to offer the king one hundred thousand pounds (a) for a pardon, to be levied in five years (b). The instrument, by which this grant is made, is extant in the public acts, and therefore no doubts can remain of its substance and contents; and one reason there assigned for their donation is, 'because the king had shewn great zeal against the Lutherans; who had laboured

(a) What is the present value of this sum may be gathered with great exactness and truth from a little history of the year 1533, recorded by Stow, and taken by Fleetwood into his *Chron. Pretios.*

It was this year enacted, saith Stow, that butchers should sell their beef and mutton by weight; beef for halfpenny a pound, and mutton for three farthings; which being devised for the great commodity of the realm (as it was thought) hath proved quite otherwise. For at that time fat oxen were sold for 26s. 8d. fat weathers for 3s. 4d. fat calves at the like price, and a fat lamb for 12d. The butchers had usually sold penny pieces of beef, for the relief of the poor; every piece two pounds and a half, sometimes three pounds; and thirteen or fourteen of these pieces for 12d. mutton 8d. a quarter; and a hundred weight of beef for 4s. 8d. What price it has grown to since needeth not to be set down.

Stow lived in the time of Elizabeth and James; and by this account it appears, that, if beef is now nine or ten times the price of that time, then the value of money was nine or ten times greater than at present, and the one hundred thousand pounds laid on the clergy was equal to a million at this day.

By this rule also may the revenue of abbeyes be nearly ascertained.

(b) Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 414.

to destroy the church of England, of which the clergy acknowledged the king to be sole protector and supreme head.' And this is all the ground for transferring the supremacy from a spiritual to a civil crown. Thus began this title in flattery to Henry, and it is confirmed by an act in 1534: it was rejected by Mary, resumed by Elizabeth, and not finally confirmed by act of Parliament until the year 1571. The province of York followed the example of Canterbury, and compounded for 18,840l.

The king then, being satisfied with this submission of his clergy, granted them a pardon: but colleges and monasteries were not comprehended in the pardon, though included in the charge and indictment; and therefore stood excepted; and, being considered as having made no submission, were reserved for future vengeance.

In 1532 and 33, Henry proceeded in procuring other acts that tended to extirpate the authority of the pope; and, when Francis told him that his chief view in meeting the pope at Marseilles was to serve him, viz. Henry,—Henry answered, 'that he was so sure of his nobility and commons, he had no apprehension of any thing the pope could do.' And, indeed, with this support, he ventured on many steps that tended to withdraw both laity and clergy from all obedience to the papal authority, notwithstanding the frequent threats of excommunication and interdicts. These were all pleasing to the people in general; but the monks could not forbear loud exclamations, at seeing themselves deprived of their ancient patronage and support; and, without their consent, placed under a new head and new ruler. And this indignation was rising to such height, that the loudest execrations were bestowed on the king and court; and one Peto, a poor Franciscan frier, preaching before the king at his chapel at Greenwich, vented the boldest and most insolent reproaches on his supreme highness: this happened in the year 1535. Though the king affected to despise these invectives, and only appointed Dr. Curwen, a courtly chaplain, to contradict them the next Sunday in the same place (a), yet in this and the following year the king had caused to be apprehended above two hundred poor friers of the Franciscan order. For, it is to be noted, that among the acts passed in the year before, there was one enacted, by which it was declared 'treason to speak, write, or imagine, any thing against the king or queen;

(a) Rapin.

K k k 2

' or

‘ or to call the king heretic, tyrant, schismatic, infidel, or usurper ;’ as some of the friers had opprobriously done (a). At the same time there passed the following acts ; viz. First, To confirm the king’s new title of supremacy ; concerning which he pretended at first great scruples, but soon improved upon all the prerogatives which were construed to flow from it. Secondly, An act to debar the benefit of sanctuary to all persons accused of treason. Thirdly, A form of oath concerning the succession, and to be taken by all persons. Fourthly, An act to give the king the annates or first fruits of all ecclesiastic benefices. By an act passed two years before, these had been directed to be no longer payable to the pope ; and the ecclesiastics hoped they were for ever delivered from this payment. But by this act they were revived, and paid to the king ; and a new valuation of all church preferments was made, and returned to Cromwell, now master of the rolls, by persons commissioned by the lord chancellor : and this valuation is the rate which holds for these payments to this day. The same act also appointed an annual payment to be made, called the tenths.

These counsellors were very ingenious, not only in transferring the power of the pope to their own civil head, but also in providing for the dignity of his new title ; and also in augmenting this little ecclesiastic tax. For first, the annates was, originally, no other than one year rent or profit ; and was a mode imposed on some new incumbents, when Rustand was collector for the pope, in Henry the III^d’s time, instituted in resemblance of the relief paid to the lay lord by every succeeding tenant of copyhold. It began first in the diocese of Norwich, whose bishop, in the above reign, was legate and representative of the pontiff ; and thence it was spread, and, in about a century, became general. But these innovators changed its old name, as if to

(a) These Franciscan friers had a good house at Greenwich. They were the friers-minors ; but had authority, like the frier-preachers, to make that duty a principal part of their profession : at the dissolution they had 65 convents in the kingdom ; the principal of which was in Newgate-street ; and Christ’s Church, there situate, was built for them by the donations of the great, in the reign of Edward III. And another great house they had at Coventry, where the present church, with an handsome spire, in the North East end of the town, belonged to them. See Stevens, Cont. of Dugd. vol. II. This was surrendered on the 5th of October, 1539 ; and another at Stanford on the 8th ; but the deed of surrender is exactly the same.

disguise its origin, and called it now by a new appellation of *first fruits*. As this was made in analogy to the fine, paid on taking up an estate among laymen, so they ordained the payment of tenths, in imitation of yearly quit rent; intending hereby to propagate the opinion, that the temporalities of the church were holden by the like kind of tenure as those of the laity. And, to draw the bond closer between the clergy and their new lay pope, another act passed, to enable the king to appoint suffragan bishops; as if in appearance to revive a practice in the ancient church, but in reality to create bishops, without any interference from Rome; and, lastly, an act had been passed to condemn Sir Thomas More, and bishop Fisher, to perpetual imprisonment and confiscation of their goods, for refusing to take the oath required in the session before (a).

The insolence of the monks had greatly provoked and exasperated the king: and in this year, 1535, he had proceeded to execute some of these men (as the prior of the charterhouse (b), and some others), for refusing the oath of his supremacy: and he had also put to death some of the Protestants merely because they were heretics; and this was done by the late act, whereby he repealed the act of Henry IV. and took away the judgement of heresy from the church. In this summer he had caused above thirty persons to suffer death for heresy. The colleges and monasteries still lay under the charge of having offended against the act of premunire, and had not yet made their peace: and the imprudent zeal of these men had highly exasperated the king. What terms could be made, or what mediation could be offered! The king was wholly intent on exercising his new

(a) Sir Thomas More dwelt at this time at a seat in this county called Gobions, now belonging to John Hunter, Esq. and in this house is still preserved the altar, which stood in a small chapel, and at which More had been accustomed to pay his devotions. The Romish worship inculcated an external and mechanical service, and seems to abhor all abstract acts of the mind; and thereby came to rest in the former and to reject the latter; whereas both are proper and allowable, if the first is used as the means to the latter.

(b) Among those Carthusians who had been imprisoned and had escaped death by a release, was Maurice Chauncey, a relation of Sir Henry Chauncey. This man went abroad, came home when Mary reigned, and was made her confessor. At her death, he retired to some religious house abroad; and wrote an account of the sufferings of his brethren, and of Houghton the prior. This book was printed at Cologne in 1608; but contains a shocking account of the violence and unjust prosecution of Houghton. This man, with eighteen of his brethren, were imprisoned in Newgate; whence some who escaped death by starving, were at length delivered; but the poor prior was tried, convicted, hanged, and quartered, and the mangled limbs hung up on the gates of the charter-house.

power, and seemed to exult as if he had vanquished a people that had never before been subject to him. The new archbishop, Cranmer, together with Cromwell, secretly favoured the Protestant doctrines, but thought it dangerous to make open declaration of those inclinations; and they thought they could not do more in favor of the Reformation than remove the obstacles to it. In a council, holden in this summer of 1535, the case of the monks was considered: after some person had gone so far as to suggest a total suppression of them, a great debate ensued; when the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Longland, though they had with reluctance consented to extirpate the papal power, yet refused their consent to this step; saying, this would extirpate all religion, and open the door to all kind of heresy; thinking that in monasteries only, and not among the seculars, was to be found all ancient learning, all true devotion, and all right worship. By the arguments which were urged on both sides, and with much earnestness and zeal, the king perceived that to abolish this class of men all at once would be very ungrateful to his subjects, and offensive to the three great men then present: he therefore affected a submission to their opinion; and resolved to execute this work gently and gradually. The first step he thought most necessary was to ruin the character of these places, and diminish the respect which people bore towards them; assuring himself, that no one durst appear as the protector or advocate of licentious and depraved clergy. He then, in pursuit of such intent, and in consequence of his new headship, constitutes Cromwell a visitor general; with orders to appoint commissioners to visit in person all religious foundations, and make inquiry in what manner the rule of the house was maintained, whether devotion was observed, good order kept, and how their revenues were expended. The commissioners appointed by Cromwell were Richard Leighton, Thomas Lee, and William Petre, doctors of law; and Dr. John London, dean of Wallingford, with others of less note, as Belasis, &c. Cromwell gave them instructions under eighty-six heads of inquiry; and the visitors set forth on their work, on October 18, 1535.

Now, suppressing these houses, which were the seminaries of religion, the consolation of the aged, the support of poor gentry, and the relief of the indigent, was a bold thought, and could not but be offensive to the pious and devout. It was bold and daring, because the founders had established these houses with the most earnest imprecations

precations on all those who should disturb the endowment, or pervert their good intention. Yet the dread of so bold a step was abated, and the eyes of the pious accustomed to behold, without emotion, what had been lately done, in the way of suppressing these seats of religion. For, so late as 1533, on February 24, the priory of Christ's Church, or the Holy Trinity, near Aldgate, in London, was suppressed (a), and perhaps by the sole authority of the king; and all its lands, and plate, and furniture, given to Sir Thomas Audley, then speaker, and just made keeper of the Great Seal. All men could remember that Woolsey had procured the suppression of more than twenty houses, about eight years ago, though in a legal way; and had applied the revenue to uses of religious education. Farther back in history, it was seen that the kings of England had seized the alien priories, and kept the rents during the wars; though they had restored them after. And what struck the minds of all men most forcibly was the fatal suppression of the whole order of Templars, in the year 1307; an example which would make all religious tremble, as well at the full end obtained as at the flagitious means of obtaining that end. The remembrance of these events shocked most persons, in proportion as they found themselves interested.

The visitors had doubtless received a full lesson at their departure; and were ordered to intimidate and terrify, with all possible threats of rigor, and hints of the danger which the monks were in from the premunire. Applications were made to them suitable to their case: the timid were frightened, the stout were tempted, the faultless were courted, and the guilty and vicious were terrified; in short, before Christmas many small houses had surrendered their charter, especially in Kent, where Leighton had visited. An offer was made, that all who had professed under twenty-four years of age, should be at liberty to depart, and put on a secular habit; but the monks, not knowing how to live in the busy world, so contrary to their accustomed ways, chose to stay. The report of the visitors was completed and published by the month of January, 1535-6; and was supposed to contain all the worst relation that could be gathered, and that done in haste; for, the visitors finished their work in ten weeks. The full report never lived long; and Burnet saw only an abstract, containing an account of 144 houses, which, for their abominations

(a) Stow, p. 360.

and superstitions, he dwells on, with his wonted credulity, and great predilection for scandal (a).

Whatever truth or falsehood was well grounded, the king thought this report would answer his purpose; and, on the meeting of Parliament, on the 4th of February 1535-6, he laid before them the great grievance of these houses, and what a scandal they were to the state, &c. In a short time, an act passed for dissolving all that had 200l. a year or under. This suppression comprehended in it 376 priories, small abbeys, nunneries, canonries, and by whatever name they had been incorporated. The revenues of them were found to amount to 32,000l. *per annum*; and the plate, goods, ornaments, and furniture, were valued at 100,000l. The act gave all this to the king; and he pretended a fear of a war with the emperor, the better to justify this largess. Henry constituted a court of augmentations of the king's revenue, to receive and administer this new acquisition; and ordered his engineers, &c. to fortify some accessible points on the coast, and defend the harbours (b).

This court was ordained to have a chancellor, a treasurer, an attorney, a solicitor, ten auditors, seventeen receivers, a clerk, an usher, and a messenger: by which grand apparatus, a strong suspicion arose that they would learn, and soon be able, to manage the revenue of the whole church. On the 14th of April, the king dissolved this Parliament as if in resentment. The same had sat six years; which was longer than any Parliament had sat since their rise and origin.

This grand point of dissolving all the less monasteries concluded the labour of this faithful Parliament: and the king, thinking his business accomplished, and enough done to bring the clergy under his obedience, began to reward and promote some of his constant friends in Parliament. In the October before the end of this Parliament he

(a) In this return, of which the original (or an authentic copy from it) may be seen in the Brit. Mus. the general character of the house is set down in a very short and concise manner, without any notice of their general deportment and outward behaviour: thus, if any relics were found in the chapel, the monks were set down as *superstitiosi*. They were marked by another odious appellation and character, and *sodom.* was the word annexed; in nunneries, the character was signified by *pepererunt*. Thus all persons were equally involved in one and the same charge; and that charge was not only never proved, but the guilt of it could never be known with certainty, and only guessed by the visitors.

(b) The surveys to this purpose are in the Cott. Lib. Aug. I.

had issued a commission to Cromwell, already master of the rolls, and secretary to the council, appointing him vicegerent, or vicar-general, to execute the king's functions of supremacy; and about this time, viz. in June 1536, the king made him Privy Seal; and, in the autumn following, created him a baron. But the Parliament was no sooner dissolved, than infinite murmurs and discontent arose in the counties of Lincoln and of York; and the malcontents, who were the ejected monks and the zealous Catholicks, assembled in great bodies; and, shewing themselves in an armed posture, put on the appearance of a formidable rebellion. History informs us by what artifices the duke of Norfolk, who secretly favored their claims, cajoled them to disperse and go home; and how many worthy men of rank and name fell a sacrifice to the king's resentments.

But, at the beginning of this rebellion, the king thought fit to re-endow one and thirty of these dissolved houses, in the month of August. And, as if foreseeing the clamours that would rise on turning the monks and nuns out of doors, to beg and starve, he summoned a new Parliament, a few days after he had dismissed the old; and directed them to meet on the 8th of June. A new reason for this was to settle the succession; and a new act now declared the issue of both queens illegitimate, and that the Crown should descend to the issue of some future queen. Another act was, that all usurpations of the Parliament upon the royal authority, before the king was twenty-four years of age, might be repealed by letters patent under the Great Seal: an act that was made as if on a sudden and necessary emergency, but which opened the door as wide as possible for the king to claim, and the Parliament to admit, any thing for prerogative which he might choose. Another act of this session was to annul all dispensations, immunities, and privileges, flowing from the Court of Rome; saving, to the archbishop of Canterbury, the power of confirming what should not be contrary to the word of God or common decency, and this confirmation to pass likewise under the Great Seal. There were other laws also made to exclude the Papal power more perfectly if possible, and one to give to the successor of every incumbent in any ecclesiastic preferment the profits that arose during the vacancy: which had been formerly taken by the king, in all the large preferments, and the pope's collectors, in the small. This session continued only forty days: no money was granted, nor indeed asked: and no impediment could arise to the bills proposed, when the House

of Commons, and the lay lords, were unanimous, and the bishops and abbots did not often attend the house. The peers were in number about fifty-four, the bishops eighteen, and the abbots twenty-six, and these two latter bodies were very much occupied in the convocation which was now sitting; in which the king amused them with ten articles of religion, so composed of Popish and reformed doctrines as to cause great debates and constant contention: in all which it appeared that the king meant nothing relating to divine truth, or liberty of conscience, or public peace; but to depress the church, enrich himself by this base sacrilege, and gratify his own violent brutal nature.

The year ended with the suppression of the insurrections, and the King began to reward those who had served him. He made Sir William Fitzwilliams earl of Southampton: this man, under the duke of Norfolk, had distinguished himself in the last summer against the rebels; before that, had shewn great naval skill, had commanded fleets of ships to guard the Channel, and borne the title of vice-admiral: he had arrived at this degree of note and favour by being always ready in Parliament to promote every proposal for suppressing papal authority; and this had shewn itself in him very strong at the time of the cardinal's fall; when Sir William, together with Anthony Fitz Herbert, carried up to the House of Lords the bill for impeaching Woolsey (a), and laid the foundation of his overthrow: and against which Cromwell had pleaded so successfully in the House of Commons. Sir John Russell, who had in his youth been an attendant on the king at all his sports and tournaments, and a gallant soldier in France; and since that always obedient to the king's views in Parliament; and who last year had been joined in commission with the duke of Suffolk and Sir Francis Brians, to try the rebels and execute justice, was made comptroller of the king's household, with the title of lord Russell (b). And Sir William Pawlet, who had been servant to Henry VII. then treasurer to

(a) Consisting of twenty-eight articles. See Herbert, p. 126; and Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 119.

(b) It is a tradition in the west of England that Russell owed all his good fortune to this circumstance, that he had contributed to save the life of some Spanish Prince or noble, who, in his voyage to the Netherlands, was shipwrecked on the coast of Dorsetshire; that Russell entertained him at his house, and the prince, thinking it necessary to pay his duty to the king, took Russell with him to Court, where Henry first saw him, and kept him near his person.

Henry

Henry VIII. in his household, and in the three following reigns lord treasurer, and always chosen to Parliament, was now made lord St. John. The writers of his life say, ' that he lived at a time when ' happened the dissolution of abbeys; which was the harvest of estates; ' and it argued idleness if any courtier had his barns empty. He was ' a younger brother, and came to court on trust; where, upon the ' stock of his wit, he trafficked so wisely, and prospered so well, that ' he got, spent, and left, more than any subject since the Conquest.' He lived till 1572, and died aged 97, leaving 103 descendents (a).

In the preceding summer, the commissioners, under the vicegerent, had proceeded to take possession of the dissolved houses, in spite of the insurrections; and had begun to pull down and sell the materials, and to alienate the lands and estates. This new source of riches was so acceptable to the king and court, that he made no application for subsidy or supply to the last Parliament, who had sat forty days, although he saw that the emperor would probably make war on him, in order to prevent Henry from aiding the Protestants, whom Charles determined to humble, if not suppress.

Henry having directed another visitation to be made during the past winter, when the report came back, in the spring of 1537, he caused it to be printed and made public. And, with a view to diminish the great reverence which the people bore towards the monks, care was taken to enlarge and explain the fallacies and deceits which the monks practised with their images and their relics. It was not now laboured to render them odious for any internal corruptions or gross immoralities charged as before; for, they were not believed: but now the tricks and impostures of these houses were set forth in a ludicrous manner; that the images of the virgin that nodded, or rolled the eyes, and performed other gestures, were performed by secret springs and wires; that the crucifix at Boxley, then in great repute, was of this sort; that there were in England three or four heads of St. Ursula; and that all the relics were counterfeit. These suggestions, whether believed or not by the vulgar, shewed plainly the king's intentions; on which the vicegerent ordered a commission to search and bring away many of these relics and images; but to preserve any thing that was of value, for the use of the house. Accordingly much trumpery,

(a) Sir Robert Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*; and Life of Sir William Pawlet. London, 1572, 8vo.

as images, shrines, pictures, relics, were seized and burnt: and, at Canterbury, these reformers proceeded to dig up the bones of Becket, and burn them in the midst of the relics and images; the shrine was demolished and burnt, and a very fine diamond, affixed to it and presented as an offering by Lewis VII. soon after the death of Becket, in 1171, was torn away, and, as if possessed of more sanctity, carried to the king, who wore it afterwards on his thumb. These were the proceedings in 1537.

The next year produced more injunctions from the vicegerent, in favour of Reformation; and more acts of injustice in the king, in favour of Popery. He condescended to enter into a formal dispute with one Lambert; who ventured to dispute with Cranmer, and seven or eight others, at the same time: the subject is not declared, but the result was, that, at the close of the disputation, Cromwell read the poor man's sentence to be committed to the flames as an heretic, although not knowing that he was convicted or even put on his trial. But thus did this execrable tyrant put to death Protestants for being heretics, and Catholics for impugning his new prerogative of supremacy. In this year 21 monasteries were suppressed and sold; and in 1539 the number suppressed was 101 (a).

The last visitation had been calculated for the sole purpose of finding plausible reasons for a farther dissolution: for, the king had resolved on it; and perhaps had this view when he called a new Parliament: and the irregularities and crimes pretended to be discovered, would enable him, he thought, to justify his revenge, and shew his love of purity; but in truth satiate his avarice. The commissioners went about this year receiving surrenders; a form of which they generally brought with them ready prepared, and often in the same words, however the houses might differ from each other in circumstances. But their way was, to live freely in a monastery, causing the best entertainment to be furnished; and, after gaining the head and a few principals, on some kind of bargain made, they signed their names, and were turned out of doors.

This was the proceeding with the less monasteries, which had been suppressed by the act passed in 1536 by the Old Parliament: No act had yet passed for suppressing the greater; but the report of the vi-

(a) See Rym. Fœd. vol. XIV. p. 590; and Burnet, 1 tom.

sitors was carefully dispersed, in order to ruin their character. And of the abbey of St. Alban it was reported by them, that such had been the depredations and waste of the estates, the abbey could no longer maintain an abbot. All this might be true; for, the king's agent had had the rule and management these eight years past, though Catton had been made abbot in 1530. He died in 1538; and Boreman was put in his place; with no other view than to make a surrender in form. This artifice was now practised wherever there was a vacancy. In old time, every election of abbot was confirmed by the pope or his legate; but, since the new supremacy had been established, the elections were made in this manner. The king granted a *congé d'élire* to the prior and convent, with a missive letter, shewing the name of the person whom he recommended, and yet under a premunire to refuse. The election being thus made, the writ was returned, endorsed with the name, and the king signified his assent under the Great Seal; then it was certified to the vicegerent, who returned it to the king, and he restored the temporalities.

The

(a) Catton died in 1538, and the following letter was written on the visitation made in December by Leigh and Petre, to Cromwell.

Please it your lordship to be advertised. At our comyng to Saint Albons on Thursday last, we beganne a visitation among the monkes, the abbot being then in London. And because we wolde the more fully knowe the hole state of all thing, tarred the longer in the examination of them. And upon Friday last we sent a monition for the abbot to appear before us, who came hither on Saturday before none: whosome we have likewise as fully examined upon all things as we might. And although, as well by the examination of the monks as by confession of the abbot himself, there doth appear confessed and fully proved intire cause of deprivation against the abbot, not only for breaking the king's injunctions, but also for manifest dilapidations, making of giftes, negligent administration, and sundry other causes; yet, by what means we know not, in all communications or motions made concerning any surrender, he sheweth hymself so stiff, that as he saith he wold rather choyse to begge his bredde all the days of his life than consent to any surrender. We have everich of us severally, and also all together, communed with him, and used all such motions as we thought must most further that purpose; but he continueth always one man, and waxeth hourly more obstinate and less conformable: whether he so doo upon trust and confidence of any friendship we know not. The premisses we thought our bounden duty to signifie unto your lordshippe, most humbly beseeching the same that we may, by Mr. Dr. Layton, know the king's highness further pleasure by you; whether we shall continew in the proofs of deprivation against him, and so deprive him according to the order of justice without longer delay: which don, the house will be in such debt that we think no man will take the office of abbot here upon him, except any doo it only for that purpose to surrender the same unto the kinges hands. And by these means we think this thing may most easily be, and with less speede be brought to the kinges highness purpose.

The report made by the visitors on this second visitation hath not reached these times, and is said to have been destroyed, with all the copies thereof, in the days of queen Mary, when she laboured a restoration of Popery. But, though they pretended to have discovered many enormities, not only in the morals, but in the œconomy and rule, of the houses; yet it was said at the time, and uncontradicted, that the commissioners had committed great violence and injustice, that they had robbed and carried off all the plate and precious stones found in some houses, had committed great outrages in others, and that Dr. London had violated the nuns at Godstow, and quite disgraced his reforming character. It is to be remembered that no law had been made yet for dissolving the greater abbeys; and no Parliament had sat since July 1536. Yet the commissioners, under the authority of the new supreme and his newer vicegerent, when they visited the greater monasteries, treated of their surrender, and proposed terms. And, if the priors and heads could get a good bargain, the surrender followed in a few days: and they hoped to excuse themselves by pleading the debts of the house, and the ruin and decay of the buildings. Though threats and promises had truly the greatest share in influencing these pious rulers, yet the form of the surrenders generally ran thus, ‘ the abbot and brethren, upon mature consideration, or full deliberation, on their own proper motion, on full and certain knowledge, and for just and good causes them hereunto moving, in their souls and consciences do, of their own accord, freely and willingly give and grant unto the king, their house, lands, goods, furniture,’ &c. These last surrenders, which were of many of the great houses, the king wished should appear as voluntary, and merely of free choice by the abbots and priors. But every creature saw the falsity of this royal illusion, and how forced these surrenders were. And in truth, such

pose. Or els whether we shall stay in our pres at this time, and appoint some longer day to here the sentence of deprivation, leaving him in the mean time in utter desperation of any favour. Which waye maye also be occasion, that when it shall appear unto him that he shall be deprived, will perchance sue to have his surrender taken, because he wold be assured of some lyving. The premisses we refer to the king’s highness pleasure, which knowing by your lordship, we shall with all our possible diligence conform ourselves to accomplish the same: and in the mean time travail with the monks to know how many of them may be induced to this purpose. Thus Almighty God have your lordshipe in his blessed kepyng. From St. Albons the 10th of December, 1538.

William Petre.

Cott. MS, Cleop. E. 4.

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was the power which he had gained over all ranks of men, that none durst find fault with his conduct, much less oppose his will. Yet, the better to save appearances, the king ordered the Parliament to be called together on the 28th of April, 1539. The commissioners were now busy in the country, visiting, receiving surrenders, packing up the valuables, and proceeding to sell what was not movable(a).

The king caused a report to be spread that the kingdom was going to be invaded: he hurried down to the coasts, to order and direct more forts and bulwarks; commended a fleet to be fitted, men to be raised, and levies of land soldiers to be provided, with all speed, to be led against the invader. All this seemed to have in it great reality; and, as it would be necessary to demand a subsidy of Parliament, and for Parliament to tax the individuals, the laity bore, with less regret, the destruction of the religious houses, when it appeared that these houses would be able to furnish the supplies. And the king shewed little fear of the pretended invasion, when he saw and experienced so much liberality in his clergy. The yearly value of all the lands of the monasteries was discovered to be, next year, about 161,000l. besides great

(a) What expedition the visitors used in demolishing the abbeyes and houses that were surrendered into their hands, the following letter will shew; which was written by one of them, after he had taken possession of Jorval, a Cistercian abbey in Yorkshire.

Plesythe your good lordship to be advertysed, I have taken down all the lead of Jervase, and made it in pecys of half foders, which lead amountyth to the number of eighteen score and five foders; with thirty and four foders and a half, that were ther before; and the said lead cannot be conveyt nor caryed unto the next sambre, for the ways in that country are so foull and deep that no caryage can pass in wyntre: and as concernynge the raising and taking down the house, iff it be your lordship's pleasure, I am myndeth to lett it stand to the spring of the year, by reason of the days are now so short it would be double charges to do it now: and as, concerning the selling of the belles, I cannot sell them above fifteen shillings the hundreth, wherein I would gladly know your lordship's pleasure, whether I should sell them after that price or send up to London. And, if they be sent up, surely the caryage will be costly from that place to the water. And, as for Bridlington, I have down nothing there as yet, but spayreth it to March next, because the days now are so short; and from such time as I begyn I trust shortly to dispatch it after such fashion, that, when all is finished, I trust your lordship shall think that I have been no evil housbound in all such things as your lordship appointed me to do; and thus the Holy Ghost preserve your lordship in honour.

At York the 14th day of November, 1538, by your most bounden beadman.

Richard Bellycys.

This letter is among Dodsworth's MSS, number 24, in the Bodleian Library.

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sums daily coming in from the sale of lead, bells, and other materials, and from goods, and furniture, and rich ornaments of the choir. As a specimen of these secret riches, it is to be noted, that in the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury there were found 5000 marcs in gold and bullion, value 3333l. of the money at that time.

The king, as it appeared now, had taken part with the reformers, not through any preference to their religious doctrines, but merely with a view to tread down the old papal clergy, and extirpate the authority of the pope. And, having taken part with the reformers till he had effected his intent, he began now to throw off all disguise, and to prove that he meant not to change the religion of his kingdom: for, as soon as the Parliament met, he caused a bill to be brought in for abolishing diversity of opinion. This was done by the suggestion of Gardiner or Norfolk, and the bill contained a perfect restoration of the old Romish doctrines (a), making it penal to deny transubstantiation, or to reject private masses and auricular confession; the punishment to be by burning or hanging. It was in vain for Cranmer to argue against them; for, both houses passed the bill with great dispatch, as if determined to keep the old religion, though they were proceeding to destroy the main professors of it. By another act, the Parliament granted to the king all the lands of the monasteries which had been surrendered; and supposed to be surrendered freely: yet, to exclude all possible doubt in future, the Parliament thought it necessary to decide that point. By this act no suppression or dissolution was enjoined, as by the first act that ordained an actual suppression of all those under 200l. a year; and, of course, no religious houses were actually and in direct terms suppressed, as is generally taken for granted; but only the surrenders, that either had been or should be made in future, were confirmed. And it was enacted that the lands so surrendered should pass to the king exactly as the religious houses had held them. This act was dispatched with the more speed, because the king intimated that he would employ this new accession of riches in useful foundations; and another bill passed, to enable him to erect and endow new bishopricks.

When this bill was read in the Lords House, the abbots and priors who attended were at no reading more than twenty; and the bishops, if present, could add only eighteen more; the lay lords were about

(a) In six articles, and called the Bloody Articles.

fifty-six. But it was a subject that drew all of that order to be interested, in the hopes of gaining; for, in the debate it was said, the lands ought to go to the heirs and successors of the donors, by reversion; or to the lords of whom they were holden, by escheat. Others pleaded that they should fall to the king, absolute; to support which it was argued, that all the lands of the Heathen temples, which Theodosius demolished, came to the Emperor's exchequer; upon this reason, because, by the will of the donors, the lands were totally alienated and divested out of them and their heirs. In favour of the second opinion it was said, that, in the case of the knights templars, when they were dissolved, it was adjudged in favour of the lords, by escheat; although, it was well known, that the pope and king, juggling together on that occasion, cheated all the lords of their escheats; and this was the foundation and true cause of all that iniquitous prosecution: but this plea was not allowed now; because the lords progenitors had made these endowments by free consent and frequent confirmation, without the least reservation or special proviso. In favour of the reversion it was said, that these endowments had been made, in consideration of duties to be done, and masses to be said, and holy offices to be performed; therefore, when these duties were caused to cease, it was but just that the hire, on this non-performance of the condition, should go to the heirs of the founder by reversion. This opinion was well founded; but it was said, that many of these endowments had been made by the King's ancestors and predecessors; and therefore he was thought to have a double claim: and thus the example of Theodosius, backed by this claim of reversion, gave a plausible pretext for giving all the lands to the king. As for the goods and movables, the rich vestments, and splendid ornaments, they were so much the property of the present monks, when their continuity was to cease, and their trust to expire, that, on all principles of justice, they should not have been robbed and spoiled of them; and, if the voice of humanity could have been heard in this general clamour of avarice and rapine, these movables should have been sold, and the money reserved for the use of the owners; who were soon to be turned into the wide world, with a very slender pension. But, by the act, all these goods and movables, together with an amazing quantity of the same from the cathedrals, were carried away by the visitors, and swallowed up by the royal vortex, never to appear or be heard of more.

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This same Parliament immediately passed the famous act of prece-
dency (a), which, though wanted before, in order to regulate some
disorders, seems to have been made principally with a view to com-
pliment Cromwell, whose office, being new, gave him no rank by
usage and precedent. But the king placed him above all other per-
sons, and next to the royal family. When the Parliament met, on
the 12th of April, 1540, the king created Cromwell earl of Essex;
Sir Thomas Audley, lord Audley; and William Parr, lord Parr,
who was afterwards made marquis of Northampton (b).

During the last year, 1539, fifty-seven surrenders were made: the
originals of thirty are yet to be seen: and among them were the
abbeys of Westminster, Waltham, St. Alban, Glastonbury, and St.
Peter, in Gloucester. But, in this session, held in 1540, a special act
was made to suppress the prior and hospitallers of St. John of Jerusa-
lem, situate in Clerkenwell.

Here then, from the Parliament in 1539, issued that dead war-
rant, which was intended to extirpate all the monastic institutions.
But it was drawn with such equivocal form, (being no positive com-
mand to suppress, or on the abbots to surrender, but only a confir-
mation of all that had been, and was to be, done,) that it seemed in-
tended as a snare to entrap the unwary, and to intimidate the bold.
The abbot of Reading refused to surrender; on which he was seized,
and hurried away to London; in the Michaelmas term, charged,
tried, and convicted, in the King's Bench, of high treason; and, on
the 14th of November, brought, together with two of his monks
involved in the same charge, to an ignominious execution at Tyburn.
This man's name was Hugh Faringdon, and he had ruled his abbey
for nineteen years, with great prudence and œconomy, yet with
abundant hospitality and charity. The case of poor Whiting, the
abbot of Glastonbury, was equally unjust and wicked; and attended
with more circumstances of cruelty and inhumanity. When he re-
fused to surrender, or to sign the deed prepared and offered to him

(a) Stat. 31 Henry VIII.

(b) It is here proper to remark, that, on the resignation of More, May 20, 1532,
Audley, then speaker of the House of Commons, was appointed keeper of the Great
Seal; and, in January 1532-3, made chancellor. Yet he continued to sit, as member
in the Commons House, together with Cromwell, from that time to this year 1540;
when they first, and not before, received these honours and titles, and passed to the
Upper House. Warton, in his ingenious Life of Pope, not regarding this, has com-
mitted some mistakes in the date of facts.

by the visitors, he was told that he must prepare to go along with them to London: on which he was put into a litter; and, when he came to Wells, he found the sheriff, jury, and gentry, assembled, and himself set to the bar and arraigned for high treason. He had no time allowed him to prepare, or even to procure counsel, for his defence: of course he was speedily convicted: and the next day, being the 14th of November, when the like bloody tragedy was exhibited on poor Farringdon, our abbot of Glastonbury was drawn, hanged, and quartered, together with two of his monks. His head was fixed on the top of the abbey gate, and his four quarters hung up in four of the neighbouring towns. Such was the fate of this abbey, which had been the most ancient of all, the richest and best endowed(a), and which had ever been cherished and favoured by all preceding kings, whether Saxon, Norman, or English; and its administration had been admirably conducted for 15 years by this Whiting: who, besides keeping 100 monks, maintained 300 domestics and dependants, in many inferior offices, connected and subordinate to the abbey; and among them many sons and relations of gentlemen; he also distributed certain fixed alms, two days in the week, to the poor of the parishes adjoining; he received and treated all travellers; and sometimes took in and entertained 500 horsemen at once: yet he was now at last charged with embezzling some of the abbey's jewels and precious stones; and other crimes were accumulated, to make it treason: and this farce of law, and mockery of all justice, was carried to this extremity, against a man eighty years of age. 'Surely there is a God 'that judgeth the earth:' and though we see not full judgement and retribution passed on great offenders, while they live; yet we may often discern some traces of judgements, some beginnings of punishment to take place on them, in this world; which undoubtedly are intended, by the Great Moral Judge, as lessons to the living, and intimations, that 'he ruleth over all, and will one day complete the 'judgement in full measure.'

The vicegerent had now completed his work, and gained full gratification to the avarice of his master: but what was his reward? The king created him earl of Essex on the 17th of April, 1540; and cut off his head in July. The visitors, and their agents, Price, Gage, Bellasis, are now known only by their names, and no history re-

(a) Except Westminster, which was valued at 3371l.; whereas Glastonbury was valued at 3311l.

mains of any future events relating to most of them (a). And the names of the sheriff, judge, and jury, who put to death this aged abbot, are consigned to utter oblivion in this world. But the time will come when a higher tribunal than their own will take cognizance of them; and proceed by such rules of equity as they refused to poor Whiting.

These severities were entirely unnecessary, because most of the surrenders were made in this year; and therefore they were the more wanton, unprovoked, and cruel. But Dr. London met with a repulse at Godstow, which he expected not; for, after expostulating, and using all fair means with Katharine Bulkeley, the abbess, to induce her to surrender, he changed his tone, and threatened to dissolve her house in spite of her teeth. She wrote, on this, a complaint to Cromwell, on the ill-usage she had been treated with; and, in a letter still extant, and penned with all the politeness of manner, just sense of duty and allegiance, and such style of scholarship and purity of language, as would be rarely met with in these days, interceded for the preservation of her sisterhood and nunnery. The letter is dated November 1, 1539 (b); but all in vain did she solicit; for, she was compelled to give up the charter, seal, &c. and depart the place soon after.

The visitors thought fit to exhibit another instance of their sovereign cruelty, on the abbot or prior of St. John's, in Colchester, named John Beche. This man had stoutly rejected all their temptations, either by promises of advantage or threats of terror, and determined to abide his fate rather than abandon his trust. This was in November; and, with the usual concise mode of convicting, he

(a) Dr. William Petre was born at Exeter of a Devonshire family; bred up at Exeter College, in Oxford, where he commenced a doctor of laws; and, in 1534, was selected one of the visitors and commissioners, for enquiring and proceeding in the dissolution; in 1544 was made secretary of state, and laid the foundation of peerage, &c.

Of Dr. London it is affirmed in the *Monasticon*, vol. II. p. 538, that he was afterward convicted of perjury, and forced by a just sentence to pass through Windsor and Ockingham, with his face to the horse's tail; and a paper on his head to certify his crime. This Dr. John London was, at the dissolution, dean of Wallingford, then made canon of Windsor, and warden of New College; and, when the king established a bishop's see at Osney, he was made the first dean; but, having employed himself at Windsor in swearing against some innocent persons, charged with high treason, he was convicted of perjury, and sentenced as above. *Monasticon*, vol. II. p. 104.

(b) See the Appendix.

was sentenced to be hanged; and, this was executed on him, December 1, 1539, at Colchester.

These severities also were quite unnecessary, if meant to intimidate the nominal abbot of St. Albans; for, doubtless the visitors had long had this abbey in their eye; and had long prepared for an easy and cheap conquest over it. Catton had been dead near two years; and had lived in perfect subjection to the ministerial agents, who had lodged in the monastery more or less ever since the time of Catesby (a). Catton had been made abbot for his quality of being docile and tractable. In this state he departed; and the same agent procured one Boreman, then prior of Norwich, to be elected abbot here; chosen, doubtless, for the purpose; and thought utterly fit for compliance. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, 1539, Sir Thomas Pope (b), Dr. Petre, Mr. Cavendish, and others, the king's visitors, came down to the abbey: and Boreman, on sight of the instrument presented to him, signed his name, and delivered up the seal; thus tamely putting these harpies in possession of a revenue, which by the late valuations was estimated at 2500l. a year by Stow's account, and at 2100l. by Dugdale's.

Here closes the scene; and here may we behold fallen and set for ever the glory and splendor of this and all other of these religious corporations, which, with most pious intentions in the founders, with general good conduct in the rulers, with most grateful acceptance in the sober and virtuous of all ranks, had provided for the wants and necessities of men; and the revenues, which had cheered the hearts of the naked and hungry, now turned out of the channel of hospitality and beneficence, to be dissipated and wasted in the vo-

(a) These had passed under the name and character of idle gentlemen; but were suspected of being no better than spies; and employed to send their remarks to those agents near the court, who were watchful to any delinquency among either laity or clergy. But since visitors had been appointed, these and their attendants did frequently come down, and, ordering the best fare to be provided, lived here as long as they found convenient.

(b) The visitors were accompanied by Sir Thomas Pope; who, though no visitor, yet attended on this occasion, as if to give solemnity to this important ceremony. He had been knighted, in 1536, when others had received honours and titles from the king; and was at this time treasurer and second officer of the Augmentation Court; and aged about thirty. More will be said of him hereafter; but it is highly probable he now first became acquainted with those ample manors and estates which he afterwards procured.

luptuous;

luptuous pleasures, and base gratifications, of the court and its followers.

Boreman's treachery and mean compliance was rewarded with a grant from the king of 266l. a year, during life, by a charter dated December the 14th: some small yearly pensions were granted by the same instrument to the chief of his brethren, the monks, as under noted; but what became of the abbot is not known.

	l.	s.	d.	
To Richard Boreman, abbot,	266	13	4	or 400 marks.
To Thomas Kingsbury, prior,	33	6	8	
To John Alban, -	13	6	8	
To Thomas Island, -	8	0	0	
To William Hemingford, -	8	0	0	
To William Estridge, -	8	0	0	
To William Ashwell, -	10	0	0	
To John Wendover, -	7	0	0	
To Thomas Newnham, -	10	0	0	
To William Wynch, -	6	13	4	
To Ralph Barry, -	8	13	4	
To William Albon, -	12	0	0	
To Geoffery Sterling, -	8	0	0	
To Thomas Merchant, -	8	0	0	
To Edward Hills, -	8	0	0	
To John Wheathamstead, -	6	13	4	
To Ralph Champion, -	6	13	4	
To Robert Bury, -	6	13	4	
To Robert Moreton, -	8	0	0	
To Henry Bestney, -	8	0	0	
To John Brightwife, -	6	0	0	
To Stephen Baily, -	13	6	8	
To William Este, -	12	0	0	
To Ralph Rickmeresworth, -	8	0	0	
To John Salter, -	13	6	8	
To Edward Sidney, -	8	0	0	
To Thomas Curtis, -	6	0	0	
To Thomas Bartlin, -	6	0	0	
To Richard Bennet, -	8	0	0	
To William Leonard, -	8	0	0	
To Robert Gregory, -	6	0	0	
To Robert Gyles, -	6	13	4	

To

		l.	s.	d.
To Peter Catton,	-	6	0	0
To Thomas Albon,	-	8	0	0
To Thomas Byngnam,	-	5	0	0
To Roger Mighell,	-	5	0	0
To William Allen,	-	5	0	0
To William Adam,	-	6	13	4
To Richard Bever,	-	6	13	4
40. To Richard Milmars,	-	6	13	4
		482	0	8

I should here conclude my history of this abbey, and forbear to prosecute the subject any farther, were it not that the work of this monstrous innovation, wherein sacrilege was called reforming, and which had now been transacting ever since 1534, was completed at this time, with regard only to this abbey, the fate of which we see brought near a conclusion; and in it the fate of some hundreds more. But the subject is so replete with consequences, and the change was such a revolution in the clerical part of the Constitution, that curiosity is raised to know what effects these violent convulsions produced.

And here it is impossible to resolve the first principles of this great commotion into any other motive than the extreme unbounded rapacity of the king and his favorites. The expences of his court being ostentatious and profuse, and exceeding all the legal income, he cast his avaricious eye on the possessions of the most weak and helpless body to be found in his kingdom. In the plenitude of his supremacy he might have been tempted to establish a rival popedom, to exalt the bishops and abbots into cardinals, erect a conclave, and, with this power, subdue the lay lords, and hold them and their estates as fiefs of his holy see; but he forbore this plan, as well knowing the lords to be a martial race of men, and the leaders of multitudes like themselves: or, he might, without any scruples of conscience, as easily have assumed the post and dignity of a new grand signior, have authorized the Koran, and established polygamy, as more agreeable to his

his vague and carnal principles; but he chose to fall on the weakest, as affording the easiest conquest, and the richest booty: having industriously spread reports of their misrule and abuse, he raised a general prejudice against them; and boasting that, if Parliament would give him the monasteries, he would never apply for aids or subsidies, but would be able to keep 40,000 men in arms, for the constant defence of the realm; that, his exchequer being thus enriched, the splendor of the nation would be augmented; and that, lest the honour of the kingdom should receive any diminution, there being twenty-nine lords of Parliament, (abbots and priors,) who held *per baroniam*, he would create a number of nobles (a); he thus united the nobles and gentry in his views, and seduced them into a temper of compliance. And lucky it was, for the future felicity of the nation, that he was so violent and hasty in his designs as to regard only the present gratification; for, had he been cool and politic, and looked far before him, he might, with prudent management of his revenue, have set on foot and maintained a great standing army, and have ruled without ever calling a Parliament. But his present necessities made him condemn all distant prospects; and, his profuse waste and liberality being gratified, he grew content, and formed no plan dangerous to the liberty of the people, and to the ancient privileges of Parliament.

Had Henry been a man susceptible of prudent counsels, and wishing to see his people happy, easy, and prosperous, he would have preserved these institutions, as being works of more public utility than any other; and which (together with the colleges founded for teaching those sciences wherein abbeys were defective) were most conducive to public benefit: and the crimes and irregularities charged on them, if they had been even all proved, might have been corrected, and the ancient discipline restored, had they been placed under the inspection of the bishops, and made subject to their visitation. Wherever the rule was strictly observed, they lived within their income, and expended the remainder in a number of beneficial works, which conduced to a common advantage. And they never could have supported a character, for so many ages, for civil advantages, had they not been considered by all former kings (b) and ministers, as public agents in their hands, for public uses; and as capable of serving their king in numberless occasions: for, the re-

(a) Coke's Instit. vol. IV. p. 44.

(b) The Edwards protected them. See the Appendix.

venues were under a public direction, and the instruments of a public benevolence. The monks, in general, were men without a possibility of converting the estates into a private fortune, living in a denial of all self interests; and whose avarice as well as labour was employed for a community:—men, by whom personal poverty was considered as honour, and implicit obedience was in the place of freedom. These houses might be once the product of enthusiasm; but they had ever been thought, and might now have been employed as, the instruments of wisdom. All this, however, availed nothing. The resentment of the king against the pope, his love of power, and the joint rapine into which he found his Parliament ready to concur with him, tempted them to a confiscation and robbery (a), or, as the church will ever consider it, to a sacrilege, that was never equalled in any Christian country. But so it was, that Providence rendered them blind with selfish passions, and undiscerning of general public views and enlarged prosperities, in order to pave the way for introducing a more pure religion and a more rational worship. ‘He wrought for his name’s sake, and brought much good out of evil, and shewed that the wisdom of man was but foolishness with God.’

But no reformation of religious worship could have taken place, or have gained establishment, if, while Providence was thus raising up instruments in the king and nobles to remove all obstacles, the same good Providence had not, at the same time, inspired a holy zeal for divine truth, and a firm constancy to endure reproach, imprisonment, and death, into the Protestant martyrs: who thereby gave a proof to the world, that their faith had in it truth and reality; and that they had in prospect the permanent blessings of a better world, and the sure favour of a lord and master in Heaven. The wild and boisterous passions of men were made subservient to remove all lets and hindrances; but what brought in and confirmed a true faith and pure worship was the testimony of the saints. The Reformed Church grew out of the virtues, suffering, and death, of good men.

The king, notwithstanding his boasting promises that he should have no occasion to apply to Parliament for succours of money, had yet, between 1535 and this year 1545, convened and asked aid of Parliament three times; and every time met with full allowance to his requests. And these aids, or subsidies, being for two or three

(a) All which being by some called rapine and sacrilege, I will no way excuse, says Lord Herbert, in his Life of Henry VIII.

years, he was every year receiving the usual or greater supplies from Parliament than he had known in the former part of his reign; not to mention a large free gift from the bishops and secular clergy, assembled in convocation, in January 1543, amounting to six shillings in the pound, to be levied in three years, and the same now in 1545. Even in the times of Papal supremacy, greater sums were exacted of the clergy, for the king and government, than from the laity; and the situation of the secular clergy, under daily fear of some storm to break over their heads, rendered them as complying as the lay gentry, though from a different motive.

It is natural to ask, in the midst of these usual resources of wealth, what became of that great tide that flowed in from the yearly spoil, which the visitors were remitting to the king's Exchequer? No manifest use did appear; except the founding of six bishoprics, which were endowed with some of the abbey's estates, and lands or tithes: and, whatever changes he made in the chapters of cathedrals, by new endowments, they cost him nothing, and were made out of some confiscated lands or tithes. It was found that the land-rents of the greater abbey, which were 645 in number, amounted to the yearly revenue of 161,000*l.* and probably worth much more; because the abbots, foreseeing a downfall, had taken large fines, and let very long or very cheap leases. There was found also, in the several large houses, at least 100,000*l.* in gold and silver; and the sale of houses, either left standing or demolished, produced a very large but unknown sum; even after the visitors had been paid for their journeys and inquisitorial labours. Certainly nothing appeared like royal munificence;—no great endowments, or gifts to any small one;—no new institution of a liberal kind, either for public or private utility (a);—no sumptuous building, to perpetuate the honour and fame of this self-conceited monarch. Foolish wars, both with France and with Scotland, seem to be the only possible means of employing his parliamentary gifts. There was ostensible proof of a new influx of

(a) It must here be excepted that the two greatest colleges in our universities owe to him great augmentations of their revenue; and by him were founded also the principal professorships in both universities. These appear splendid and liberal, chiefly for this reason, that they are the only marks of that king's bounty; and which he performed from no other motive than lest he should be outdone by a subject: for, the merit of these works is due to Wolsey.

wealth for ten years(a) successively, yet no visible expence. And, what is more extraordinary, in 1544, he caused the Parliament to pass an act(b) for the remission of his debts, contracted with his people by a general loan, exacted upon them; and with a peculiar circumstance in this statute, that those who had already received payment, in the whole or in part, should refund the sums into the exchequer.

The Parliament I have said, in this year 1545, granted the king a subsidy, while the clergy voted him six shillings in the pound for two years; and they thought the two late unsuccessful wars justified these liberalities. But the Parliament, as if fearful of new demands, to enable themselves to discharge the old, intended to save themselves by being extremely liberal of other people's property; and, by one general vote, gave to the king all the revenues of the universities, and of all the chauntries (c), free chapels, and hospitals. A
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(a) In the Bodleian library there is a MS. N^o 3502.12. containing an account of the gold and gilt plate delivered to the king in the 31st year, and signed *Henry Rex* six times.

It specifies the weight of each piece, whether candlesticks, salts, goblets, cruets or cruise; whether cups, images, sconces, bells, basons, and ewers; with expences of trimming and garnishing the jewels and precious stones for the king's use. The amount

In gold plate is	-	-	-	-	575 oz.
In gilt plate	-	-	-	-	5380 oz
Beside in two beryl candlesticks,	-	-	-	-	90 oz.
Other parcel, gilt,	-	-	-	-	2571 oz.
Ditto, ditto,	-	-	-	-	2341 oz.
Ditto, ditto,	-	-	-	-	10869 oz.
In money,	-	-	-	-	23979 l.
For the reception of Anne of Cleves,	-	-	-	-	5000 l.

(b) 35 Henry VIII. chap. I.

(c) Chauntries were small chapels, founded and erected near the body of a parish-church, for prayer and mass; or else some particular altar in a cathedral or parish-church, at which mass was performed for the founder and relations; and an endowment of land made for maintaining one or more priests to perform the said service. These were returned (including the chapels, that were independent of any church, and not comprehended in the episcopal jurisdiction) as amounting in number to 2374; besides 90 colleges; and 110 hospitals. Colleges, except those in the universities, were founded for small fraternities of men living in common, and with a priest for worship; and hospitals were endowments for the infirm, sick, and aged.

Chauntries were established, in the church of St. Paul alone, to the number of forty-seven; and, in the cathedral at York, they amounted to 200 or more; founded at different times by pious persons for saying mass, and other duties of prayer and singing, to be performed by one, two, or more, priests, and at a certain hour of a certain day in every week, or oftener. The endowment consisted of a portion of land: and

concession this which greatly pleased the king; as it gave him occasion to display his benignity to these ancient seminaries of learning, by sparing them, as he did; and his power, by seizing and crushing all the latter.

He soon declared to the universities, that he meant not to disturb their possessions, nor violate the venerable institutions and endowments for learning. But, although these chauntries and free-chapels were thus given to the king by act of Parliament, and he had appointed commissioners to take possession of the revenues, yet they had made but small progress in the execution of their office at the time of his death, in January 1547. And the protector, in the Parliament called this summer, thought it necessary to make a renewal of the grant. And the statute promises that these new revenues shall be employed to good and godly uses; in erecting grammar-schools, in farther augmenting the universities, and in making better provision for the poor and needy. But, as the courtiers had been accustomed to share the spoil of the regular clergy, they scrupled not to feast their imaginations with the like spoil of the seculars; nor was it long before it was shared among them; and very few of those promised provisions were made. This prospect of pillaging the seculars, and which comprehended all the bishops, deans, and chapters, as well as chauntries and free chapels, had caused the act both times to pass the houses of Parliament,

the bishop and chapter, or, in parish-churches, the rector and vicar, was made the trustee for receiving the rent, providing the priest or priests, and defraying the salary to them, and all other expences. This was become a great task in many cathedrals; and a very troublesome duty to the parish-priest; and created a sort of stewardship, where, in some instances, the agent was a loser; as in case of repairs and other defaults of rent. By many of them the agent was a gainer; and the surplus was deemed his reward. So that, with good management, they brought good revenue to the principal church. And it was policy to encourage this species of piety; for, it shewed a most becoming regard for our departed relations; and it also found employment for a number of priests. Such a number of attendants on this duty at York filled the church with continual singing; and it was very difficult so to contrive as to prevent interruption and hinderance. Prior to the Mortmain of Edward III. the founding a chauntry was an easy matter, and frequently done; but, after that, not without the royal licence. In the 23d of that Edward, Sir John Poultney, knt. and citizen of London, founded a chauntry, and built a small chapel on the North side of St. Paul's for performing the duty; it was to be done by three priests, and included praying for the king and realm, and the souls of all Christian people: the endowment was his manor, or estate, at Shenley; and this was valued, at the suppression, at 4 l. 9s. 4d. a year. It is probable this was re-purchased by some of the family and descendants; for this reason, because the manor of Shenley Bury was in the Poultnays in the time of James I. and until the same was sold to the Crews in 1666. Weaver's Fun. Mon.

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without the least objection: and, how much soever Henry was disposed to favor the Romish religion, yet he had so enriched the leading men in Parliament, that this tended to widen the breach between England and Rome; and to reduce these men to this alternative, either to go on with what they called reforming, or to restore all their estates and wealth, if Popery ever should return. It is easy to guess, which part these men chose: and accordingly, after sharing among them all the chauntry lands, and the estates surrendered under the last act for that purpose, we find that this pious protector (though favorable to a better religion and more pure worship than the church had shewed before), and all his court, and many new lords and gentry, ceased not to pillage the bishops, the chapters of cathedrals, and in short all the seculars of every denomination. No act of Parliament did pass indeed for this special purpose; but this sacrilegious pillage was effected by threats, or by proposals of exchange, or by accusing the possessors of having incurred a *præmunire*. And to this purpose, and the better to cover the enormity of the practice, a new doctrine was spread, though condemned long ago as an heresy, that all the spiritual as well as temporal power, possessed by the churchmen, was derived from the state; that is, that not only their temporal provision and maintenance, but also their spiritual authority to preach the word of God, and dispense the Holy Sacraments, and exercise the functions of Christian worship, were derived and granted from the civil power. But this doctrine, called *Eraastian*, had been long ago condemned as heretical and prophane. The estates of the church had used, in all pious estimation, to be considered as the property of Almighty God; and the ministry, the stewards and managers only, for all sacred uses and pious purposes; and the authority of the clergy to preach, dispense the Sacraments, and absolve from sin, as derived from the Saviour of the world, their Master and Lord, who had come from God.

But such an influence followed the practice of the late reign that the courtiers and gentry under Edward would suffer no scruples to check the career of their avarice. And we need only consult two or three pages in the *Monasticon*, to see what defalcations were made from the estates and revenue of the archbishop of Canterbury during this short period. It was a time when pious men submitted to any hardship rather than renounce their faith. Even Somerset himself went great lengths in this sort of traffic, having obtained the houses of three bishops, viz. Landaff, Coventry, and Worcester, and the church

of St. Mary le Strand, with the sites of the same, whereon to build that monument of his fame, called *Somerſet-houſe*; and he carried away, for this purpose, the materials of St. John's priory, in Clerkenwell.

This rapine of the church estates and tithes also went on with such uninterrupted ſucceſs that we cannot call it a reſumption, becauſe the property did not revert to the heirs of the donors; but it was a ſacrilegious thirſt, in the protector and his friends, to ſwallow down all eccleſiaſtical property: and ſo unſatisfied was this thirſt that, if queen Elizabeth had not paſſed the reſtraining act, nothing would have been left. Theſe acts provided a proper and neceſſary barrier againſt all the long leaſes and alienations which had been made by the clergy, and might ſtill be made, and alſo againſt the depredations and pillaging made by the laity; and theſe acts preſerved the remainder of the church property unalienable and inviolate.

It muſt be remarked, that, when queen Mary was re-eſtabliſhing Popery, the Commons and Gentry conſented to paſs an act for the purpoſe of reſtoring the ancient religion, and to make any conceſſion in favour of Popery; but not until they received repeated aſſurances, both from the pope and from the queen, that the plunder which they had made of the eccleſiaſtics ſhould not be inquired into; and that the abbey and church lands ſhould remain with the preſent poſſeſſors (a). But, not truſting altogether to promiſes, the Parliament, in the very act (b) by which they repealed the former ſtatutes, made againſt the Papal authority, took care to inſert a clauſe, (after eſtabliſhing the validity of all marriages during this ſchiſm under Edward, and fixing the right of incumbents in their benefices,) whereby they gave ſecurity to the poſſeſſors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of eccleſiaſtic cenſures. Now, if all extremes may be ſaid to have two ends, it is certain that the zeal of the nobility and gentry for their eſtates and new acquiſitions occupied the firſt end, and their zeal for and againſt Popery occupied only the laſt and leaſt extreme. Mary wiſhed to reſtore this abbey, and offered abbot Boreman a freſh grant to this purpoſe; but ſhe found that the monaſtic buildings were all demolished, the church alienated and demiſed away, and all the grants and alienation of the eſtates ſo confirmed and ſecured by the ſaid act of Parliament (enacting that whoever ſhall diſturb or moleſt any perſons for ſuch lands ſhould incur a præmunire) that ſhe

(a) Heylin, p. 41.

(b) 1 an 2 of Philip and Mary.

desisted from the attempt; and Boreman, who had made two surrenders, had no opportunity to be replaced, and to traffic any more.

Among the many civil advantages which these religious institutions brought to the public, and many of which I have enumerated, one was, that they found employment for such multitudes of indigent persons, of both sexes; and this advantage was not small, in times when, in towns there were few or no manufactures, and in the country very little agriculture; and for this reason it was worthy the care and duty of all legislators and rulers to uphold these communities, and give them countenance. These were wise appointments then, with regard to the men; but they were quite necessary with regard to the other sex, who, in that poor and destitute condition of society, must have perished in sloth and ignorance, had there been no such places to receive, entertain, and instruct, them. That confined state of life, which was the lot of all the lower females, gave them no opportunity of advancing themselves; and, though it might secure their virtues, it kept them in the meanest and most abject dependence. Hence it was, as Speed saith, (chap. 11), 'That such a reputed holiness was it held in those days, not only to be separated from the accompanying with men, but also to abandon the country of their nativity, and, as strangers in foreign lands, to spend the continuance of their lives.'

But, in noting the advantage of employing a great part of mankind, I would advert also to the nature of their employment: and that was in a solicitous care for the dead. Now here, if the Romish church framed a worship on this subject that led to superstition, and contained many fanciful notions, and if they conducted the same on self-interested motives; the reformer, perhaps, went into the other extreme, and cast off all regard for the dead: whereas, there is a middle way, which, casting aside the superstitions of the Papist, though it may not afford help to the departed, must certainly be an useful lesson to the living; and that is, by anniversaries of holy remembrance of our departed friends, wherein, softened by the recollection of their loss, and warmed by the memory of their piety, we might pray to God, and to our Redeemer, to be merciful and lenient to our failings. This might have been done by the reformers, without falling into the errors and superstitions of the old worship; but they omitted an office for this purpose, and left men to their private prayers on this head, lest they should fall into the error of praying to false mediators.

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If it be said this might lead into the ancient superstitions, I think not; and the fault is as great in the reformer by encouraging a total indifference: whereas, a well-composed prayer, aided with a public concurrence, would serve the purpose of a standard, and prevent both extremes.

This laboured concern for the dead had another consequence, that was not only gainful to these houses, but what also kept up their character; and, if new opinions of the dead had not come in, would have maintained them to this day. And this was, that the rich and great were always buried in these churches; and, while the poor revered these houses for their charity, the rich and opulent revered them for their pious care of the dead. The parish-church, with its solitary rector or parson, or more solitary vicar, were little regarded for burial, and its priest thought to have little interest with Heaven. Hence it is, that in no parish-church is to be seen any tomb or monument with an ancient date; none so early as 1400, and very few below that æra. Whereas, Weever (a) (who, besides his own collection, collected the collections of many others made at the Reformation) exhibits dates almost as high as 1300. These were found in the churches of priories; but were demolished at that period, when even monastic brass was a tempting prize.

But, notwithstanding the necessities of the king, and the concurrence of his avaricious courtiers, these causes alone would never have operated with full effect toward the utter suppression of these houses, had not the measure been approved and countenanced by many of the wisest men in the nation, and especially by several of the greatest lawyers. Such men as favoured the new doctrines of religion, and saw the gross superstition and interested motives of the Romish church, were among the first to pull down all the ancient supports of that church. But even many Catholics saw, that the multitudes of poor, fed at the gates of monasteries, ought to be employed; and that the art of making cloth, with our own native wool, was an occupation ready and near at hand: a business this, which they saw to be taken up by numbers of emigrants, who fled from the wars and desolations of Germany. They saw that the monks were easy masters and gentle landlords; and that, by not exerting labour, or shewing any skill or judgement, their lands did not produce so much as they might and ought to do. They were sensible that industry constituted the

(a) Funeral Mon. in Norwich diocese.

riches of a nation; and that, if the Spanish money, now coming into Europe, should find its way into England, the price of every necessary would be doubled, and yet the quantity not increased, nor the quality improved. It was thought also to be contrary to the prosperity of a nation, that so much land as the monks had should lie in Mortmain, and never be passed to another owner. They thought the state of the nation to be stagnant, without that energy and activity which a new circulation of property would give it; and that the religious communities hung like a dead weight, depressing its natural strength and vigour.

These sentiments possessed the minds of the great lawyers, the judges, and officers of the law. More thought thus, when he succeeded Wolsey as chancellor; thus thought Audley, when made speaker of the Commons; and thus thought Rich, when made chancellor of the augmentations; and Pope, and others, who filled up that new court. Hence it was, that such gross invasion of all right and property, and such outrageous insult of justice, went quietly on, without the least contradiction from the lawyers. And, if it be thought the most flagrant ingratitude in the king to prosecute More, and Fisher, and then Cromwell, who had been his most faithful servants, we must resolve this, not merely into the fierce will of the monarch, but into the silent acquiescence of the lawyers; who, though they must condemn the deed, secretly approved every bloody step that led the way to so general a benefit; otherwise they would have saved those honest men, and might have saved their sovereign's honour and character. I am unwilling to impute this tame silence of those able lawyers, then acting and advising, to any other motive: for, I will not suppose they could consent to shed the blood of their brethren, unless they had seen the supposed crimes of those men to be obstructing the great work they had in hand. It may be known from the history of those times, that the Lower House (as then called) did not consist of more than 300 persons(a); and that many of these were lawyers; and many others retainers of the court, though respectable country gentlemen. And Audley, who was made keeper of the Great Seal on the resignation of Sir Thomas More, was chosen speaker also of that Parliament, and continued such during the six years in which it sat. And thus, by this studied conjunction of in-

(a) See Plowden's *Jura Anglicana*.

terest, all the bills for extirpating the pope, and for gratifying the king, were seen to pass without any obstruction.

The conduct of this whole business was in the hands of Audley, Rich, and some others; who, acting an under part, prepared the bills. And in that bill, whereon it was debated to whom the Parliament should assign the abbey-lands, and in which it was determined, that the king, and others under him, should hold them *just in the same manner and as the monks had holden them*; the framers of the bill meant no more than that the king and others should hold them in *Frankalmoigne*, which was a kind of tenure that exempted the holder from suit and service to any superior lord, for, thus the monks had holden them. It would have been better, and more clear, to have said the king shall hold them in *free Socage*. But here lurked a very studied and latent ambiguity; for, it was said that, when these lands were given, the vicars would make claim of the corn-tithes. The proprietors set up a claim to another exemption, namely, from these tithes, and stretched the words to that sense, *to hold the lands discharged of tithes*. Suits were instituted to recover, but the lawyers adhered to the words, and gave judgement in favour of the new lay-proprietor; who now has united the corn-tithe to the rent, and left the vicar as destitute as before, with more duty to be performed, liable to more calls for his charity, and moreover to maintain a wife and family. And thus has it happened, that, in many towns and large villages, the duty is great, and the provision very slender.

But this is not the only instance where a good intention was very much perverted; and where the distant and future good of the nation stopped short, and degenerated into the selfish advantages of the individual. It is to be noted also, that the lands, &c. given to the king, and by him sold or given to others, had been granted *in capite*, and made subject to a certain rent, with relief from the heir. They might have produced a very great annual sum, and yet the courtiers have been gratified: no more supplies might have been wanted, nor even asked: the crown might have displayed great splendor: a good force might have been maintained for the defence of the realm, sufficient provision made for the new church, and universal content diffused through the land. But, amid the craving and contending passions of men, no sober counsels can be heard.

CHAPTER X.

PART I.

OF THE CELLS.

IT is proper to be remembered, that all the small religious houses, that is, under 200l. a year, were dissolved by the 27th of Henry VIII. Others of a larger revenue fell in consequence of the act 31st of Henry already noted. But it is well known, that the priories, or cells, though small, yet were much coveted, and soon bought or begged of the king; and, in the steward's account of this abbey's possessions in the crown, in the year 1544, there is not one priory or cell remaining under charge. The reason why they went into lay-hands so soon was, because they afforded a house and dwelling, a better estate than mere landed property.

I will first recite what can be found relating to the foundation and final disposal of the cells belonging to this abbey, and then I will shew what became of the great estates.

BINHAM.

This priory was founded by Peter de Valoignes, the great Norman, who almost succeeded in robbing the abbey of the wood of Northaw, and who lived at Hertingford Bury. This man and his wife Albreda, with the consent of Henry I. and of their own relations, gave and granted to God, St. Mary, and St. Alban, the church of St. Mary at Binham, and all his manor, with the meadows, woods, &c. as free as he had held it of the king; appointing his heirs to be protectors of the said church and town, and no wise wasters or destroyers of the same. He farther granted to the said church, two parts of his tithes at Derfingham and Ingoldsthorpe, and of the manors of Riburg and Snaring, and of nine manors more; this church to be subject to that of St. Alban, paying to the same one mark a year. The abbot of St. Alban is allowed once a year to stay at Binham not above eight days; and with only thirteen horses, unless desired by the prior. These gifts were all confirmed by Roger the son of Valoignes, and by Peter the grandson, and Robert his son; and by the bishop of Norwich.

Of Binham, the last prior, who occurs in 1509, was John Alban; and of any future superiors no account remains.

Sir Henry Spelman says, in his History of Sacrilege, that ‘ this priory was granted by Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Paston; who left it to Mr. Edward Paston, his son and heir; who, living about eighty years, continued the possession of it till ———— Caroli R. and having buried his son and heir apparent, left it to his grandchild Mr. Paston, the third owner of it; and therefore now in the wardship of the king. Mr. Edward Paston many years since was desirous to build a mansionhouse upon, or near unto, the priory; and attempting, for that purpose, to clear some of the ground, a piece of wall fell upon a workman, and slew him. Perplexed with this accident in the beginning of the business, he gave it wholly over, and would by no means all his life after be persuaded to re-attempt it: but built his mansionhouse, a very fair one, at Appleton.’ It was valued by the visitors at 1611. 1s. 0d. a year; but at the suppression was found to be only 140l. 5s. 4d. and was said to maintain twelve monks beside the prior.

This priory had the tithes of Ryburgh Parva, now a vicarage in the gift of Sir Edmund Bacon, and the remaining tithes also of Ingoldsthorpe and Derfingham; and to which, when made vicarages, the

the prior presented. He was himself vicar of Binham; and thus united these two contending and rival branches of the church. When a priory was founded and endowed, it was made a joint concern of the neighbouring churches; and, if it could not obtain the tithes, it generally succeeded in obtaining a pension from the rectors. Thus Binham had from the rector of Edgefield 11. 13s. 4d. and from the rector of Sandringham, ol. 6s. 8d. (a).

It hath been an old observation, and with much justice and truth, that these monastic founders always made choice of such places for establishments as were pleasant and fruitful, and commodious for the necessities of life. These places were indeed such as their benefactors were pleased to give, but if in some instances they were at first less remarkable in these qualities, the labour and industry of the brethren in a few years brought them to such improvement. This proves only that monks and priors came into a country which was not wholly occupied, and not yet become very populous; and that, in their professions of religion and more strict holiness, they did not overlook or condemn all the comforts of this world. Place these men of mortification in any situation whatever in England, and they could not long be destitute of any of the substantial necessities, but soon be able to live in a temperate and sparing sufficiency. It is true likewise that the rigor of their rules, and all the austerities of their duty, lay on the ordinary monks, and more ease and freedom was indulged to their governors. But, if we compare the life of these men in England, with descriptions of abbeys abroad, and especially in Spain, we shall see that the former lived in Paradise compared with the latter (b):

HERT-

(a) See more of Binham in Blomfield's Norfolk.

(b) Of this I will quote one instance from Cotton's Life of the Duke D'Espemon, printed 1670.

'From Barcelona,' saith he, 'the duke went to Montserrat, where he continued three days entire at his devotion; not without admiring the excellent oeconomy of this abbey, where there are ordinarily above two thousand five-hundred people provided for every day; for which all the provisions, so much as wood and water, must be fetched a great way off upon mules, the rock being so dry and unfruitful as neither to afford the one nor the other of these, much less the other necessities of life. During the duke's abode in this place, those of his followers who were the nimblest of foot had the curiosity to climb the top of the mountain to see the hermitages; which, being thirteen in number, are situated upon the most inaccessible precipices of the rock, and inhabited by so many devout persons, who subsist upon almost no other nourishment than herbs and fruits. Though we met with great difficulty and danger in this attempt, and had very much ado to satisfy our desires, we saw, never-

HERTFORD.

The priory at Hertford I have spoken of before; and have only to add, that the names of nine only of the priors can be recovered, according to Willis(a), and that the last, Thomas Hampton, was elected in 1514, and was probably the prior who resigned; for, this being one of the less monasteries was dissolved in the 27th of Henry: and it is likely, that whatever memorials they had, the same perished, or went with the house (b).

It had been founded by Ralph de Limisi, a Norman chief, who came over and settled here, by the allotment of the Conqueror, and was probably a friend as well as countryman of abbot Paul; and that caused its connection with this mother abbey. It was valued by the visitors at 86l. 14s. 8d. a year; but was found at the surrender to be only 72l. 14s. 2d. This Limisi had by grant from the Conqueror the manor of Pirton. This priory maintained twelve monks and a prior. Alan, the son of Ralph, gave to it the church and tithes of Tolenton in Warwickshire, and two yard-lands in Ickleford; and these remained with them till their dissolution. In the twelfth year of Edward II. a great dispute arose between the monks of this cell and the burgeses of the town of Hertford, about right of common. It was agreed that the latter should release all right and claim to the pasture of a meadow,

‘ nevertheless, one of the most unwieldy and unready footed animals, that is to say, a
 ‘ mule, that went twice a week the same way, alone and without being guided, to
 ‘ carry these good people their allowance; and who could with great security set his
 ‘ four feet in very narrow paths, where we had much ado to dispose of our two; so
 ‘ great a privilege has custom. But what we thought the most strange of all was to see
 ‘ birds of all sorts, and of those kinds which with us are the most wild and untractable,
 ‘ so familiar with these holy men as to pick meat out of their mouths, and suffer
 ‘ themselves to be handled: living in as great security with them as among us those
 ‘ do of more docile natures, which we have reclaimed and made tame with the greatest
 ‘ diligence and art.

‘ The duke presented the abbey with many rich ornaments; adding to his presents
 ‘ an alms of 500 crowns of gold, for 3000 masses. The religious governors of this
 ‘ abbey never take any money for their hospitality; which they in charity bestow upon
 ‘ pilgrims indifferently, of what condition soever, for three days together: but they
 ‘ also never refuse how much soever any one is disposed to give for masses.’ This was
 in 1622.

(a) History of Abbeys, vol. II. pp. 41 and 127.

(b) Mon. II. 129.

called

called Wildmarsh, and the monks should grant them common in two moors, called the Holms; and that in all other commonable lands they should pasture together. Three years after the dissolution Henry VIII. granted this priory, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances, contiguous thereto, unto Sir Anthony Denny, gentleman of his privy chamber: his sons sold it; and, in 1638, it came into the hands of the Harrison family. This priory had a pension of 1l. 6s. 8d. from the rector of Cavendish in Suffolk.

MERGATE, or CADINGTON.

This cell was founded within the parish of Cadington in the county of Bedford, near Merkgate, now called Market-street, by abbot Geoffrey of St. Albans, about the year 1145, by the name of the Holy Trinity *in Bosco*, or in the wood. He built it twice from the very foundations, having enemies who burnt it down on the first building. He erected and endowed it for Christina, who was a woman of family, and her sister nuns there serving God under her rule and government; and gave to this cell two parts of the tithe-corn of the whole parish of Watford. The cell and church being first built within the domains of the church of London, they made a grant of the same to these nuns; and the bishop of Lincoln, named Alexander, dedicated their church. This grant is extant in the Monast. vol. I. p. 350, wherein the church of St. Paul's receives three shillings yearly as a quit rent. It was returned to the Exchequer as valued at 146l. 16s. 1d. but at the suppression at 114l. 16s. 1d. Mr. Willis says, that Joan Zouch was the last prioress; deriving her name probably from a large farm so called in the vicinage. It appears by undoubted records, that this house had the patronage of several vicarages; as in Warwickshire of the following; viz.

Colshill v.

Bignell or Bickenhill v.

Kingsbury or Limsbury v.

Lea Marston c.

Whitacre Inferior c.

And of the following vicarages in Bedfordshire.

Sondon or Stondon v.

Stratley v.

The

The impropriations or great tithes of all these churches belonged also to this house, but most probably were rent from it, long before the time of their visitation. It had also 20s. a year out of the great tithes of Higham Gobion in Bedfordshire. We find not that any of the sisters, or even the head, or prioress, had any pension settled on them, when they were turned out of doors and sent into the wide world. The site and lands were granted, in the 2d of Edward VI. to George Ferrers. Leland in Itin. I. p. 116, thinks it was granted first to lord Berners.

BELVOIR.

This castle and manor was given by William the Conqueror to one of his followers, Robert de Tothenei, who took on him the name of Robert de Belvoir, changing his own name, and giving this place a Norman appellation. He built a church close to the castle, and dedicated it to St. Mary; but, being unable to finish it, he gave it to the abbey of St. Alban, to be dependent on it as a cell, on condition that abbot Paul should finish it, and place there four monks; who should pray for the soul of him, the founder; for those of king William, his wife and family, and all his relations; and that he himself, and his wife, might be enrolled as brethren of St. Alban. He endowed this house with the town of Haringwold, with the towns of Horton, Frantun, Shaperton, and many other parishes adjoining; which, probably, when tillage was little practised or understood, produced very little beside the tithe of wool. William de Albeney his son, who came to this estate and castle, gave the manse that had been his chapel, with houses and land adjoining, and also one sheaf of each sort of grain from every acre of his land at Belvoir, Wulsthorp, Botesford, Orkington, and Stokes. Robert de Toteney also gave it an endowment of fish, from his mill. The possessions of this house were valued by the visitors at the annual rate of 155l. 5s. 10. but found at the suppression to be only 104l. 12s. 10d. The site was granted, in 33 Henry VIII. to the earl of Rutland and Rob. Tirwhit. The earl's family had large possessions near Belvoir, as in Bottesford, Granby, Woolsthorpe, &c. but this was a better situation for a large mansion. The grave of Toteni was opened in 1726 by Dr. Stukeley, and, in 1792, by Mr. Gough and Mr. Nichols, which last hath recorded all the particulars of this place in his History of Leicestershire. See also Dugdale's Baronage.

HAT-

HATFIELD PEVEREL in Essex.

In the Monasticon, vol. I. there is a grant of this Peverel, (who was a Norman chief, and had a gift from the Conqueror at this place) whereby he gives, to the church of St. Mary of Hatfield, his own mansion and all his houses, to build dwellings for the monks whom he intended to place there; with all things given by his predecessors to that church; adding three fields adjoining to the church; and other lands called Hoiwood, Alvelwood, Copingo, and Colingas; and the church of Ayeton and Christesey, with its tithe; and that of Weston. All this, for the souls of king William and king Henry, and his own parents and ancestors.

There is another grant whereby Andrew Nevil resigns all right and title of the church of Assington in Norfolk to the prior and convent of this Hatfield Peverel.

In the 13th of Edward I. when he was trying the titles of the abbots and priors to their estates, and issued *quo warrantos* for that purpose, an inquisition was made at Chelmsford, and decreed, that the advowson of the priory of Hatfield did belong to the abbot of St. Albans; and not to Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hertford and Essex, who had obtained the same.

It was valued by the visitors at 83l. 19s. 7d. a year; but at the suppression was worth no more clear than 60l. 14s. 11d.

This priory had the tithes of Acton near Sudbury, and made the vicar, and paid him a pension of 1l. 6s. 8d. It had a prior, and no more than four monks: the site was granted in the 29th of Henry VIII. to Giles Leigh (a).

SOPWELL

was founded by abbot Geoffry about 1140, on his observing two poor women dwelling there in a wretched hut of their own constructing; and living a most austere life on bread and water, and in regular devotion to God. Their piety induced him to build a house for their comfortable living; and to bestow on them some possessions. He appointed also a chapel and a church-yard; ordaining that none should be buried there except the nuns; none to be admitted into the house but maidens; and the number not to exceed thirteen.

(a) See Newcourt's Repert. and Morant's Essex.

Henry de Albini or Albeney, of the house of Todenei, gave to this house two hides of land, with his wife's consent, in their manor of Cotes, in Beaulieu. His son Robert, and his mother Cicely, gave a rood more, in the same manor. Richard de Tany, or Todenei, gave them the land called Black Hides, in Ridge parish.

Abbot Michael, about 1338, ordained certain rules for the regulation of this house, and enjoined a better order and observance than they had before practised. They are as follow: 1. That the commemoration of St. Alban should be kept as usual. 2. That not more than three nuns should sit in the chapter. 3. That silence be observed, as by the rule of St. Benedict, in the church or chapel, in the cloister, in the refectory, and the dormitory. 4. That a little bell do ring in the morning, as notice to rise and appear; and that none leave the dormitory before the bell rings. 5. That the garden-door be not opened (for walking) before the hour of prime, or first hour of devotion; and in summer, that the garden and the parlour doors be not opened until the hour of none (nine) in the morning: and to be always shut when the corfue rings. 6. That no sister hold conversation in the parlour (a) without her cowl on, and her face covered with her veil. 7. That tailors or other artists be persons of good character, but to work in some place assigned them without the monastery; and never to be admitted into chambers or other private places. 8. That, if any sister be under a sentence of penance, this shall not exclude her from the duties of the church. 9. The sick to be kept in the infirmary. 10. No nun to lodge out of the house; and no guest within it. 11. All the sisters to be present at the mass of our Lady.

Their possessions (which have been mentioned before, and in the life of Geoffry) were valued by the visitors at 58l. 8s. od. a year; but afterwards reckoned to be only 40l. 7s. 10d, clear, and this maintained thirteen sisters, a chaplain, and some domestics.

The king, in 1541, granted this house, and the site thereof, to Sir Richard Lee; who, leaving at his death only two daughters, this place came to the eldest, who had married Edwyn Sadleir of Temple Dinsley. His second son Richard dwelt here and had children, and the eldest, by name Robert, at his death left Helen, an only child and heir. This Helen married Thomas Saunders of Beechwood; and, his children dying in their infancy (except one named Anne), he sold this house and land adjacent to Sir Harbottle Grimston, and from him

(a) Conversation was the sole use of the parlour: it was the room of audience, and of address, from *à parler*, and was among the Norman improvements.

it descended to his son Sir Samuel Grimston; and in its later descent it hath accompanied Gorhambury. This Sir Richard Lee was descended from a genteel family in Suffex; where they had flourished in three or four generations. His mother was named Hall, and was the sister's daughter of the famous Edmund Dudley, the extortioner, under Henry VII. Richard was bred to arms; and it is said that he had been, or was, about 1540, captain of the pensioners; and he was probably dwelling at Sopwell, when in 1543 he was commissioned by the king, 'with Antonio de Bergoman, and John Thomas Scala, 'expert Italians in the skill of fortifying, to view the state of Tyne-mouth (a).' On this expedition he accompanied the army into Scotland; and, in the plunder of Edinburgh, he brought away from Holyrood-house a curious font of brass, adorned with figures embossed. He afterward set this font up in the abbey-church. It had on it a proud inscription (b) 'that it had served for the baptizing the king's 'children in Scotland.' But this privilege, though it raised veneration in the minds of the pious, yet could not save it from the rapine of Cromwell's soldiers, after being used in this church about 100 years. Sir Richard had a very handsome wife, (whose maiden name was Margaret Greenfield) and who was in no small favour with the king: and by her solicitations this grant of Sopwell had been obtained; and at the same time a grant to his brother Thomas Lee, of St. Julian's, and some lands belonging to it. He obtained also at that time the grant of the monastery, and the site thereof, with all the ground lying round the church; and in the grant was included the parish church of St. Andrew (c). The king seldom granted a church until he had sold the bells, and stript it of the lead and iron; and in every

(a) See Lodge's Talbot papers, vol. A. f. 247.

(b) See Camden.

(c) It appears not at what time this church was built; but probably it was prior to Offa's foundation of the abbey, or at the beginning of the town, about 100 years after, when the parish of St. Andrew comprehended all the town then erected, and formed the precinct of the abbey. As the town increased, the other churches were built; and as the abbey increased under Paul, it then eclipsed the parish-church; and at the dissolution quite extinguished the name and memory of St. Andrew. This church had no endowment, and depended on offerings and legacies. It was in the patronage of the abbot and chapter, and had a vicar. In the archdeacon's Consistory Court are some volumes of wills as old as 1415, in which may be seen many legacies to the vicar of St. Andrew's; and in the will of one Henry Ferncomb, a brewer of this town, dated 1445, he bequeathed to the vicar of St. Andrew's two quarters of coals (*duo quartaria carbonum*), and to thirty-six poor persons thirty-six quarters. This was meant of charcoal; for sea-coal or pit-coal was not at that time known in this country; and the large black spots in many of the fields indicate the making of charcoal, stocking up the woods and converting the same into fuel.

grant he reserved the bells and lead. But in this case he had reserved the whole abbey-church, and gave Sir Richard only the monastery and site thereof. The grant bears date February 8, 1539-40. This beneficial grant, which was not, like land, fit to return a yearly rent to its owner, was by some considered as a recompence for arrears of pay for Sir Richard's military services; for, he soon began to demolish the monastery and sell the materials. He did the same by St. Andrew's church, and the abbey-church was used as a place of worship; but remained in the crown until the charter of incorporation given in 1553, by Edward VI. at which time the king sold it to the townsmen for 400l. by them paid; and by an article in the charter this bargain is confirmed, and the great abbey-church 'demised to the 'corporation for their church; and to be by them used, and by them 'given on a vacancy.' Sir Richard, with the materials, repaired and enlarged Sopwell, and made it his habitation; while his brother Thomas Lee lived at St. Julians. He now also built the wall that enclosed the lands of Sopwell from the London road, and made there a park. An ancient coat of arms cut in stone, and affixed in the garden-wall, might once belong to him or to his son and successor Edwyn Sadleir; for, as the king's arms had of late years been first ordered to be set up in churches, in the room and place of the popes; so many new lords and owners of houses set up their armorial bearings at this time, in token of a new proprietor. The manor of Newland, or Squillers, being parcel of the abbey's late possessions, was granted to Sir Richard at the same time (I think) to be holden by the yearly rent of 5l. 4s. od. This was sold afterward by Sadleir to one Grace, of London, a goldsmith; whose daughter and heir married one Rowbotham; the last of which family died in 1672, and bequeathed some legacies of charity to the minister and to the poor of St. Peter's parish, in which church he is buried. And this estate is since converted to a more noble charity, when it was purchased by the duke of Marlborough, and assigned for the building and endowing the admirable foundation which bears the name of that duke.

I find no other grant made to Sir Richard by Henry VIII. except the manor of Hexton, in the 36th of Henry 1545; but in the 1st year of Edward VI. he received the manor and rectory of Newent, together with a large wood called Yorkledon thereunto belonging, in the county of Gloucester. And in the same year, and perhaps in the same grant, the manor or lands of Beckford in Gloucester, which had been a priory of regular canons of St. Augustine, and founded by Robert Fitz Alan in the 56th of Henry III. and by him endowed with Beckford, Aston, and Grafton; and of late totally suppressed by

by Henry VIII. Sir Richard lived till 1575, and at his death he left two daughters, but no son. The eldest, named (a) Anne, married Edwyn Sadleir, as before mentioned, the second son of Sir Ralph Sadleir, of Hendon; and the youngest, named Mary, was married first to Sir Humphrey Coningsby, and secondly to Mr. Pemberton, of this town. Sir Ralph had bought Temple Dinsley, and there his son Edwyn resided.

When we observe how very soon after the Dissolution this grant was made to Lee, it is more than probable that the Dissolution had been hastened by the very urgent solicitations of Lee, previous to that day; for, in this sort of coin were many of the king's creditors paid, beside those of the military; and in the grants made about this time, we find the grantees to be distinguished by several offices about the court, especially of the household. Lee, whose profession was that of demolishing, was here in his element; and, before the town charter was granted, in 1553, two months before king Edward died, he had pulled down and sold all the materials of the monastery, and all its buildings. In the third and fourth of Queen Mary, she ordered Boreman to purchase the site and the old monastery; and Boreman treated, and the price was settled; but, when she found there was nothing capable of being restored, she relinquished the design; and the site remained among the possessions of Lee, with no more buildings on it than a part of one of the offices, since converted into a dwelling-house; which, together with the site, now belongeth to Mrs. Clark.

On the death of Sir Richard Lee, in 1575, Edwyn Sadleir, who had married the eldest daughter, removed to this place. They had four sons: and this feat, with the lands belonging to it, was settled on Richard, the second son. This Richard married Joyce, the daughter of Robert Honeywood, of Charing in Kent, Esq. and lived at this place, and had ten children. The eldest of these, named Robert, succeeded; and was a captain of militia in this country, and a justice for this liberty about 1660. He left only one child; a daughter, named Helen, and his heirs. She was married to Thomas Saunders, of Beechwood, Esq. who had many children; but all dying in their infancy, except one, named Anne, he sold this house and lands to Sir Harb. Grimston, soon after the Restoration; and the same hath ever since accompanied the descent of Gorham, &c. The

(a) In the chancel of St. Peter's church there is a vault, in which are deposited the bodies of the said Sir Richard, his wife, and his two daughters; as the inscription shews. See Chauncey.

house fell to decay about the time when Saunders sold it, in the reign of Charles II. Among such parts as were then taken down, there were ten large circular medallions of stone, representing some of the Roman emperors, very ancient, and well copied from the best coins of those persons. These were purchased by the lord and owner of Salisbury manor in the parish of Shenley, and by him affixed into the wall of his hall, then building anew; and there still remaining. They represent Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Galba, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Constantine; and Cleopatra, Faustina, and Zenobia.

They are probably as old as the time of Wheathamstead; and had been cut by the workmen employed in his tomb, or by those who cut and built the rich altar screen in the time of Edward IV (a). But a reader will say, perhaps, with what propriety were these made the ornaments of a nunnery? To this I answer, that the inhabitants wanted not lessons or examples of all the softer virtues, and sober graces of the mind; but they might find an entertainment in contemplating the great and boisterous characters that had appeared in the world, had been the instruments of great events, ruled at the head of mankind, and who had had their full sway in this world; but had failed of that tranquil peace, and serene security, which dwelt within the walls of Sopwell. But, whatever might be their reflections on viewing this assembly of heroes and viragoes, I have no doubt but that most of the ladies who came into this retreat, as we know they were of high rank, so it is probable they had been educated in a knowledge of history, and, like Julia Berners, in many fashionable sciences.

The short time in which the commissioners kept possession at the surrender, we may suppose was fully employed in packing up the valuables and selling the movables. It is probable that here, as in other places, all gold, and silver, and precious stones, if found, were conveyed to the jewel-office; the books to the king's library; and the parchments, containing deeds, grants, chartularies, books of account, &c. to the office of augmentations. Of the first, I fear none is now known, and perhaps no where to be found in its first shape. Of the second (the books) some of them are at this day in

(a) In the church of St. Michael is interred, as the inscription sheweth, Thomas Wolvey, or Wolven, styled *Latomus in arte*, and squire to the illustrious prince Richard II. and also there is interred Richard Wolvey, his son, styled *Lathonius* or *Latomus*, that is, stonecutter. The former died in 1430 and the latter in 1494. These men, probably, were the artists who cut the medallions, built the screen, and set up the tomb of Wheathamstead.

the king's library in the British Museum, among which is the curious copy of M. Paris, written in his own hand. Of the third there exist many of the original charters, which Dugdale hath printed, but very few of the other books, deeds, and documents. I fear they never went so far as to the Augmentation-Office, and served for the secret perusal of the commissioners, who, having learnt from them the names and situations of the respective estates, destroyed the originals as waste and refuse. But of these books there now remains a very beautiful MS. entitled *Registrum de Ferris adquisitis, per Joann. Whet. & Tho. Ramryge*, compiled by Blakeney, who was secretary to the latter. It is finely written, beautifully embellished in the initials, and hath been well preserved. It was once the property of Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, and is now in the library of the Royal Society of London. The reader will observe I have availed myself of this MS. in the preceding part of the work.

THE PRIORY OF WYMONDHAM

was founded by William de Albinio, or Albeney, cupbearer to Henry I.(a). By his grant it appears, that he gave in pure and perpetual alms, for the soul of himself, his wife, and his relations, all the said church, with all the appurtenances; the tithes, the keeping of the courts, two mills, thirty acres of arable and the pasture adjoining, the woods of Biskelmid, and Southwood, Tysford-park, Wickam, &c. the monks to choose their own prior: the abbot of St. Alban's to be honorably received if he chose to come; and to be paid a mark of silver in token of subjection. By another grant he gives to the prior and monks the manor of Hapsburg. By another grant, Henry III. confirms all these donations; as doth also William, earl of Arundel and Suffex, grandson to the same founder. This priory was afterwards made an abbey by Ogard, then patron; with the consent of Henry VI. and by the bull of pope Nicolas V. In which he charges the bishop of Norwich to take care that no molestation be given to this abbey by the abbot of St. Alban's, or any other person(b). The visitors valued this house at 75l. 5s. 4d. a year; but at the suppression the clear value was found to be 55l. 18s. 0d.

The Albeneyes (or D'Aubignys, in French), who were descended from Todenei, the founder of Belvoir, were great benefactors to this

(a) This was a descendant of Todenei.

(b) This change has been already noticed in John of Wheathamstead's second rule.

priory, and from their estate at Clophill they founded and endowed the little priory of Beaulieu. So that an hereditary love to this abbey long prevailed in that family. In the Museum (a) is a MS. containing all the charters, grants, &c. to this priory, by which it appears, that it had 250 tenants, and not more than one which paid so much as 40s. a year. The rent of the others was accounted in pence, and those in small sums. This priory had the tithes of Wymondham, and the prior was vicar. It had also the tithes of Alton, and of Hapf-burgh, and appointed the vicars. The rectory of Grimston paid to it 40s. yearly.

It was made an abbey about 1448, as above related; granted in the 37th of Henry VIII. to Henry, earl of Surrey, and, in the 5th of Elizabeth to Sir Walter Haddon, for 6l. 9s. 8d. per annum, with several lands, and particularly in Northfield, late in the occupation of William Kett (b).

THE PRIORY OF TINMOUTH

was founded in the time of William Rufus, by Robert de Mombray or Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, in compassion to Oswyn, king of Northumberland, who had been basely murdered by Oswy. Oswyn was the last of the royal family of Deiri; and Oswy mounted the throne of the deceased about 720 (c). The murderers buried the departed king at the oratory of St. Mary, near the mouth of the Tine, where stood the castle of earl Mowbray. In honour, then, of the deceased, he gave lands for the maintenance of monks, whom he brought from the monastery of St. Alban, and made his new foundation dependant on this monastery. William the conqueror confirmed the grant of Mowbray; as did also Henry I. in one charter, mentioning all the tithes of Northumberland as given to this church; and, in another, the keeping of a court by this priory.

This priory was in high repute with David Bruce of Scotland, and king Henry I. King John confirmed to them all their former possessions, which was the town of Tinmouth, and near twenty more towns or villages in that country; and Edward the 3d confirms, by a deed, all their possessions, privileges, and immunities. At the valuation made by the visitors in the 26th of Henry VIII. or 1537, they set its revenue at 397l. 10s. 0d. yearly.

(a) Cott. MS. Titus, c. 8.

(b) Fee farm rolls in Aug. Offi.

(c) William of Malmesbury, I. 3. Matt. West. p. 118.

The site and most of the lands were granted, 5 Edward VI. to John, duke of Northumberland, who chose his title in imitation of the antient Mowbray. But in nothing else did the comparison or resemblance hold good; for, the latter ended his life in piety and humility in this abbey; and the former, through excess of pride, ambition, and sudden elevation to great fortune, died on the scaffold. These lands reverted to the crown; and there remained until 1574, when the title of Northumberland was revived in the Percy family; to whom they were then given.

The rectory, and all tithes belonging to the church of Tinmouth, were granted in 30 Elizabeth to Edmund Downing and Miles Dodding, their heirs and assigns for ever, together with the patronage of the vicarage; paying to the queen and her successors 115l. yearly, and 30l. a year to the vicar (a).

WALLINGFORD.

This priory had been founded by abbot Paul; who is said to have repaired the dwellings, built a small church, and to have established there a prior and certain monks from the great abbey of St. Alban. All this was done by the bounty and munificence of that Norman chief, Robert D'Oiley; to whom the Conqueror gave a large tract of country (b) in the North of Oxfordshire; the town or city of Oxford, and the castle of Wallingford. This chieftain paid due regard to the security of the places under his care; for, he built the castle at Oxford, enclosed the city with walls, still to be seen, and made the causeway from that place towards Abington two miles in length, over low grounds. Wallingford had, before the time of D'Oiley, been a considerable place; having in it 276 houses in the days of the Confessor. The lord of this place, at William's conquest, was Wigod a Saxon, whose only daughter was given in marriage to D'Oiley. And, on this close connection with Wallingford, he repaired and augmented the works of the castle; pulling down eight houses for its enlargement (c). And William Gemeticensis remarks, that, on the defeat of Harold, the

(a) Fee-farm Rolls in Augmentation-Office.

(b) Called *Huiccia*, in the Latin *Inquis*, i. e. Hokenorton.

(c) So says Doomsday Book.

Conqueror marched his army to this place, before he advanced nearer to London.

As it was a custom with the gentry and lords to build churches and establish a body of monkish clergy near their castle or mansion; so this was practised here by D'Oiley; and his countryman Paul aided the pious work by sending monks, gaining thereby the dependence of this small priory to the abbey. The church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity; and D'Oiley granted them only half a hide of land without the city, for an endowment. Richard the II^d. gave to these monks the rectory and church of Gassington in Oxfordshire, and the grant appears in volume I. of Dug. Mon. This is now a living in the patronage of Trinity College, Oxford. Henry VII. gave these monks a grant of 8l. a year to be paid by the town of Wallingford; and also the appropriation and advowson of the church of Chinor, in the county of Oxford.

Willis, in his Mitred Abbeyes, has given the names of twenty priors, from 1195 to 1515, in which year the last prior, John Clare, was appointed.

This priory, and also the hospital of St. Mary Pree, were dissolved by Woolsey; and are in the number of these small endowments to the number of 40, which he procured by a grant from the pope, about 1526, for abolishing, and adding their rents to the endowments of his new college at Oxford. They all fell into the king's hands, when Woolsey was attainted; and this made no part of the king's new endowment of that great foundation. Its being dissolved so early is the reason why we find it not in the valuation made by the visitors about 1535 and 36. This cell was granted in 38 Henry VIII. to John Norris.

ST. MARY DE PREE

Was an hospital founded by Warren, when abbot, for the reception of leprous women, who subsisted on small allowances from the abbey; but, becoming more numerous, they procured a small church to be built for devotion, and a church-yard for interments, and had offices on both sides of the way. In length of time, they had, by donation from some unknown benefactor, the tithes of Wing, in Bucks, now a small vicarage. They had also 10s. pension from the tithes of Filgrave. And the munificent duke Humphry gave them
the

the rectory and vicarage of Tenby in the county of Pembroke. Henry VIII. in his 32d year, granted the hospital and site to Ralph Rowlat, Esq. together with Gorham, Westwic, Newnham, Sandridge, Caldecot, Radwell, &c.

ST. JULIAN'S.

This was an hospital for wretched lepers, and subsisted at first by gifts and doles from the abbey's steward. At length, some kind benefactor gave them the propriety, that is the great tithes, of Henlow in Bedfordshire, now a small vicarage. Being an hospital, it was valued with the abbey; and fell with it. Among the first grants made to it was that of a penny per day from the Exchequer by Henry II. The house and site were granted, in the year 1541, to Sir Richard Lee, knt. for his brother Thomas Lee. At his death, Thomas Lee left only four daughters, and no son: and then St. Julian's was sold to Everard Digby; and from his family it passed to one Ellis, a draper in London, who rebuilt the house in Charles the II'd's time. His son sold it to admiral Killigrew in 1693. From him it came to the Cooks and the Barkers, and now is vested in Arnot Howard, gent. (a).

BEAU-

(a) Rental of the hospital of St. Julian, on the feast of St. Michael, 1507, 22 Henry VII. Thomas Ramryge abbot.

	l.	s.	d.
Of Mr. Robert Torberville, for house there and lands, and for tithes of the said house or hospital, in the parishes of St. Michael and St. Stephen, to him let to farm,	30	0	0
From the steward of the kitchen in the abbey, a portion of tithes in Walden abbots, and Aston abbots,	1	0	0
From the under-steward the tithes of the town of St. Alban, belonging to the said hospital,	3	0	0
Rent of lands in Sarrat, but belonging to this hospital,	0	13	4
From the sheriff of Hertford, the king's alms, as granted formerly,	1	10	5
From the prior and convent of Newnham, near Bedford, for a portion of tithes which they hold of this hospital in Stamford,	0	13	4
From the abbess and convent of Elstow, a portion of tithes which they hold of this hospital in the parish of Flete,	2	6	8
From the abbot and convent of Warden, in Bedfordshire, the rent of one virgate (rood) of land holden in this hospital,	0	1	0
From the rector of Estwyk, in Bedfordshire, for a portion of tithes held in that parish, but given to this hospital,	0	10	0
From the prior and convent of Lanthony, near Gloucester, for a portion of tithes which they hold of this hospital, in the parish of Henlow, in Bedfordshire,	0	16	0

Qq q 2

From

BEAULIEU.

Of this cell I have spoken before, when I recounted the several cells in the days of their general prosperity. It was a place in Bedfordshire, and received its name, being Norman, and also its establishment, from Robert Albeney, a relation to the founder of Wymondham priory. And probably this was done about the time of abbot Paul, and by a fellow Norman. The place was before called Moddry, had a church dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and had been founded as an hermitage by one Ralph. It was now given, with all its appurtenances, by Robert Albeney to the honour of God and St. Alban; and replenished with monks from the great abbey. Robert endowed it with the mill of Turhall or Turville, the church of Melbrock, the church of Rhinthall and that of Clophill; ten acres of land at Stephall, the wood of Hasildon, the lordships of Walkegge and of Cotes, and other lands: as his two grants, still extant in the Monasticon, vol. I. do testify. This place was situate in Clophill parish. See more of it in the life of Wheathampstead, who relinquished the cell. And the site, together with its neighbouring lands, are now comprehended in the Kent estate, with Wrest, &c. belonging to the lady Grey, but from its name is probably a beautiful situation. Leland says, that one of the monks, having killed a butcher, they were all obliged to quit this place.

From the prioress and convent of the Trinity de Bosco, near Merkyate, for a portion of tithes in Stretley,	0	10	0
From the prioress and convent of Sopwell, for a portion of tithes held by them in Codicote,	0	6	8
From William Fletcher, the rent of one croft in the parish of St. Stephen,	0	2	6
From the heirs of Robert Newberry, for the rent of an inn called the Peacock, in the town of St. Alban,	0	8	0
From Thomas Porter, rent of one tenement in the street of St. Peter,	0	10	1
	41	8	0

Ad finem Cot. MS. Claud. D. 1.

PART

P A R T II.

OF THE ABBEY'S ESTATES.

The possessions of the abbey at the time of the dissolution cannot be ascertained or known, farther than by the grants or donations made of them after. The same may be said of their spiritual estates. The monks were proprietors of Wingrave, and of Turville in Bucks, and of abbeys Aston and Winslow, in the same county, with its chapel; of Harewood Parva, and Granborough; of Luton, in Bedfordshire, and of Great Gaddeſden. But, as they were always receiving, so were they often losing by the very insecure nature of all titles in those days, especially in such estate as was given to the church in frank-almoigne, owing to the feudal tenures; for, in these cases, the next heir would often re-enter and dispossess the donee; and the king allowed such intrusion, that he might not lose his privileges and services. The same reasons held good with all the lords and gentry, who let out demesnes to under-tenants. The feudal laws, which then formed the constitution of the kingdom, afforded them a plea, or at least a pretence, for revoking gifts, grants, and even the sale of lands; though, properly speaking, there could be no sale, or alienation by purchase, with such good assurance in law as is practised in these days. The heir was in those times more the darling of the law than at present; and all gifts and grants were easily set aside by him, under pretence that he was in danger of losing his suit and service, and that the kingdom was deprived of the military duty, owing from the estate in question. Hence it was, that grants, to the religious especially, were signed and confirmed by the son and wife of the donor, to prevent a forfeiture on their part, or resumption on the lords. In short, even grants from the crown were only for the life of the donor; and the next successor would resume the gift, unless he could be prevailed on to confirm the former grant. And this is the reason why gifts and donations are so often confirmed. It was necessary, even with Magna Charta.

In

In speaking of the cell of Sopwell I have mentioned the grant of the site of the abbey, and the gardens, and the ground adjoining. The next grant which was made of the abbey's estates was to Ralph Rowlat, and this was on May 12, 1541. This gentleman's family had been long settled at Holywell; and lived sometimes at Byssmead in Bedfordshire, where they had been lessees of the manor and rectory, under this abbey, to which the said manor and rectory had been granted in 1341. At the dissolution, this Rowlat purchased that manor and rectory in 1540. His son Ralph Rowlat was knighted in 1543, and had married Dorothy, the daughter of John Devenish, Esq. of Weston; but died without issue in his father's lifetime (a). In the South aisle of the abbey church, near the entrance into the choir, lies a flat stone, now much decayed and worn, and without any date or inscription. This is said to be laid over their grave. But Weever, in his *Fun. Mon.* printed in 1631, saith, this inscription is over the Rowlats: 'Here lieth Raph Rowlat, citizen of London, merchant of the Staple, and Joan his wife; which Raph died 1519.' This was the father of the grantee, and the present defaced stone had this inscription. In this 32d year of Henry VIII. viz. 1541, he obtained that large grant which comprehended a very splendid portion of the late abbey's estates; viz. Gorham, Westwick, Pree, Sandridge, Newnham, Caldecot, Radwell, and Apfa, or Napsbury. These possessions raised him to a conspicuous point of view, and the next year he was made sheriff for this county. In the first year of king Edward, 1548, he served in Parliament for this county, with Edward Denny, Esq. and was made sheriff again in the first of Elizabeth, 1559.

His son dying without issue, and in his father's life-time, the daughters were coheirs; and only two, viz. Mary, (though in the epitaph (b) called Margery, late wife of John Maynard, Esq.) and Elizabeth. Maynard's wife died without children, and he sold Gorham, and the lands which were his portion, to Nicolas Bacon, about 1550, or soon after. Elizabeth was married to Ralph Jennings, Esq. of Church, in the county of Somerset; and, on the partition of the estates, the manor of Sandridge, together with Holywell, went to this Jennings; and his descendants enjoyed the same until these estates came to three coheirs; the youngest of whom, named Sarah, purchased the shares of the other two; and, having married John lord

(a) Mon. III. 97.

(b) Near to Rowlat's stone.

Churchill, became duchess of Marlborough; a lady, not only eminent for her high rank, but conspicuous for those talents and splendid virtues that farther adorn and dignify high rank and great fortune.

John Maynard, and several of his family, are interred near Rowlat's stone; and of this family was descended the famous Serjeant Maynard, and also the present peer of this name. Nicolas Bacon probably came to live at Gorham, in the reign of Edward VI. or earlier, because he obtained the charter of incorporation in 1553, on seeing all rule and authority in the town quite overthrown with the fall of the abbot. He found at Gorham a stately house, and suitable to his rank, of great age, and perhaps built when abbot Robert first granted these lands to his kinsman, from Gorham in Normandy; but certainly a house worthy of a countess of Oxford, who dwelt here in the time of Thomas de la Mare. It seems to have inclosed three sides of a square; and Sir Nicolas, (for, he was knighted, and made lord keeper in 1558,) in order to entertain the queen, built a handsome gallery on the West side, projecting from the house: and here the queen often made her residence, and dated many state papers at this house: this gallery was standing, with all its original furniture, &c. until the demolition of the old house, about ten years since; and exhibited a very curious specimen of the ancient grandeur (a). Sir Nicolas was of Norfolk, and bred up in Bennet College, Cambridge: he then came to one of the inns of court; and, having been noticed by Audley, he was made attorney general to the Augmentation-Office, in 1536, when Pope was made treasurer. This laid the foundation of a firm friendship between them, and gave them opportunities of assisting each other in making good purchases. Pope procured Tyttenhangre in 1547, and lived there till his death, in 1579.

Westwick, which formerly was the most considerable of the two places, had ever accompanied Gorham, and was included in this grant. It is now only a barn.

Pree, being in the crown, ever since the attaind and forfeiture of Woolsey, was now granted with Gorham; as lying contiguous to those lands. The old chapel is now a barn; and the burial-ground a farm-yard.

(a) This house is said to have been built by Sir Nicolas; but it was certainly much more ancient than his time; for, on demolishing the same, a few years since, it appeared that the walls had been built in chest-work, long before the invention of brick or regular building with stone. In the Ashmole Museum, Oxford, in Aubrey's MS. lives, is a particular description of it, in the time of James I.

Newnham fell to one of the coheirs of Rowlat; and her husband sold it to Richard Hole, of London, grocer. It went from him to a family named Dyer, and thence to Mr. Hutton; and has now descended to Philip York, Esq. of Denbighshire.

Caldecot was part of Maynard's portion; and, in the fourth of Philip and Mary, he sold it to one Sapcote, who sold it again to Richard Hale, abovementioned; and in that family it rests.

Radwell. The coheirs of Rowlat, sold this to one Parker, and from him it hath come through several hands to a family named Pym.

The manor of *Apsa*, or *Napshury*, was sold also by the coheirs to one Marston; from him it came to the Biscoes, who lived at Colney; and one of whom, William Biscoe, was, in 1700, a justice of the peace for this county. From him it hath come to the Gees.

Northaugh was granted, in 1541, to William Cavendish, the attendant and gentleman usher of cardinal Woolsey. This place, when given by Lanfranc to the abbey, in the time of William the Conqueror, was waste ground, called *Sylva et Nemus Northagæ*; and is not valued or mentioned in Doomesday, a sure sign of its being worth very little. It appears not what rent it ever paid to the abbey. William Cavendish held it under the title of Northaugh, Nynne, and Cuffely; and, in the time of Edward VI. paid rent to the crown of 3l. 12s. 2d. He conveyed it to Sir Ambrose Dudley, the son of duke Dudley, and brother to John, earl of Leicester. This man built a very stately house called Nynhall, situated in the Bottom, and adorned with handsome gardens and woods; but all demolished in the last twenty years. From him it came into the possessions of lord Rusfel of Thornhaugh, and then to Richard Sidley, who, in 1626, was appointed sheriff of this county. From him it came to William Leman, Esq. and from that family to William Strode, Esq.

At the first erection of a church at this place, which probably was by Lanfranc, when the conqueror gave him this wild and rude spot of waste land, then beginning to be cultivated, the said church was put under the care of St. Peter's vicar, and reckoned a chapel belonging to St. Peter's. But, when granted to Cavendish, it obtained the privileges of a donative, and now differs little from a private chapel of the lords.

The manor of *Oxey*, with *Willinghall* was granted about the same time to one Joskyns; and he sold it to Heyden, whose ancient residence was the Grove. This man sold it to Sir James Altham, whose heiress, marrying John lord Vaughan, earl of Carberry, conveyed the

the manor to her husband; and he sold it to Sir William Bucknall, who was knighted in 1670, made alderman of the city of London, and erected a handsome seat at this place.

Brantfield was granted, in 1541 or 2, to G. Dacres, Esq. and from him it descended, by purchase, to three or four others, till, in the 37th of Elizabeth, it came to Sir Henry Boteler; and when, through default of heirs male, it came to six coheirs, George Villers, viscount Grandison of Ireland, purchased the interest of five, and was lord hereof in 1700.

Before I relate more of the grants made of the abbey's estates, I will point out the possessions, rents, and revenues, as they appeared in 1545, in the steward's accounts (a).

Account of the lands and possessions of the late monastery of St. Alban, in the county of Herts, in 1544. Thomas Maydwell, bailiff of our lord the king at that place, and during that time.

	l.	s.	d.
In the town, rent of free tenants, —	13	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
———— by lands and tenements, —	33	1	4
Divers pensions and portions of tithe in the town, —	9	3	4
Clerk of the market, paid, —	13	13	4
Other lands and tenements within the town, belonging to the late office of sub-cellarer, —	18	16	0
Rents of assize to ditto, —	0	16	8
Customary tenants of Parke to ditto, —	8	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
———— in Tittenhangre, —	4	13	4
<i>Burston.</i> Thomas Maydwell, bailiff.			
Free rents, —	2	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Customary ditto, —	8	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
The manor, by John Kynge, farmer, —	6	6	8
<i>Hexton.</i> Free rents, —	0	4	3
Customary ditto, —	16	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Changeable rents, —	0	7	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
The rectory worth <i>per annum</i> , —	12	0	0
The manor, —	7	16	8
For a water-mill, —	2	6	8
Portion of tithes extinguished by the dissolution, —	0	0	0
By lease of lands to Agnes Goldsmith, —	7	6	8

(a) Augmentation-Office in Hert. Rot.

R r r

Paid

Paid to the vicar of Hexton, — l. s. d.
 Priory of *Pray*, (Pre), before it was granted, Adam
 Pocock collector of the rents. 1 6 8

In rent of houses belonging to this
 hospital, 22 17 8
 By free rents within the town, 0 5 4
 By lands leased in Kyngsbury, 6 6 8
 Deduct as allowed, 1 8 8
 ——— for repairs, 2 13 6

The late office of Coquinar, Henry Audley Collector,
 By free rents within the town, 8 17 2
 By lands and tenements without, 24 6 8
 Rent of free tenants in St. Stephen's, 1 0 11
 Rent of lands and tenements in St. Mi-
 chael, 0 6 2
 Land let in St. Michael, — 0 5 0
 By Kychenors, a manor in Barnet, 0 3 1
 ——— by customary tenants, 0 8 9
 In Parke manor, by tenants free and
 customary, 1 13 6

To the late office of sacrist, Christopher Plough,
 collector. —

Rent of free tenants in the town, — 1 13 10
 Lands and tenements in the town
 leased, 8 16 4
 At Rydon or Roydon, rent of a croft, 0 1 0
 ——— free rents there, 0 10 0
 At Kympton, free rents, — 0 13 4

At *Chalfound* and *Hamstead* (*Chenies*) (a) by rent from
 the manors, paid by John lord Ruffel, 2 0 0
 Demefne lands. From Sir Francis Bryan, lessee, for
 fundry portions of lands and tithes, 71 7 8

(a) *Chenies* estate now came to the Ruffel family, from a marriage of this lord Ruffel with the heiress of the lord *Chenies* (See Dugdale Baron.). This is still among the Ruffel estates, and here is their burial-place. It was that Lord's principal seat, and here was he interred.

		l.	s.	d.
<i>St. Andrew's chapel.</i>				
	By oblations, &c. clear of charges in the service,	12	15	4
<i>Kyngsbury-manor.</i>				
	By free tenants, ———	0	10	8
	By customary tenants, ———	18	2	4
	By tenants at will, ———	0	7	8
	By lands leased <i>per</i> indenture, ———	9	3	8
From which a pension to the vicar of 11.				
Office of archdeacon. No rents or profits due to the king after the expences of the archdeacon were discharged.				
<i>Newland and Squillers manors.</i>				
	Rent of manor, &c. ———	28	4	4
<i>Kyngsbury manor.</i>				
	John Cox, farmer, ———	20	0	0
	Tithe, Thomas Blacket, farmer, ———	4	6	8
<i>Parke manor.</i>				
	Thomas Maydwell, receiver.			
	By portions of tithes, lands, &c. ———	120	7	8
<i>Parke Bury manor.</i>				
	Robert Brennyng, farmer, ———	24	13	4
<i>Parke Mille and More Mill.</i>				
	John Redwood, farmer, ———	8	13	4
<i>Cowley mill and Stanford mill.</i>				
	Thomas Bagham, farmer, ———	4	0	0
<i>Eyerwood.</i>				
	William Bailey, ———	7	13	4
<i>Sopwell mill, in Parke.</i>				
	John Murfin, occupier, ———	13	0	0
<i>Beach Grange in Parke.</i>				
	John Foster, farmer, ———	11	0	0
<i>Merdon manor and tithes.</i>				
	Thomas Maydwell, ———	7	0	0
<i>Tytenhangre manor and tithes.</i>				
	Thomas Maydwell, ———	38	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Rudgell or Rydge.</i>				
	Coney Warren, with herbage and Pan-nage, John Bolleman, ———	34	13	4
	R r r 2			San-

			l.	s.	d.
<i>Sandridge-rectory and Grange of St. Peter.</i>					
Thomas Shipwith, farmer;	—		30	0	0
<i>Rikmersworth manor.</i> Hutchinson Bailiff.					
In Pinesfield,	—	—	7	0	0
Received of the vicar of Rikmersworth,			5	6	8
Free rents,	—	—	0	4	2
Customary rents,	—	—	43	6	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Rents for capons and hens,	—	—	0	3	4
— from West mill,	—	—	3	6	8
Perquisites of courts,	—	—	1	7	10
<i>Rickmersworth rectory,</i>					
Henry Gunne, farmer,	—		27	0	0
N.B. At this time only two manors					
remained in this parish, the					
others had been granted.					
<i>North Haugh.</i>					
Manor contains Cuffley, with the manor					
of Childwick, and a farm called Ma-					
riston, in Tewinge, granted to Wil-					
lian Cavendish, in the gift of Henry,					
and therefore owes,			0	0	0
<i>Barnet and East Barnet manor.</i>					
John Coningsby, Esq. bailiff.					
By free tenants,	—	—	0	9	10
By custom,	—	—	42	7	3
By tenants at will,	—	—	0	4	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
By lands let,	—	—	5	2	5
By two groves called Monk Frith,			3	0	0
By a grove called Sun's Grove,	—		4	9	8
<i>Abbot's Walden manor.</i>					
John Mitchel, bailiff.					
By a capital messuage called Legates,					
otherwise Howenden, let to Richard					
Hill, Esq. the whole rent,			40	10	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Rectory of abbot's Walden,	—		19	0	0
<i>Codicote manor.</i>					
John Mitchel, bailiff,	—		34	14	6
<i>Caisbo manor and Watford.</i>					
John lord Ruffel, great admiral of Eng-					
land, bailiff.					

	l.	s.	d.
By free tenants, — —	14	9	2
— custom, — —	41	11	6½
— tenants at will, — —	0	15	4
Lands-parcel of the rectory of Watford,	0	7	9
Rent in corn, viz. oats, one quarter,	0	1	6
Manor of Caisho, let to William Dauncey, Esq.	14	2	0
Harwood's, a messuage in Watford, let to Roger Weedon,	8	13	4
The ley in Watford, — —	3	0	0
Water-mill, with the toll, — —	13	0	0
Rectory of Watford, — —	18	13	4
Belonging to Merkyate, viz. two parts in ten, — —	0	0	0
Portions of tithe in Watford, — —	11	2	0
Perquisites of courts, — —	1	13	6
<i>Crosley manor.</i>			
By tenants free and customary, and the manor of Croxley and Snellshall,	22	15	5
<i>Abbots Langley manor.</i>			
By tenants free and customary, — —	62	15	11½
Rectory granted to William Hipgrave in fee, — —	0	0	0
<i>Sarret manor.</i>			
William Hipgrave, bailiff.			
Including Newhall in Watford,	13	3	4½
<i>Sopwell Bury.</i>			
Granted to Sir Richard Lee, on February 8, 1540.			
<i>Manor of Newland.</i>			
John Lyon, lessee, — —	7	15	0
<i>Rectory in St. Stephen.</i>			
<i>Manors of Newnham, Radwell, and Caldecot.</i>			
Granted to Rowlett, 1541, with the tithes of Newnham.			
<i>Manor of Brantfield.</i> Granted to Robett Davers, Esq.			
<i>Manor of Wiggenhall, with Oxy.</i>			
Granted to James Joskyn.			
<i>Manor of Norton and rectory.</i>			
John Bowles, lessee, — —	57	4	0

Mano

			l.	s.	d.
<i>Manor of Garston.</i>					
	By free tenants,	— — —	1	16	7
	Custom,	— — —	0	2	8
	Manor,	— — —	12	0	0
<i>Lordship of Redborn.</i>					
	Edward Abraham, bailiff, with por-				
	tions of tithes,	— — —	63	5	8
<i>Manor of Redborn.</i>					
	Henry Beech, lessee,	— — —	15	6	8
<i>Rectory of Redborn.</i>		— — —	20	0	0
<i>Manor of Aygnells.</i>					
	John Michel, bailiff,	— — —	4	13	5½
<i>Site of the priory of Redborn, with the manor of the priory.</i>					
	Granted to John Cocks.				
<i>Manor of Westwick and Gorham.</i>					
	Granted to Rowlat 1541				
<i>Shepehall.</i>					
	Lands and tenements,	— — —	9	9	0
	Richard Hodges, bailiff.				
	Manor granted to George Nodes 1544.				
<i>Manor of Wallington.</i>					
	Granted to John Shewster, and Eli-				
	zabeth his wife in, 1541.				
<i>Bygrave.</i>					
	Lands called Monk lands, containing				
	500 acres. Bowles, farmer,		4	0	0
<i>Hospital of St. Julian.</i>					
	Richard Aley, lessee,	— — —	30	0	0
<i>Manor of Winslow.</i>					
	Granted to Richard Brome, Esq. worth		65	7	1½
	Rectory worth,	— — —	14	0	6
<i>Turfild in Bucks,</i>					
	John Royston, occupier.				
	The manor and rectory.		3	6	8
<i>Rectory of Wingrave.</i>					
	Thomas Duncomb, lessee,	— — —	17	0	0
<i>Manor of Abbots Aston and Rectory.</i>					
	Granted 1541 to lord Ruffel.				
<i>Manor of Luton with the tithes of Luton and Chartey,</i>			100	2	0
	John Minty, bailiff.				

Manor

		l.	s.	d.
<i>Manor of Dellow in Luton.</i>				
Thomas Dormer, lessee,	—	10	0	0
<i>Rectory of Dunstable Houghton.</i>				
George Cavendish, farmer,	—	41	0	0
<i>Tenements in London.</i>				
Robert Brand, collector,	—	28	6	8
<i>Appleton in Rydale rectory.</i>				
Richard Reason, farmer,	—	22	0	0
<i>Manor of Norton in Luton,</i>	—	11	0	0
<i>Rectory of Concliffe in Durham.</i>				
Anthony Horn, farmer,	—	22	6	8
<i>Rectory of Elyham or Æglingham,</i>	—	25	0	0
<i>Rectory of Hertburn,</i>	—	10	6	8
<i>Rectory of Eversden Magna.</i>				
John Lete Farmer,	—	11	6	8
<i>Rectory of Aston Rowant, with Stoken church.</i>				
Bart. Pigot, farmer,	—	20	0	0
<i>Manor of Combe in Suffex.</i>				
Granted to Andrew lord Windsor, formerly paid,		8	0	0
<i>Corn-tithes in the parish of All Saints, in Sudbury.</i>				
Thomas Martyn Ferworth,	—	3	6	8
With many small rents issuing from lands and tenements situate in distant parishes.				
<i>Talington manor and rectory.</i>				
William Chychen, bailiff.	—	23	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Manor and rectory of Horningold.</i>				
Anthony Brewell, bailiff,	—	27	12	10
<i>Priory of Belvoir.</i>				
From lands and tithes,	—	87	10	2
<i>Monkton, or Tenby, in Pembroke-shire.</i>				
John Vaughan, farmer,	—	60	0	0
<i>Wyng rectory.</i>				
Sir Robert Dormer, lessee,	—	18	13	4

If it be asked what remuneration was given to those men who had devised this scheme, and carried it on through Parliament during six or seven years, I will give an instance or two of the king's munificence to two of the principal characters, and most earnest promoters of the work. I have already noted the great prosperity which attended Sir William Pawlet; and I will now shew the advancement of Sir John Ruffel. It is unnecessary to say how attentive he was to the court, and to the measures there contrived; but, soon after the Great Dissolution, he had conferred on him four of the greatest abbeys which fell to the king: namely, Tavistoke in Devon, valued at 902l. yearly rent; Croyland at 1803l.; Thorney at 411l.; and Woburn at 391l. He had a large accession by his marriage. In 1539 he was advanced to the peerage, by the title of lord Ruffel; Baron of Tavistoke and Thornaugh, (a new estate in the county of Northampton); then made lord president of the council by Henry VIII. and lord admiral, and created earl of Bedford by Edward. He died in 1554.

The estates of Thorney, lying in the Fen's of Ely, his grandson Francis, in the time of James I. and Charles, attempted great improvements by draining them. In this work he was aided by the advice and opinion of the great Dugdale; and he succeeded, though at much present expence, in reclaiming large tracts of land from the waters. Hence is it, that we see in the maps of that country the appellation of Bedford prefixed to drains, rivers, lands, and levels.

Had this vast accumulation of wealth been administered with discretion and prudence, it might have added to the splendor of the throne, and to the external defence of the kingdom; but, as it was, though much was granted, or sold, to satisfy the just claims of the officers about the court, some squandered in gaming, and more given in a capricious generosity; yet this general dispersion spread a sudden prosperity over the country. It gave rise to a new set of nobles and gentry; many of whom flourish at this day, with increased fame and honours.

This great event so luckily coincided with the revival of learning in Italy that it gave rise to a new system of genteel education, and so well with the troubles and persecutions abroad that we may thence date the beginning of our woollen manufacture. There is scarce an ancient mansion now belonging to our gentry, which was not a religious house before the dissolution, or hath been built in the site of one since. Nor is it any prophanation to promote chearful mirth and

and good humour in that hall, where once reigned nought but gloomy silence and painful austerity.

The next person whom I shall note, as partaking largely of the king's munificence, was Sir Thomas Audley.

In the 24th year of Henry, being the year 1533, and on February 24, there was surrendered the priory of the Holy Trinity, situate without Aldgate, and the most considerable foundation of the religious sort in London; founded by Henry I. and largely endowed. The surrender was gained by flatteries to the prior; for, this was three years before the act passed for dissolving the smaller houses. The same was instantly given to Sir Thomas Audley, who had been speaker of the Parliament against Woolsey in 1529 and 30, as may be seen in Hall. I have remarked that Audley was made keeper of the great seal, and chancellor, in 1532; and, wanting a fine house in London, or having determined to shew the king how to deal with the adherents of Rome, he advised and accomplished this surrender. The canons being sent to other houses, the whole buildings were given to Audley, but with what estates it appears not. He demolished the church, &c. erected a new and spacious house, and dwelt there until his death in 1544. This place then came to the duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer, who had married Audley's eldest daughter. Here the duke lived until his death in 1554, and the mansion was called Duke's Place.

A grave hath lately been discovered in the church of St. John, in the city of Norwich, and thought to contain the relicts of that lady, or of her younger sister Mary, who died young and unmarried. The duchess was named Margaret, and had been married first to Henry, the youngest son of John Dudley (duke of Northumberland) who had been slain at the fight of St. Quintin.

She bore a son to the duke of Norfolk; who, in 1 James, was restored to the honour of earl of Suffolk, and to the estates brought him by his mother. And he dwelt in Duke's Place, near Aldgate.

Audley obtained also a grant of the late dissolved Chartreuse, near Smithfield (a); and that came with his daughter to the duke of Norfolk; and his son Thomas, earl of Suffolk, sold the said premises, then called Howard house, in the year 1611. This house, now

(a) Tanner in his *Notitia* says, that this place was granted, in 1542, to John Bridges, and Thomas Hale, for their joint lives. From that period it was granted to Sir Edward North; whose son sold it to the duke of Norfolk for 2500l. and his son, Thomas, earl of Suffolk, sold it, together with other estates, in the 9th of James, for 13,000l. to Thomas Sutton, Esq.

one of the best seminaries for learning, and the best governed endowed charity in the kingdom, hath some wonderful events in its history. It was first bought, enclosed, and consecrated, by Lord Manny, in 1349, for the burial-place of those who had died in great numbers of the plague; and a religious fraternity there established. It was now, in Henry's time, a well-endowed priory of Carthusian monks; containing about thirty in number, under a prior. This man, by name John Houghton, refused to own the king's supremacy; and for this he was convicted of treason in 1535, hanged at Tyburn, and quartered. At the same time two of his brethren underwent the same fate(a); and one quarter of Houghton's body was hung up at the great gate; and ten more of the brethren lingered to death in prison, the same year, for the same offence. Then William Trafford was elected prior; who, with nineteen of his monks, subscribed to the new supremacy; while nine refused. However, no more convictions or trials followed; but they surrendered in 1538, while terror and disgust struck every beholder.

In 1537 (28th of Henry) there was granted to Sir Thomas Audley, then chancellor, the dissolved priory of St. Julian and St. Botolph, in Colchester, valued at 113l. *per annum*, together with the church and rectory, to be holden, *in capite*, by knight's service. And in four years after he alienated the same to John Golder and his heirs. But in the 18th of Elizabeth the advowson of this church, with other churches in Colchester, was held by Robert Audley, son and heir of Thomas Audley, of Beerchurch, of the queen, *in capite*, by knights service.

In this same year the king granted to Audley 40l. a year, out of the dissolved priory of Hatfield Regis in Essex(b). And in the following year, 1538, (29th of Henry,) there was granted to Audley the priory of Britwell, in Essex, valued at 194l. *per ann.* with its site, lands, and estates, to be holden *in capite*. This tenure ceased at his death; and then his brother obtained the same by licence in the 5th of Edward VI. and sold it to the lord Rich; in whose family it continued until male issue failed; and the whole of his estates came among coheiresses in 1659. This family was descended from Sir Richard Rich, who was made the first chancellor of the Augmentations. And in 27th Henry VIII. Rich obtained a grant of the priory of Lees in Essex, and made it the seat of his family; whence sprang,

(a) See Stow, p. 571.

(b) Mon. I. 297.

in the reign of James I. two earldoms; viz. of Warwic and of Holland, since extinct.

The abbey of Walden, valued at 406l. a year, was surrendered in 1538, and the next year was granted to Sir Thomas Audley, then chancellor; and he was, by letters patent, dated November 30, of that year, 1539, created lord Audley of Walden; and to his heirs male. He died April 30, 1544, aged 56, and was buried in his new chapel at Walden; and in 1543 a grant was made to him of the hospital of Crouched Friars, otherwise called the Guild of St. Helen, situate in Bishopsgate-street; suppressed some years before, and valued at 7l. a year, but at a small distance from his mansion-house.

The above-mentioned Thomas, earl of Suffolk, became lord treasurer under James; was turned out, and fined in the Star-Chamber, for extortion; but was more afflicted by the wickedness of his daughter, lady Frances, who, having married Devereux, earl of Essex, was divorced from him, then intrigued with and married Carr earl of Somerset, and these together were convicted and sentenced to death for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Sir Henry Spelman was so struck with the misfortunes of many families, and, among the rest, of his own, who had partaken ill of the spoil of abbeyes, that he scrupled not to say, 'they had judgements;' and he compiled a book, published in 1667 by his own son, on this subject; and called 'The History of Sacrilege,' or, 'De non temerandis Ecclesiis.' This earl of Suffolk spent six years in erecting, at a vast expence, a large and beautiful house on the ruins of the ancient abbey of Walden, and named it Audley-inn. In splendor and magnificence, as well as in magnitude and convenience, it was exceeded by none in England, except Hampton Court. But it never prospered, says the Monasticon(a); by which, I suppose, the author means, that it never manifested that hospitality that feeds the poor, or that numerous issue of children, which is among earthly blessings, or that regular descent in a lineal succession which is a mark of God's favour, or that stability and duration of family which follows the deeds of upright, pious, faithful, men. Great houses are no better than monuments.

Audley had also, in 1543, a grant of the site, manor, and rectory, of Tiltey, in Essex, being an abbey of Cistercian monks, and valued

(a) II. 299.

by Speed at 1771. a year. He had grants also of Corney manor in Layston; the manor of Westmill, of Meldon (belonging before to the abbey of St. Mary de Graces, near the Tower), of Little Hornead, of Aspenden, and of Braughin, all in the county of Hertford; which last had belonged to the priory of the Holy Trinity. These descended to the duke of Norfolk; but Aspenden returned to the crown at Audley's death. But, as an instance of farther remuneration to the several persons who concurred in Parliament to effect this great work, it need only be observed how short-lived was this Court of Augmentations: it was instituted in 1536, with a great number of officers; and in eight or nine years Henry thought fit to abolish it by letters patent, and to establish it anew upon a much narrower plan, whereby more than three-fourths of the ancient officers were dismissed. The plea was, their business was very little, and their salaries very great. The reason why their duty and business were diminished was; because most of the estates and property first committed to their charge was alienated and gone; and it is probable that the officers were among those who served themselves first; and with good salaries they were soon enabled to make purchases. Sir Thomas Pope, who was constituted treasurer, or second officer, had acquired, by the year 1553, more than thirty manors. And, in his charter of foundation for his college at Oxford, dated March 4, 1754-5, are recited twenty-five manors and thirteen advowsons; besides impropriations and pensions, with all which he is licensed to enfeoff his college (a). The office of Augmentation went on for a few years; but on this reduced plan the salaries amounted to more than 7000*l.* a year; and in the first year of queen Mary she procured an act to pass for the total abolition of the office, as having no longer any property under their care, and nothing left even to pay the officers; and thus, in eighteen years, all that vast accession of wealth, which was taken from the clergy, to augment the revenue and render the crown more splendid, was dissipated among the gentry; and a new set of men arose, who would never suffer Popery to be re-established; even if it could have produced more merits in its favour. The crown was now left without any permanent share or benefit; and, in the fourth year of Philip and Mary, the necessities of the crown were such as to induce the queen to constitute a commission of the principal officers of state to review the crown lands and estates, and to sell for a price such parcels

(a) See Warton's Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 24.

as remained in the Exchequer, and had escaped the profuse liberality of Henry, or which should appear not to have been specifically purchased; an instance of which shall appear in Rydge.

The great acquisitions made by Pope would have brought a blemish on his fame and character, had he not applied a great part of it to the founding of Trinity college in Oxford. For, this was devoting his wealth to the public service, and providing for the happiness of mankind in a better manner than had been done before by that revenue. He certainly intended to improve the minds of men by liberal science, as the best way to prepare them for a rational faith and a purity of morals; both of which had been overlooked when men were made to leap at once into a perfection of holiness in the cloister. This same thought actuated Audley, when he a few years before re-endowed Magdalen College in Cambridge; and Sir Thomas White, the lord-mayor of London, when he, at the same time with Pope, founded and endowed St. John's college, in Oxford.

These were extraordinary instances in the application; but all the officers of that court, and the visitors who were first employed in the work, were seen to rise to a sudden eminence. There was not a nobleman of that time who was not benefited, and not a commoner who did not find opportunities of gaining advantages in fortune, and many of them a speedy distinction in rank. Dr. Petre, from being selected from one of the inns of court, and appointed a visitor, raised himself so high, by his skill and experience in public business, that he was made secretary of state under Edward, and Mary; and, by his acquisitions of the church-property, to such eminence and fortune, that James, in 1603, thought fit to ennoble the family. A most singular instance of prudence was discernible in that man; for, when it was somewhat uncertain, in the beginning of Mary's reign, what turn things would take, and whether a resumption might not be thought a necessary measure to relieve the wants of the crown, he procured a special grant or bull, from the pope (a), to be allowed to keep and retain all his acquisitions. Gyffard, who visited in the North with Belasyse, and who interceded with Cromwell for saving the monastery of Woolstrobe, near Belvoir, to the king's great displeasure (who said they had received rewards to write thus), gained some good estates in Kent, settled there, was made sheriff, and, some time after, chosen into Parliament; while his associate in the visitation settled in York-

(a) In Stevens's Mon.

thire, and laid the foundation of a family since ennobled; and as conspicuous for their virtues as for their fortunes. In the West of England very splendid estates were collected and united in one family, named Seymour; to which they have ever since been attached, with no small increase of honour and title. And the same was effected in another family named Thynne, whose founder, Sir John Thynne (a), being an officer of the first Court of Augmentations, I believe auditor, the intimate friend and adviser of protector Somerset, possessed himself of many curious deeds and writings, which had, before the dissolution, belonged to religious houses; and which he preserved when the court was abolished. If these writings are still in being, they would afford much curious history in monastic matters, and not in the least degree endanger any man's title (b).

Having mentioned Sir Thomas Pope as a liberal partaker in the monastic spoil, I will begin with shewing what he gained of this abbey's late possessions. And here I find, that in the last year of Henry (1547) he received a grant of the abbey's estate of Tyttenhamgre, in the parish of Rydge. This estate, whole parish, and tithes, had formerly been bestowed by Richard Albiney, a descendant of Tothenei, and of that family who bore an hereditary love to St. Alban. They had received grants, from the Conqueror, of lands at Flamstead, and this donation in Rydge must have been made to the abbey in the time of Geoffry the abbot, or earlier, because Blackhides, in Rydge, was assigned to the maintenance of Sopwell, founded by Geoffrey. The grant of this estate of Tyttenhamgre to Pope seems to have been gratuitous; but it included not Blackhides only, but also the almoner's tithe; as the same had been set apart by Michael Mentmore the abbot (c). But Henry died before the grant was signed and completed; and full confirmation was given to it in the first year of Edward; and the deed is signed, (*Hicce oculis vidi,*) Ed-

(a) Sir John's father was a citizen of London, and a man of letters. He was the first who collected and published all the works of Chaucer, in the early part of the reign of Henry the VIIIth; and by that circumstance brought himself and his son into repute, and into favour at Court. He was buried in the church of All-Hallows Barking, in Thames-street.

(b) See Birch's catalogue of them in the Museum, for they still exist.

(c) For, the manor of Blackhide, alias Crofters, had been granted to Sir Richard Lee, on the 15th of April, in the 33d of Henry VIII. with a reserved rent of 11. 16s. 6d. and Cellbarnes also the same day, together with three crofts, and other small parcels of land held of the manor of Tyttenhamgre, with the like reserved rent. And Blackhide was sold afterwards to Sir Thomas Pope. See Fee-farm rolls in Augmentation-Office.

ward Somerset, in a very fair and good hand. Pope enjoyed this benefaction, and lived here until his death in 1559; but in no employ or public office during Edward's reign; never opposing or resisting the new ordinances in religion, though still retaining his attachment to the old faith and worship. And, in the reign of Mary, he was received into favour again, made one of the Privy Council, and appointed cofferer of the Household. He was employed in several commissions of trust, and, above all, in that of being the keeper or governor of the princess Elizabeth, who, during the two first years of Mary lived at Ashridge (a) as in her own house it is said, under the charge of Sir Henry Beddingfield; and, during the rest of Mary's time, at the palace at Hatfield, under the care of Sir Thomas Pope. At his death, in January, 1559, two months after his royal mistress, he left his estate in Rydge (as he had improved it) to his lady and her heirs; without any relation or connection of it, to the college (b). Lady Pope soon after married Sir Hugh Pawlet, of Hinton St. George, in the county of Somerset, who died in 1571; and this lady lived here to a great age, and died in 1593; leaving this estate to her nephew Thomas Blount, of which family she had descended, being a daughter of Walter Blount, Esq. of Blount's Hall in Staffordshire. In 1579, she gave the tithes of Rydge and advowson of the vicarage, to Trinity College, Oxford. The circumstances of this donation were these: her nephew, Richard Blount, had left 100*l.* to the college, to maintain an exhibitioner, and for other purposes. Lady Pawlet agreed with the executors to give the rectory of Rydge, on condition she might receive the 100*l.* in hand paid. This was agreed, and the rent is now better adapted to maintain a scholar, and fulfil the other bequests; and it is covenanted, that the said scholar, if of this parish, shall have a preference to all others. With this donation she annexed the advowson to the college and their lessee: and the owner of Tyttenhangre hath ever had a lease of this rectory, and with it the privilege of the advowson. This estate thus came to the Blounts: and this family, in the last century, produced three or four very eminent men; considerable for their rank and public character; and no less distinguished as men of

(a) See Warton's Life of Pope.

This place was in the crown, and was granted in the 17th of Elizabeth to John Dudley and John Ayscough, in exchange for some other estates; and they sold it to the lord keeper Egerton.

(b) Of Trinity at Oxford, founded by him in 1556. Warton.

letters and as authors. When this family became extinct, by the death of Sir Henry Pope Blount, near forty years ago, it devolved to the Freemans; and from them, on failure of heirs male, to the right hon. Philip, earl of Hardwic, the present possessor.

In the third and fourth years of Philip and Mary, a commission was appointed, as I have said, to value and sell for the benefit of the crown. The commissioners were:

Sir Thomas Cornwallys, knight comptroller of the household;
 Sir Edward Waldegrave, chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster;
 Sir Francis Englefield, master of the court of wards and liveries;
 Sir William Petre, chancellor of the order of the garter;
 Sir John Baker, chancellor of the Exchequer;
 Sir William Cordall, master of the rolls; and
 Sir William Myldmay, knights;

and they were directed 'to rate and estimate all and every part of any grant not heretofore valued though given.' So that now a price was to be paid for any part of a grant not specifically mentioned therein. It was discovered, that, though the estate of Tyttenhamgre was given, the manor was not included; and here the annual rents reserved *cum suis juribus et pertin. in com. Hert.* amounted to 5l. 11s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. This was valued at twenty years purchase, and the money to be paid in hand before the end of June; and this bears date on June 16, 1557. The rectory of Garfington also was given to Sir Thomas Pope, on the 22d of June, 1557. It had formerly belonged to this abbey; but was now chosen by Pope to be annexed to his new college; and intended for the repose and security of the fellows and scholars in case of any pestilence; and it was furnished with a rectory-house, fit for their reception, and resorted to whenever the plague visited Oxford. This rectory was now valued at the yearly rent of 18l. 19s. 8d. and estimated at one year's purchase to Pope; although the same had been valued, and lately, at three years' purchase, to Thomas Hawes, Esq. 'one of our physicians (a).'

The parish of *Rydge* has no place in Doomsday-Book; which argues that it was of no value, and perhaps all waste land, or covered with wood. The same may be said of the village of *Totteridge*; it has no mention in that estimate; and it is no improbable etymology, that as ridge signifies a long range of high land, this place being

(a) Harl. MSS. 607 des Ratez 13 p.

nearer to St. Alban's, was simply stiled Rydge; and the next, or farther high land, was called by the plain appellation of The other Rydge, or T'other Rydge; and was at some future time inclosed and cultivated by some of the bishops of Ely, who lived at Hatfield; and thus furnished with a church made dependant on Hatfield: it was not made a distinct parish until the 43d of Elizabeth, when a parochial tax was ordained for the poor.

In *Barnet* the abbey had long possessed the manor and tithes. Mary, in the first year of her reign, granted the former to Anthony Butler, Esq. and the same continued in his descendants until the 17th of James I. then it passed to Sir John Wild, and it remained in his family till the 18th of Charles I. It then passed through several hands, until the 3d of James II. when it was sold to John Niccol, Esq. of Hendon-place, in Middlesex. From him it passed by sale, in 1695, to Sir Thomas Cooke, knt. alderman of London. He sold it to James the first duke of Chandos, in the time of George I. who procured an act of Parliament, in 1729, to inclose a certain quantity of acres on the common, and give to the poor 40l. yearly in consideration thereof. But the terms were not complied with, and the inclosure was laid open.

The steward of this manor is appointed by letters patent, in conformity to the practice under the abbots. The famous Noy, attorney general under Charles I. held this office by such honourable grant.

Under the above commission the following valuation was made within this manor, entitled,

Lands in Herts, sold in the fourth and fifth of Philip and Mary (a).

In *Barnet*, three acres called Cross Croft, with one barn and a meadow of nine acres, together with an orchard, and a pool in Wood-street, in the occupation of John Marsh of Chip *Barnet*, of the yearly rent of 26s. 8d.

Two crofts called milcrofts, with the hedgerowes of the same, of the yearly value of 6d.

Sixteen acres in the tenure of William Preston, of London, of the yearly value of 43s. 4d.

These premisses, say the commissioners, were part of the possessions of the late monastery of St. Alban, and some time holden by copy of court-roll, as of the manor of *Barnet*; and afterward by John Wheatham, and his successor, were purchased; and so severed and

(a) Ex Harl. MS. 608.

divided from the said manor. And, so being thereof seized, they did, notwithstanding, contrary to law, demise and let the same to divers persons, by copy of court-roll of the said manor of Barnet, to be holden at the will of the lord; which copies and tenure have so continued erroneously against the laws by the space of sixty years and more, as by an inquisition hereof taken at Chipen Barnet aforesaid, before Sir William Stamford, knt. (a) one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and Edward Taylor, Esq. the sixth day of June, in the fourth and fifth years of Philip and Mary, more plainly appeareth.

‘ The clere yearly value of the premises, was 70s. 6d. which, rated at twenty-three years purchase, amounts to 81l. 1s. 6d. The money to be paid in twelve days.

‘ The king and queen to discharge the purchaser of all things and incumbrances made and done by their majesties, except leases.

‘ The purchaser to discharge the king and queen of all fees and reprises going out of the premises.

‘ The tenure in socage.

‘ The purchaser to have the issues from the feast of Pentecoste last past.

‘ The purchaser to be bound for the woods.

‘ The lead, bells, and advowsons, to be excepted.

‘ Signed William Cordall, John Baker, Walter Myldemaye.’

The purchaser was the above-mentioned John Marsh, whose family hath continued till about forty years ago, when it expired in Marsh Wolfe, Esq.

Another sale of lands, at the same time, was of two acres, called Pynfold Grove, lying at or near Dogget’s Hill, in East Barnet, valued at 2s. 9½d. per year, and at twenty-three years purchase was sold to Richard Nicholls of Barnet, on the same covenants as above.

Sold also at the same time lands in East Barnet called Boreland, Scheller’s Croft, Butler’s Mead, Dogget’s Hill Grove, Highfield Hedge, Hebe Hedge, and Ruffel Grove.

The yearly value was 5l. and at 23 years purchase was 115l. sold to Henry Bellamy, of London, mercer.

Sold also, in East Barnet, on the 19th day of July, 1559, two groves (*Bosci et Subbosci*) called Prestons and Hograves, containing by estimation thirty acres, *five plus five minus*, in the occupation of Thomas Savage, at the yearly rent of 25s. 4d. and Savage was the purchaser.

East Barnet is the more ancient parish, and indeed the mother-church; for, as I have shewn before, the church at Barnet town

(a) This Sir William Stamford is interred in the church of Hadley, and did probably live there in his own house, &c.

was built about 1400 by John Moot. And it is probable that no distinction of parishes took place, in regard to the poor, until the 43d of Elizabeth, though it had long been two parishes, and one manor. The execution of that act, calculated for the relief of the poor, gave rise to many parochial distinctions and divisions. The tithes and the patronage having passed to the crown at the dissolution, the former were annexed to the church, and from a small vicarage the church is become a good rectory. The crown then presented, and hath done so ever since upon every vacancy. This was a wise precaution; as it not only restored the incumbent to some degree of rank and consideration; but it reserved to the crown a capacity of conferring a favour. Yet this wise precaution was not followed in scarce any other instance.

The parish of *St. Peter* was large; and here the incumbent was indulged with no retribution of great tithe; and perhaps the crown, and its counsellors, thought him well provided without any grant of tithes; because the offerings at the altar were abundant and valuable; infomuch, that the infirmary was formerly maintained and supplied from them; but, when the Popish religion and worship was abolished, the worshipers relinquished the good practices with the bad, and offerings diminished. And, so ill-accustomed were the vicars to gather their portions of tithe, and even to ascertain their rights, that it was necessary, so early as the 2d of Edward VI. to make a law to give them relief, and to compel the parishioners to pay all *accustomed* tithes, offerings, obventions, &c. That portion of this parish's tithe, which was called the almoner's tithe, was granted first to Lee, and came then to Sir Thomas Pope. The tithe of the rest of the parish was given or sold to two or three private persons, and are now the property of two gentlemen named Reading and Pym.

A small manor in this parish named *Beech*, from one Godfrey de Beche, who obtained the same from the Conqueror, was granted to Anthony Denny, Esq. a gentleman of the chamber to Henry VIII. he obtained many other grants in this neighbourhood, as well as from the possessions of Waltham abbey, and procured to his son the title of Earl of Norwich. It was sold afterwards to a family named Dell. The manor of *Butterwick* also was granted to Denny; and then sold to Sir Richard Cox, master of the household under queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles the First; and in this family it hath remained to this day: and the late proprietor was Alban Cox, Esq.

Although there is undoubted proof that the abbot built the three churches at the entrances into the town ; and that the churches of St. Stephen and St. Michael, now standing, are those identical churches then built, and are indeed most admirable specimens of the Saxon style of building ; yet we cannot say the same of the church of St. Peter. The present edifice differs from the others so much that it is not of the same age, and more resembles the improved style of building which took place in the time of Henry III. when the first set of churches were worn out, and it was necessary to rebuild several. Then it was, that the low solid pier, and the semicircular arch, gave way, to the tall slender pillar, and the pointed arch ; then the cieling rose higher, the work was less solid and massy, and the spaces were more wide and ample. If it be said, why did not the first church of St. Peter stand and endure like its cotemporaries ? I will give this plain reason ; because it was not built of the Roman tile as the other two were, but of such materials, chalk, flint, and rubble, as were near at hand. This was very conspicuous at opening the piers of the tower a few years ago ; the whole of which is probably of the first construction, and carries with it a different style from the rest of the church ; but had not a fragment in it of the Roman materials. These last are so strong, by being well made, and well burnt at first, and then so well laid, cemented, and bonded, (as it is called) in the works, that they bid fair to out-last all stone, marble, or iron. And I shall hold this opinion, that St. Peter's church is not older than Henry the III'd's time, until I see some written evidence to the contrary.

The parish of *St. Michael* containeth little more to be said of it, than to trace the descent of Gorhambury. Sir Nicolas Bacon (a) became possessor of it from Maynard ; and, having enlarged and em-

(a) He placed the following lines over the front of the house, at the entrance into the great hall ; but they must be considered only as describing the *finish* and *improvements* he had made, and not the *building* of the house :

Hæc cum perfecit Nicolaus testis Baconus,

Elizabeth regni lustra fuere duo ;

Factus eques, magni custos fuit ille figilli :

Gloria sit soli tota tributa Deo.

Mediocria firma. 1568.

The foundations of the first original house here built, and inhabited by Robert de Corham, are discernible in the present park, situate eastward of the new mansion, and near the famous row of chefnut-trees celebrated in Evelyn's Sylva, and bespeak a large building to have once stood there.

belished the fame for the entertainment of the queen, departed this life in 1579, having enjoyed the honourable office of lord keeper of the Great Seal from the first year of her reign. By his first wife, whose name I cannot find, he was the father of that baronet's family of Redgrave in Suffolk (a), who have borne a title and rank of eminent distinction; and by his second wife, who was Anne, the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Giddy Hall in Essex, and who had been the governess of Edward VI. he had two sons; viz. Anthony, who died young, and Francis, the illustrious lord Verulam, and most learned lawyer and philosopher. This second son married Alice, a daughter of Benedict Barnham, alderman of London, who is interred (as a mural tablet shews) in the cathedral of Chichester; and whose other daughter was the unfortunate wife of the lord Castlehaven; who, for his ill treatment of her, was, with his accomplices, hanged. This eminent lord Verulam had no children (b); and, dying, bequeathed his estate and manor-house, &c. to Sir Thomas Meautys, knt. who had been his private secretary, and clerk of the Privy Council under James I. and Charles. This Meautys died without children, and the estate passed to his next heir, Sir Thomas Meautys, who was his first cousin. This man had married Anne, the daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, of Oxford Hall in Suffolk, knt. And at his death he gave this estate to his wife for life, with remainder to his heirs. His wife survived him, with one daughter named Jane. Sir Harbottle Grimston married the widow; and, Jane dying aged 10 or 11 years, the reversion descended to Hercules Meautys, a son of a brother of the late Sir Thomas; and Hercules sold all his right and title therein to Sir Harbottle. This gentleman's family had been long seated at Bradfield in Essex; and received the title of baronet in the year 1612. And this Harbottle had married to his first wife, a daughter of Sir George Croke, knt. one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and who signalized his name by pleading against the ship money in Charles I's time; and by her he had two sons, viz. George, who married a daughter of Dr. Alston, of London, and died childless; and Samuel, who succeeded his father; and two daughters; viz. Mary, who was married to Sir Capel Luckyn, of Little Waltham in Essex, baronet, and Elizabeth, who was married to George Grubham Howe of Barwick, in the county of Wilts,

(a) Now of Ravening in Norfolk, and premier baronet.

(b) See the state-trials.

and

and made baronet in 1660. The second wife of Sir Harbottle was the above-mentioned Anne, the relict of Sir Thomas Meautys. Before he came to live here he served in Parliament for Colchester, before the Restoration; and at that event he was chosen speaker of the Commons, and contributed much to the restoration of the monarchy and the church. He was soon after made master of the rolls, and filled that office with great reputation until his death, in 1683. Sir Samuel Grimston, bart. his son and heir, married a daughter of Henry Finch, earl of Nottingham, and had by her one daughter, who was married to the marquis of Halifax. After his first lady's death he married a daughter of the earl of Thanet, served in Parliament for St. Alban's in five several Parliaments, and died in 1704; and, leaving no issue male, the estate, &c. devolved to lady Luckyn and her eldest son.

As for such parts of this neighbouring country as did not belong to this abbey, it is probable this was the cause that most of the adjacent churches, if not the manors, had been given to other abbeys before, and made part of their endowments. Thus the Benedictine monastery of Walden in Essex, founded by Geoffrey de Mandeville, a great Norman, in 1136, had the following churches bestowed on it by this founder, *Walden, Waltham, Estre, Sabriteswerd, Thorley, Gedeleston, Enesfield, Edelmestan, Mimmes (a), Senley, Northall, Digenfwell, Stratly, Ainb,* and the hermitage of *Hadeley*. The original grant of these endowments is extant in the Latin Dugdale.

(a) The Frowyks had long been settled in this parish of Mymmes. The first of this name, whom I find mentioned, is Isabell Frowyk, who in 1288 possessed a windmill in the parish of South Mym, and twenty acres of land contiguous. The abbey of Walden in Essex, founded by Geoffry de Mandeville, was possessed (by the gift of the said Geoffry, who also was owner of all the chace, and large estates in this country) of the tithes of Mym, and demanded the same as due from the said mill and the twenty acres. The said Isabell refused; the abbey sued her in the Court of the bishop of London; and in this year the said court pronounced judgement against her. *Ex Registro Cartarum de Mon. de Walden.* Harl. MSS, 3677.

The next I find, in 1299 named Sir Thomas Frowyk, to have been a founder and benefactor to Guildhall Chapel.

Then Sir Henry Frowyk, who dwelt at Gonwelsbury, and lieth buried in Aston Church; and whose daughter and coheir, Elizabeth, was grandmother to Sir Henry Spelman. And therefore it is probable the said Sir Henry Frowyk died in the time of Henry VIII.

And it is also probable that his father is the person named Sir Thomas Frowyk, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, who lieth buried in Finchley Church, and who died 1506, Weever. See also a pedigree of the Frowyks in Chauncey, p. 462.

This

This Geoffrey obtained grants of the manor and chace of Enfield, and lived therein, having a large house within the moat near to the Camlod way, and now enclosed in that allotment which hath been called Trent Place. From his sister, who, on the death of his sons became heiress of all his estates and married William de Say, spring the Bohuns, earls of Essex, Hereford, and Northampton; and the heiress in time of Richard II. being married to the eldest son of the duke of Lancaster, contributed to elevate her consort to the throne of this realm by the name of Henry the IVth. When he constituted the dutchy court of Lancaster, these great estates, with others, obtained by him, made part of the dutchy revenue; but the churches above-mentioned continued in the abbey of Walden, until the time of the dissolution.

In the parish of St. Michael the abbey's possessions had been great; but when I have spoken of the manor of Gorham, there remains little else worthy of notice. The tithe of St. Michael's had always been divided into portions, and assigned to different officers of the house; that is, the abbey was intitled to the tenth of all the corn and of the grafs; but a certain part of that tenth was allotted to the cellerer, and another part to the infirmarar, and another part to the coquinar; and these portions did not arise out of certain lands, and compose the tithes of those lands; but were arbitrary assignments out of the whole, made by the abbot, as occasions arose and necessities required. But now, the whole corn tithe on the North side of the river belongs to one person, as impropriator; and that on the South to another; the grafs tithe of the whole parish to another: and this distribution took place when the crown, having possession of the whole, made such division as it thought proper; and left the rights and dues of the vicar unimpaired and unaltered.

The manor of *Chilwic*, which from early times was among the abbey's best estates, was granted away to Sir William Cavendish by Henry VIII. together with Northaugh. But he kept not these estates any long time; and, as the custom then was with the nobles and gentry to accommodate each other, and often to oblige the crown, he exchanged them for others, situate in Derbyshire. This gentleman sprang from a family in Suffolk, named Garnons formerly; but which, dwelling at Cavendish, assumed this for their surname. The famous navigator Cavendish, who finished his voyage round the world in 1588, was of this family; though his relation to Sir William

liam is no where clearly made out. But John de Cavendish, chief justice of the King's Bench in Richard the 1st's time, and murdered by the rebels under Tyler in 1381, was an undoubted ancestor of this Sir William. This gentleman had been a faithful attendant and friend of Cardinal Woolsey; and, at the death of this his master, the king sent a message to him requesting to see him. The discourse at this interview is recorded by historians, and the event was, that the king took him into his service, and made him of his chamber, with directions to go to my lord of Norfolk, and *he shall pay you, said the king, your whole year's wages, and a reward besides.* In this situation he ingratiated himself with Henry, was made, in 1539, one of the auditors of the Court of Augmentations; and, in 1545, he was appointed treasurer of the chamber, and one of the council. In 1539 he was one of those who came down to this abbey, together with the visitors, and Sir Thomas Pope, to receive the surrender. And in this office he failed not to reap in that harvest, to which every skilful man then put his sickle. His own acquisitions, and the very fortunate marriage which he made with the widow of Robert Barley, Esq. of the county of Derby(a), called him to such rank, fortune, and eminence, that his son was created the first earl of Devonshire, in the third of James I. and the family hath ever since been ennobled by illustrious descendants and branches, as much distinguished by their good name as by their honours and ample inheritances. How long Chilwic remained in the hands of Sir William Cavendish, or to whom he conveyed this manor, I find not; nor who possessed the same until it was conveyed to Joshua Lomax, esq. about the year 1666.

The manor of *Kingbury* in this parish is of ancient note and royal fame; for, here was holden a council of bishops and great men(b), in 851, convened by Bertulph, king of Mercia, and successor to Offa. The acts of this council are recorded in Spelman's Collection,

(a) This lady had been the daughter and coheir of John Hardwick, of Hardwick, in the county of Derby, esq. and brought a great part of his estate to Sir William Cavendish; and also all the estate of Robert Barley. After Sir William's death, she married Sir Wil. St. Loo, captain of the guard to queen Elizabeth, and owner of a great estate. In her third widowhood she married George, earl of Shrewsbury. She had children only by Sir William Cavendish. And to these she brought the whole estates of Barley and St. Loo, one moiety of her paternal estate of Hardwick, and a considerable part of the Shrewsbury estate; and procured also an intermarriage of a son and daughter with a daughter and son of that earl.

(b) Spelman's Councils.

by which it appears, that they consulted no less on the public affairs of the church and state than on the special business of the estates and marshes given and granted to the abbey of Croyland. This incident makes it highly probable, that in this place had been one of the many palaces at which Offa used to reside, and others of the Saxon kings; who were constantly travelling through their dominions, not only to provide for the defence thereof, but to dispense justice, and administer the law. Something of royalty appears in the very name, and a beautiful situation to the North-East of this town, called Cunningham-hill, (Koningham,) though now only a farm, denotes this place also as a royal seat. Now, from this certain proof of its royalty in the Saxon times, we may affirm, without presumption, that this was a distinguished place in the time of the Romans, and perhaps earlier; even when Cassivelaunus was king of this country and went forth to oppose Cæsar. Could we have certain proof that Cæsar approached to this town, then called Verulam, this would strengthen my conjecture that the British king did reside here; because we well know that Cæsar always pointed his march against the principal towns or cities, and tried thus to open a communication with his enemy. And this town was made a principal seat of the Romans, and by them augmented and fortified, and made the seat of justice and a place of arms, because they found it somewhat considerable, and the residence of the British chief. If we look down below the time of Bertulph's Council, though no mention is made of it, yet it continued a royal house until the time of king Stephen and Henry II. who gave it up to the abbot, as above related. But what denotes its grandeur and its uses, at the time of the Conquest, and in that reign, is this, that at the survey, directed by William, here was a *vivarium* (a), or place for keeping wild beasts and choice animals; a privilege and a dignity that belonged only to the king. Here was the only place of this kind in the whole kingdom; and therefore this may well be supposed to be among the splendid luxuries of the preceding sovereigns. To enclose land for the safe custody of beasts, or, in other words, to make a park, was a Norman improvement; the right resided solely in the king; and it was an infringement of the common law to shut up and confine beasts of the chase in safe custody without the king's special licence; hence called a writ of free warren. This palace, or castle, for it appears to

(a) See Doomſday.

have been inclosed within certain moats and defences of water, was become the resort of the kings and nobles; and they were so numerous, with their attendants, as to be a burden to the abbey; and on the complaint of Ælfric to king Ethelred, to whom he had been chancellor, the king consented to sell to the abbot the royal manor of Kingsbury, together with the parks and woods belonging; reserving to himself only one small fortress or tower near the monastery, as a token of his royalty. And this tower was the gateway or entrance from the market-place, near the present Christopher Inn, leading into the Park; which comprehended a large space of ground behind the present town, and extending almost to Chilwic. This was probably the limit of the present manor; and this remained with the abbey until the dissolution. After which it was granted to John Cox, and his grandson sold it to Sir Francis Bacon; who, when he fell under the censure of Parliament, conveyed this manor, together with Gorhambury, to Sir Thomas Meautys; and from him it went in like manner to Sir Harbottle Grimston. The said fortress, or tower, has been entirely ruined and demolished; though, if the present old tower in the market can be found to contain in it any of the Roman brick, it may plead to be very ancient, if not that same tower left by Etheldred (a).

But, if this tower cannot make good its claim to great antiquity, I will mention here a certain part of the foundation of the church which has undeniable proofs of its very great age. This is the foundation of the North wall toward the West end. Here, at the distance of

(a) But if Kingsbury bears not the name of any particular king, and is honoured only with a general title of sovereignty, be it known that the name of Germanus still remains and flourishes to this day; the old site of Verulam is still called St. German's Farm. All the broad part of the same, extending from the British bank to the Hampstead road, is called by that name; and containing more than seventy acres, divided into six or seven fields, called Dorvaille, upper, lower, and middle; which alludes to the name of these lands in the time of Henry III. when they were called Derefold, as in p. 142. After the fall and ruin of Verulam, and when the Saxons gained the ascendancy, this site received the name of Germanus, as if in pious regard to his memory; and is a mark of the zeal and devotion of its newly converted masters. These fields still bear this name; and, in the spot where Dr. Stukeley has placed St. German's chapel, here stood a very respectable mansion of brick, with a court in front, and stables, &c. a place fit for genteel inhabitants; and the chapel was situated near the British bank in the corner of a little meadow. This was the condition of St. German's farm in the year 1637; as it appears by a plan and drawing of the same now in the hands of its owner, Ralph Smith, gent. At which time the property of St. German's farm was in Sir Thomas Cotton, baronet, of Conington, in the county of Huntingdon, and son of the great antiquarian Sir Robert Cotton.

fifteen or twenty yards from the North West corner, the foundation is seen to diverge from the straight line and incline to the North, making there an obtuse angle. When this foundation appears thus contrary to all the rules of building, the reason seems to be, that the old foundation toward the West was found by Paul's architects to point not to the East, but many degrees from that, toward the South; and if they had continued the new wall in a direct line, the East end would have pointed to S. S. E. They therefore, to avoid such an error, if not an impiety, directed the new foundation more to the East; yet still, after all their correction, they set the church three points South of the East. If the two foundations be examined with a hammer, or some pointed instrument, it will be found that the West end is of the motherstone in large blocks; and, from the angle Eastward, it consists of the Roman tile or brick, with clunch and flint. Now, it is probable that this motherstone foundation was older than Paul's time, and not laid by his builders; but they, finding it erroneous in its position yet too strong to be removed, endeavoured to correct the error by beginning their work nearer to the Eastern position. If this argument be just, we must conclude this part of the foundation to have been laid by Offa in 793. Nor let any person start at the thoughts of a thousand years; when the bank that formed the head of the pool is still entire (except at the passage cut for the river), and was certainly constructed before we have any notices of such a place as Verulam; that is, soon after the time of our Saviour, or more probably long before. And there is nothing in England that can boast with certainty a more sublime antiquity beside Stonehenge. They are both of the druidical age.

The present parish of *St. Stephen* was of little note in the early times, but thought to be among the first possessions of the abbey: though the parish-church was built a hundred years before the Conquest yet the parish was generally known by the name of the manor therein contained; which at that time was no other than the Weald or Wild. This manor extended over all the present parish, from the lands of Gorham and Westwic, as far to the South as the manor of Hendon and county of Middlesex; bounded on the West by Aldenham, and Eastward by the manor of Tyttenhamgre. This whole district was all forest and woods, its highways dangerous from robbers, with little or no cultivation in it; and, after the founding of St. Julian's, the parish was more known by that name than by St. Stephen's.

It was in this wild condition at the Conquest, and certainly had at that time very few inhabitants. The Normans took possession of this large tract, and first began to inclose and cultivate(a); and the manor of Park, as its Norman name imports, was the first inclosure: this was done early, and perhaps in the time of Henry I. and, subsequent to that, several other small manors were derived out of the Weald; and, being in new and more industrious hands, they were cleared and reclaimed from their wild state; such was Newbury, Boreham, Shenleybury, and Salisbury. Napsbury, called Apſa in the first memoirs of the abbey, was an early gift, and a good farm; and Titburſt, another manor adjoining to the weald, belonged early to the church of Westminster. The Normans generally gave the appellation of *bury* to their new habitations; whereas the Saxons were accustomed to call them by the terminations of *ham* and *hide*. And another mark of a late inclosure in this parish is the term *Hedges*, now given to a large farm in this parish; and which is of the same import as *hatch* and *batches* in many other places: but all which imply and signify land inclosed from the adjoining waste. Very little can be discovered of these manors, or of their owners and inhabitants, prior to the dissolution. And even of the weald, the parent manor of the rest, I can find no inhabitant's name earlier than Humphrey duke of Gloucester; and then of Hastings, lord chamberlain to Edward IV. But these were no more than renters. It is said by Chauncey that the lands of Weald were possessed ' by John Somersham, lord of Cornerd in Suffolk, in the 7th of Edward II. and that his only daughter married Thomas Frowyck of Old Fold in South Myms; who enjoyed them in the time of Henry V. ' That his descendant married Anne, the daughter and co-heir of Robert Knowles, lord of North Myms; and that their only daughter, and heirs, Elizabeth, married John Coningsby, the third son of Sir Humphry Coningsby, chief justice of the King's Bench in the time of Henry. ' This John possessed these manors, and was constituted sheriff for this county and Essex in the thirty-eighth of the same king.' Now, if this be true, and there is no reason to contradict it, it follows, that the owner of the weald manor was not the abbey; and that Frowyck was the lord thereof at the time of Humphry and of Hastings. And there are other reasons that induce me to think, the abbey never did possess

(a) By grants and leases under the king or abbey; for, here were the abbey's principal woods.

this manor, though it might have woodlands, or some estates therein, by virtue of a lease. For, first, I can find no mention of this manor among the first endowments, nor any grant of the same after the dissolution; and, which is a stronger reason than all that the abbey never had owned it, the tithes have ever been in lay hands, and none of the lands are exempt from tithes, except by late purchase from the impropiator; whereas, had the lands been the property of the abbey at the dissolution, they would have claimed an exemption by the statute of 31st Henry, and been all tithe-free to this day. The manor of Weald I say never was granted as other manors were; but the new manor of Park was granted, having been in the hands of the abbey at the time of the dissolution.

The truth is, that St. Stephen's parish is not named in Domesday; and is meant under the general title of Terra Sancti Albani, without the name of any manor, and no valuation made; by which I conjecture, the whole was waste ground and of no value, until the manor of Park was formed. At the Dissolution, Park manor fell to the Crown; and in the 33d Henry, viz. 1541, an act of Parliament passed 'to enable Anthony Denny, Esq. one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, 'to hold to him, and to his heirs, all the manor of the king of Park-bury in the county of Hertford, and all the land, tenements, and 'hereditaments, with the appurtenances in Park called Boreham, 'Spirth, or Frith, and Grimes Gate Field; with sundry other lands, 'tithes, and manerial rights (a). And this continued in Denny's family until the 1st of James I. when Edward lord Denny sold this manor of Park to Robert Briscoe, Esq. who sold it in 1607 to Sir Baptist Hicks; and, his daughter Mary being married to Sir Charles Moryson of Cashiobury, this manor passed with this marriage. Sir Charles died in 1628, leaving Elizabeth his sole daughter and heiress; who afterward became the wife of Arthur, lord Capel, of Hadham; and thus brought the manor of Park into the family of the earls of Essex. In the grants of confirmation given by Henry I. and Henry II. this is called the manor of Park with all the Soke.

The Weld or Weald manor continued in the family of the Coningsbys until the daughter of Sir Henry Coningsby, by name Geneveiva, espoused Thomas Aram, Esq. of Gray's inn, about 1670; to whom Sir Henry conveyed this manor. From him (b), who died in 1716, it

(a) See Chauncey, p. 504.

(b) He was buried in Shenley church; and Geneveiva also, in 1707.

came to the Briscoes, then to the Byngs, from that family it went to John Mason, esq. about the year 1750; and in 1772 to the right hon. Richard, then lord viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and since created earl Howe, of the kingdom of Great Britain. And in every descent, since the time of Aram, the manor hath passed by purchase.

Aldenham had been among the first gifts and endowments made to the abbey; and this by Offa or his son. The name is Saxon, and denotes an ancient habitation in opposition to modern burys, and new places of abode. I have remarked in p. 43 of this history, that Frederic the abbot, in William's time, demised this manor for twenty years to Theobald, then abbot, and the convent of Westminster; and that the latter refused to give it up at the expiration of that term: he had taken it on condition to guard the highways to London; and, pretending to losses and injuries, was contending to hold it longer. The abbots of St. Alban's, we find, leased the same afterwards to one Taillebois and his sons, on the same condition; and to make acknowledgement to the abbey by rendering a yearly rent. It is said also in p. 67, that in the time of Henry II. the abbot of Westminster, named Lawrence, sued, in the king's exchequer, the abbot named Robert and convent of St. Alban's, and their lessee Robert Taillebois, with a view to recover; and that Lawrence, fearing the judgement of the court, and being rejected in his offer of twenty-three marks to Taillebois to relinquish his right, a compromise took place; and Robert confirmed this lessee in his right to pannage in the wood of Aldenham.

These transactions seem to bear hard on the characters of those two venerable prelates; and M. Paris, the relater, leaves the matter so involved as to approach towards calumny on those respectable men. But something offers itself in Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum*, that not only vindicates them, but justifies the historian; for, in his chapter on confirmations and releases, Madox refers to an example of the latter (a), now extant among the records of the church of Westminster, wherein the above abbot Robert, and the convent of St. Alban, quit claim to Lawrence, the abbot and the convent of Westminster, 'in all their land in Aldenham.'

(a) Dated the 11th year of Henry II. in the king's exchequer; and attested by all the justiciaries and great officers of the law.

Now I observe here, that the term *land* doth not mean the manor; for, how could the lessee be confirmed by Robert, if he had quitted all right and interest in the manor? but by land, I apprehend, is meant the new inclosures made by Theobald; and which since have borne his name, and are called Theobald-street, and to inclose which he took an opportunity, when he first received a demise of the manor from the abbot Frederic. Paris says, that Theobald gave great trouble and molestation to the abbey of St. Alban; but this arose, probably, from the new privilege which Theobald was taking, and which was unexpected by Frederic; and this contest did not end until the 11th year of Henry II. when, as Paris says, a compromise took place; the manor remained with St. Alban, and the new inclosure was adjudged to Westminster, who had borne all the charge and expence, and were creating a new estate upon the waste of the manor. It is probable, that at this time the name of Tytburst might begin; and some manerial rights be granted in the compromise above-mentioned. As Theobald had thus enclosed lands in Aldenham; and kept possession of that estate a long time, so we find his successor, Lawrence, doing the same in Hendon; which manor had long been in the church of Westminster before, and where a long green lane still records the memory of that famous abbot, who inclosed the lands adjoining. Had the compromise (by which is meant this quitting claim named in the deed) meant the manor, I think the word *manor*, and not *land*, would have been the just expression; because, when we say the abbey was possessed of such a manor, this does not argue that the abbot and monks were intitled to all the rents issuing out of the lands, but only to the rights and privileges of lordship; which was a degree of primary and original ownership over such lands: which the lords demised under peculiar terms and conditions to lessees and tenants. There was very little land perfectly free or allodial, and the general tenure was by lease for lives, or by copy of court-roll, with villanage; and very little was in demesne, or paid an annual rent to the lord. The feudal law was at this time in its full strength and vigour; and, on any failure of male heir, or of the conditions in the grant, the land was liable to a forfeiture, and the lord could resume: so insecure was a title to land in those days: and hence it is that in the Norman reigns we find so many confirmations successively made to the same persons; or to their heirs and successors of the same lands and possessions; and these, either by precept or writ from the king, or other

other lords, to put the feoffees or their heirs and successors into seizin after they had been disseised; or to keep them in seisin undisturbed; or else by charter of express confirmation (a).

This manor of Aldenham was granted soon after the dissolution to Henry Stepney; and his heir sold it to Sir Edward Carey, who lived here in queen Elizabeth's reign, and his arms are now to be seen engraved on a stone affixed to the front wall of a pigeon-house situate in the farm-yard near to the church. This gentleman's son, named Henry, died at Theobald's Park in 1633; having received some grievous hurt by the fall of a scaffold, there erected, at a celebrated festivity. His son was Lucius Carey, made secretary of state by Charles I. and slain at Newbury in 1643, fighting for his master and sovereign. In 1640, he sold this manor, as it was said, to aid the royal cause. He bears a most singularly high character in Clarendon's History (b). It was sold to Sir Job Harby, one of the commissioners of the customs under Charles I. And his son, Sir Erasmus Harby, sold it, about 1660, to Denzel, lord Holles, of Ifield in Suffex. His son, Sir Francis Holles, lived here, and succeeded to the title, and died in March 1690, aged 63, and was buried in this church. His London house was in Lincoln's Inn Fields. His son, named Denzel, succeeded to his titles and estates; a very promising youth; but he died in a fever, in 1693, aged eighteen years and nine months, and was buried here also. Being unmarried, he was the last descendant of this branch of the family: his title became extinct: and his estates devolved to his next heir, John, duke of Newcastle, who was grandson and heir to John Holles, elder brother of Denzel, the first lord Holles, of Ifield, and cousin to the deceased. The said John, duke of Newcastle's youngest sister, named lady Grace, (her father being earl of Clare,) married Sir Thomas Pelham, of Laughton in Suffex, created lord Pelham in 1706; and, dying in 1712, he left by her two sons, viz. Thomas duke of Newcastle, the zealous friend of the Hanover succession, and most eminent statesman in the reigns of George the 1st and 2d. and another son, Henry, Chancellor of the Exchequer under George II. and, John duke of Newcastle, dying without issue male, he left all his estates to his sister's son, Thomas, afterwards duke of Newcastle, now his adopted heir; and this manor of Aldenham, among many other. And here he pulled down a large mansion-house about 70 years ago, and sold the materials, and forty

(a) Madox's Form. Anglic.

(b) Vol. I. p. 340.

years since sold the manor to Mrs. Vandewall. The advowson had ever accompanied the manor.

In Watford the manor and the tithes had been among the earliest endowments of the abbey; and were given by Offa. At the dissolution, or soon after, the care of these was committed to John lord Russel, then living at Chenies, in the county of Bucks. And his memory is still preserved, in a certain farm called by his name but since adorned with a fair house, and all convenient accommodations; and inhabited by the lady Capels, sisters of the present earl of Essex. The manor of Watford was granted about the end of Elizabeth's reign to the lord chancellor Egerton, baron of Ellesmere, about the time when he acquired Ashridge. And in his family did this manor remain until sold to the earl of Essex, in 1760, or near that time.

The manor of Cassiobury was under the care of the lord Russel, and granted, in 1546, to Richard Morison or Morysine, Esq. and here ended the stewardship of lord Russel. He had received a grant of Tavistoke in 1540, and might have an expectation of obtaining this manor also; for Woeburn was not granted to him till the first of Edward VI. (1548) and Thorney two years after. Morison had been bred at Oxford (a); and, for his learning and ingenuity had been recommended to cardinal Pole, and brought by him into the notice of Henry, who knighted him. He was employed with Sir Philip Hoby in several embassies to the emperor, and ever approved himself eminent both in ability and integrity. He was rewarded by king Henry VIII. with this gift. This place had probably no conspicuous person as an inhabitant, or indeed any house or dwelling fit for such, before this time. Morison began a very handsome structure, but went abroad into Italy before the same was near finished, and died at Strasbourg in 1556. His lady was Bridget, daughter of John lord Hussy, and after his decease she married, in 1561, Henry, earl of Rutland. This earl died in 1563; and then she married Francis, earl of Bedford, who died in 1585. By these she had no issue; and died in 1600, aged 75, having one son by Morison named Charles.

This Sir Charles Morison was constituted sheriff of Herts in 1579, married Dorothy, the daughter of Nicolas Clerk, Esq. and had by her a son named Charles, and daughter Bridget, married to Robert, earl of Suffex. This Charles died in 1599, one year before his mother,

(a) Wood's Athen. Oxon.

and was succeeded in his estates by his son Charles. This Charles was made a baronet in 1611; a knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I. in 1625, and served in Parliament for Hertford in 1628, and died in August of that year, aged 41; leaving an only child and daughter, named Elizabeth, who became the wife of Arthur lord Capel of Little Hadham. Being an heiress, she brought with her the patrimony of her father: viz. the manor of Cashiobury; the tithes of Watford; the manor of Park, in St. Stephen's parish; and King's Langley park; which was the site and park of the old palace at that place. In Watford parish is a small manor called Carland belonging to Merton Coll. in Oxford, and among its earliest endowments.

Rickmanfworth was among the first donations made to this abbey; and, by the name of Pynefield, which was given by Offa's son, was meant this present parish; for it is there and afterwards explained by specifying the four or five several manors which now lie within this limit; so that Pynefield probably extended at that time over the present parish, at least over all the high land situate therein, and was so called from the abundance of pines there growing, which were the natural and indigenous growth of this island; though the fir is denied to be such by Cæsar.

The first time we meet with the name of Rickmerefworth is in the age of the Conqueror in Domesday; where it is assessed at fifteen hides, and the woodland was capable of feeding 1200 hogs. The fifteen hides argued the quantity of land under tillage; as finding employment for fifteen teams; and the latter implies that there was a large space of ground covered with wood and timber. The name of Rickmerefworth, signified and denominated the low land(a), situate near the rivers, as the word Pynefield implied the high ground and upland part. At what time it was laid out as a parish is not known; but that was a work of the Saxons, soon after they received Christianity, and parishes were generally made and laid out conformable to the limits of the manors. As manors, therefore, were prior to parishes, they were probably the work of the Britons; and the word is truly to be derived from the British *manor*, an hamlet, farm, abode; and not from the Norman *manoir*, as is generally supposed. And, if this etymology be just and right, it gives a reason why the names of some manors are so obsolete and obscure as to be unintel-

(a) Worth signifies a place situate at the junction of two waters or rivers.

ligible, and the meaning is to be sought for in the British tongue, and prior to the Saxon times. There is just reason to think that the Britons, after the improvements made by the Romans; were found, on the Saxon invasion, in a state of civilization; with their lands cultivated, their habitations convenient, with great command of men and cattle about them. This was the condition of every great man, though it was not the general appearance of the country; and what is this, but the condition of the Saxon chiefs, and then of the Normans? with this difference only, that the Saxons and Normans were more warlike, and more obliged to defend their new conquests by arms, and to establish new laws and more regular order of government, than what had prevailed before. Now, although this may occur in many manors and places, yet here we find nothing but Saxon; and, when Egfrid gave Pynefield to his father's church, he gave it in a cultivated state, and capable of yielding a rent. In Domesday it is valued at 20l. a year; including a mill whose rent was 5s. 4d. a year, and a fishery worth 4s.

This donation is said to have contained at that time five manors; and there were five, specified by name in the time of Henry VI. when Butler attempted to defraud the abbot, and there are five manors at this time so held and acknowledged; and probably the very same as were comprehended in Pynefield, though the same may have suffered some change in name. The present manors are, that of Rickmerfworth; of the moor; of Crosley or Croxley; of Micklesfield, and the manor of the rectory or church. All these were held and possessed by the abbey, from the time of Offa in 793 to 1539, 746 years. What was their state and destination after the surrender I will now shew.

The manor of Rickmerfworth claims to be paramount; not only over the other four, but also over other pretended manors, and is very extensive.

The manor-house called the bury is situate near the church, and has in demesne a very fine park situate at a distance, and at the North East end of the town. The first owner I can find of this house and manor is Thomas Fotherley; who died, as appears by a sepulchral inscription, in 1624; and his wife, named Tabitha, in 1584; at which time they probably dwelt in this house. His son was Sir Thomas Fotherley, knt. and one of the privy chamber to Charles I. and his son succeeded in this estate, and was in the commission of the peace in the time of Charles II.

The manor of the Moor comprehends the East and South part of the parish, and has been called in the old records the manor of Bachworth; because this latter is included in it. This manor has in it a famous mansion and park called Moor Park, (of near 500 acres,) which has been the seat and property of divers famous persons. The first inhabitant whom I can find there was the above named Butler, knt. who had held this manor, and the others contiguous to it, on such easy terms, and for so long a space, that he almost forgot to acknowledge any lord; as was related in the life of Wheathampstead. After him it became the property of George Nevil, the great and magnificent archbishop of York, and he lived here and used to entertain Edward IV. when king; who frequently came to this place from Windsor, where he delighted to make his abode. This Nevil was the younger brother of Richard Earl of Warwick, and partook of the favour or dislike of Edward in the same proportion as his said brother. Accordingly, in the year 1472, and soon after the earl had been defeated and slain at Gladmere-heath, near Barnet, the following stratagem was laid to ensnare and ruin this archbishop. He was received into favour, and was hunting with the king at Windsor, 'when he
' made relation to him of some extraordinary kind of game, where-
' with he was wont to solace himself at a house he had built and fur-
' nished sumptuously, called the Moore in Hertfordshire. The king
' seeming desirous to be partaker of this sport, appointed a day when
' he would come hither and hunt, and make merry with him. Here-
' upon, the archbishop taking his leave, got him home, and thinking
' to entertain the king in the best manner it was possible for him, he
' sent for much plate that he had hid during the wars, and also bor-
' rowed much of his friends. The deer which the king hunted being
' thus brought into the toils; the day before his appointed time he
' sent for the archbishop, commanding him, all excuses set apart,
' to repair presently to him at Windsor. As soon as he came he was
' arrested of treason; all his money, plate, movable goods, to the
' value of twenty thousand pounds, seized upon for the king; and him-
' self, a long space after, was kept prisoner at Calais and Guisnes;
' during which time, the king took upon himself all the profits and
' temporalities of the bishopric. Among other things, then taken
' from him, he had a mitre of inestimable value by reason of many
' rich stones wherewith it was adorned; that the king broke, and
' made thereof a crown for himself. This calamity happened unto
' him in the year 1472. By intercession and intreaty of his friends, and
' much

‘ much ado, he obtained his liberty in the year 1476; and, a little while
 ‘ enjoying the same, with grief and anguish of mind as was thought,
 ‘ died at Blithlaw, coming from York; and was buried in the min-
 ‘ ster there, aged forty-one.

This fact happened at Moore-park, and is related on the undoubted authority of Goodwin, bishop of Llandaff(a). This manor thus fell to the crown, and here it remained, until Henry VII. in the first year of his reign, gave the same to John Vere, earl of Oxford, who led the van at Bosworth-field, and contributed much to the service of Henry in gaining the victory of that day; and Henry, in reward thereof, conferred on him this manor, with remainder to the issue of his countess Margaret, who had been the daughter of Richard, the late earl of Warwick, and niece to the archbishop aforesaid. How long it continued in this family is unknown; but in 1617 James I. granted it by patent to one Woodward, at the request of the earl of Bedford, and in trust for him. In 1626, the earl sold it to William, earl of Pembroke. In 1655, it past to Sir Richard Franklyn, knt. who in 1660 was made a baronet, and represented this county in 1661; and in 1672 he sold it to Sir William Bucknal, of Oxey. The Veres sold the house and park in 1600 to Robert Carey, third son of Lord Hunsdon; who was created lord Cary of Lepington in 1620, and earl of Monmouth in 1625, and who died at Moore-park in 1639. His son Henry succeeded to his honours of fortune, and, dying in 1661, was buried in this parish-church. Soon after, this seat was sold to Sir John Franklyn, the father of Sir Richard. This Sir Richard sold it to Thomas, earl of Ossory, (eldest son to the duke of Ormond,) which Thomas was called to the house of Peers in 1666, by the style and title of lord Butler of(b) Moore-park. He commanded a squadron of ships in the great sea-fight with the Dutch in 1672(c); and soon after sold this seat and park to James Fitzroy, duke of Monmouth. At his decease, in 1685, it came to his duchess Anne, daughter of the earl of Buccleugh; and she married, secondly,

(a) De Præsulibus, edit. 1615.

(b) This lord Butler had married a lady of high rank and fortune in Holland, and descended from Maurice, prince of Orange; and under the direction of this lady, and agreeably to her taste, here were laid out very splendid gardens, at this time quite new in England, but equalled by none since in the pleasantness and expence thereof, and celebrated by Sir William Temple.

(c) In this year the following gentlemen of this county were made baronets: Sir John Keate, of the Hoo; Sir Job Harby, of Aldenham; Sir Thomas Hewit, of Pishobury; Sir Heneage Fetherston, of Blakefware.

the lord Cornwallis of that time, Before her death, she sold it to Hoskin Stiles, Esq. who built the present house. His heir or executors sold it to George lord Anson; and his heir to Sir Lawrence Dundas in 1765; and his son hath sold it to Thomas Rouse, Esq.

The manor of Micklefield now belongs to a family named Skidmore.

The manor of the rectory, together with the tithes, was granted away to some person, who exchanged the same with the bishop of London. And to that see this manor and tithes do still belong, and also the patronage of the church.

The manor of Crokefly, or Crosley, continued in the crown until queen Elizabeth granted the same to Dr. Caius, to make part of the endowment of his new college, still bearing his name at Cambridge. This still belongs to the said college, and here is yet standing the great barn built on this manor by Moot, and now about 300 years old.

When it is said that these manors and estates were granted, it is implied generally, that it was for a compensation, though the same be not mentioned. But there is ground sufficient to shew, that many persons who had demands on the king for wages, &c. were recompensed by some of these grants: thus, in Codicote, the manor of Siffrivernes was granted to John Penn, who was groom of the privy chamber, and barber and porter to the king. This man had married the daughter and heir of one Chevall, who had for three or four generations held the lands under lease from the abbot; and now the manor was given as a gratuity. And in Shephall, the manor, which had been an early gift to the church, as appears by Domesday, was given by Henry VIII. to one George Nodes. He had been tenant of the land under the abbot; and had served the king as serjeant of the buck-hounds; and in this quality served Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth. He died in 1564, but his descendants lived here in good credit until the year 1688.

As for the distant estates, little can be said of them, and little can be discovered: with regard to Winslow I find the following remark.

‘ The manor of Bigging, with that of Winslow, Shipton, Greneborough, and Little Horwood, were leased in the 31st of Henry VIII. to Richard Breame, Esq. yeoman of the household, and Margaret his wife, during their lives, and to the longest liver of them. This lease was of the yearly value of 52l. 4s. 7d. besides the parsonage of Wynslow, Greneborough, and Little Horwood, valued at 29l. 7s. 8d. The said lessees paid a yearly reserved rent of 16l. os. 1d. The commissioners under Philip and Mary say, they find the manor
‘ of

‘ of Bigging to be granted to Benedict Lee, Esq. by letters patent
 ‘ dated June 28, in 1 Edward VI. for twenty-one years after the ex-
 ‘ piration of the former ; and Margaret was then living ; and the said
 ‘ parsonage given to the clergy by act of Parliament (a).’

The said commissioners valued Bigging at 10l. a year, and at twenty years purchase, and sold it to Lee at that rate. The lead, bells, and advowson, to be excepted (b).

The manor of Combes, in Suffex, was granted to the lord Windsor of that time ; but is now the property of Sir Thomas Bridger.

This lord Windsor had a grant also of the manor of Houndeslowe, parcel of the manor of Hampton Court, and formerly annexed to the priory of Houndeslowe ; this was rated in 1557 to him at the clear yearly value of 41l. 3s. 4d. and at twenty-two years purchase.

The rectory of Hockliffe in Bucks was valued at one year’s purchase ; viz. 16l. 9s. 6d. and sold to one Henham of London (c).

Among the earliest and largest of the donations with which this abbey was endowed, was the manor or manors contained in the parish of Luton, together with the tithes. These all remained with the abbey until the dissolution, at which time the same was obtained by Sir Thomas Pope, and settled on his new endowment of Trinity College, Oxford. The president and fellows are still the lords of the same ; and Luton is one of their best estates. They leased it formerly to the family of the Napiers ; and in 1764 their interest therein was sold to John earl of Bute.

The manor of Eastwell had long been the property of the abbey ; but a family named Herbert and Fitzherbert had been the inhabitants, and probably the lessees. Eastwell was now granted to Sir Thomas Moyle, of North Cadbury, in the county of Somerset, knt. and Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations ; and his eldest daughter and co-heir, being married to Sir Thomas Finch, of Burmarche (d), in Kent, brought Eastwell to the Finches. Of Sir Thomas was descended his son Sir Moyle Finch, who in the reign of Elizabeth was lord of this place ; and, having married the sole daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Heneage, knt. treasurer of the chamber, vice-chamberlain of the

(a) The present owner of this extensive manor is Lownds Selby, Esq.

(b) Les Ratz, p. 607, 147. (c) Les Ratz.

(d) Burmarche was a grant to Sir Thomas Finch, and had been part or parcel of the lands belonging to the late dissolved monastery of St. Austin’s in Canterbury. But Sir Thomas Finch was originally of Netherfield, Iklefam, and Marle, in Suffex, near Hastings and Winchelsea.

household, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster to queen Elizabeth, and also of her privy council, laid the foundation of great fortune and great honours. This lady, in 1628, was ennobled by the title of viscountess Maidston, and then of countess of Winchelsea. Her son was the first earl of Winchelsea, and her third grandson became earl of Nottingham, and was seated at Ravenston in Bucks, and purchased large estates near Daventry. Eastwell was given by Daniel, the late earl of Winchester, to the hon. Finch Hatton, the eldest son of his younger brother Edward Finch, though the same was the original estate of the family.

P A R T III.

C O N C L U S I O N.

THUS, reader, have I led thee through a period of one thousand years; from the rise and origin, through the progress and maturity, and to the end and downfall of these monastic institutions; for, though I profess to give the history of one alone, yet they are so much alike, that the general rule and œconomy of all are exhibited herein. And in perusal of this account it is impossible not to observe, and to compare in our mind, the difference of the two branches of the church, the monastic clergy and the parochial or secular. The first were possessed of authority and power, of affluence and riches, of high rank and dignity; while the latter were ever low and depressed, with a bare subsistence, with a tenure only for life, subject to numberless indignities and oppressions from the rich lords and potent laity, and at too great a distance from their heads and leaders, the bishops, to be benefited by them, or even noticed; not to mention the envy and calumny they were made to suffer from the monks; and the frauds, encroachments, usurpations, and impositions, from the friers and mendicant clergy.

Y y y

From

From the beginning of monachism we see these bodies supported and countenanced by a foreign head, and all their allegiance and attachment directed to that principle, and contributing to enable the pope to govern this kingdom; or, at least, under the pretence of guarding religion, to have at command a vast multitude of subjects and dependents; and to extract from the people great sums of money, to be sent to Rome. We see William the Conqueror raising and elevating the bishops, and making them more useful than before to the new polity and government of the state; but no advantage was derived by him or by them to the parochial clergy. We see in the subsequent reigns multitudes of monkish foundations, as one of the chief fruits and effects of the crusades. And under the weak reign of Henry III. we may see the court and kingdom almost wholly governed by them and their leaders. The Edwards, with great wisdom and just policy, set bounds both to their riches and to their power; yet they saw them too beneficial, in many respects, to wish them suppressed and extinguished; and, beside the many useful applications made of their wealth, which I have mentioned, there was another which rendered them of singular and necessary benefit; and that was in being the surety and pledge in borrowing great sums of money; an use which even the king experienced and resorted to; but which was absolutely necessary in the infancy of trade, and when few men had any capitals in money. These bodies, having perpetuity and succession, and above all a character of honesty and probity, were the best security on all bonds and obligations; especially when we consider, that landed property could give no just security, when every man's title was bad, and he could not bind his heir or successor. And in these bodies alone did men find security for moneys lent or engaged for. Such then is one of the great temporal uses and benefits of religion to the community; and so false is that opinion, that men will do their duty, and fill up a virtuous conduct from a motive of fear only.

This beneficial use kept them up in the times of the Edwards; and continued to do so, until other securities began to be found, by enabling the owners of land to perpetuate their interest therein, and to exclude the lord of the fee. When Henry VII. made a law to enable men to devise their land by their will and testament, they began to acquire a new and permanent interest; and less resort was had to the punctuality and integrity of the religious.

Indeed, it is but just to praise these institutions wherever utility appears; and, considering the times, they doubtless did accomplish
many

many works, and perform many services of a public nature, which none but corporate institutions could perform. And, therefore, it is weakness and folly in us of these days, to harbour and continue that calumny, which Henry's times, for selfish and mercenary reasons, set on foot. No man is benefited by keeping up the slander; and no man's title to their property is injured by professing the truth. At the same time, I wish not to see them revive in any part of the world; but to practise, from their example, whatever had in it any religious or moral merit, or was found useful to the rest of mankind; and to bury in oblivion all and every misdeed they might be guilty of. They never could have stood their ground so long, if they had not brought with them many civil advantages. And to this purpose, their religious character, however deficient, greatly contributed. And they will ever stand an unrivalled instance of that great truth, that no government can be conducted without the aid of religion; that no obedience will be paid from fear only, but it must arise for conscience sake, and from an inward principle of duty to God.

The word of God, and the knowledge of gospel truths, is justly called light; a name most appropriate to the sun of righteousness. But how nearly was this light extinguished, or at least how greatly obscured, when ignorance in the Popish church was countenanced, encouraged, and established, *ex industria!* and nothing can speak louder the craft of the rulers, and the blindness of the ruled, than their doctrine of transubstantiation; which, though of all doctrines the least able to reconcile itself to the reason and understanding of men; yet was maintained with the most ardent zeal and ardour by the Popish doctors. It was the most unintelligible of all doctrines; for, it requires many logical steps, and a long train of rational deduction, to prove the connection between eating a consecrated wafer and the depravity and corruption of human nature. So little instruction was there to shew the want, and the use, and necessity, of a sacrifice for sin; and in what manner this sacrifice was represented by a wafer, though consecrated; that the worshiper took up the belief of a charm as the most ready and obvious sense of the rite; or, with more faith, conceived it to be a provision (*viaticum*) for the journey of death.

The aim of the church of Rome in teaching and propagating this mysterious doctrine, was to inspire awe and respect; to bend the minds of men to the most passive submission; and to make them acquiesce in all mysteries, whether contained in the word of God or

suggested only by pious men. It must also be thought highly probable, that this doctrine of wonders found a more easy reception for this reason; because it was first opened and encouraged, and then established in Times when the Rosicrucians flourished (a) and the transmutation of metals was sedulously studied. When we reflect that these pretenders to chemistry, and these teachers of Popish miracles lived in the same ages, no doubt can be made on this conclusion, that they gave mutual aid and encouragement to each other.

At the reformation, when the Sun of righteousness rose again; and diffused anew the light of gospel truth, we find the great promoters of that work preparing the way to salvation by instruction. They framed a catechism, and directed this short exposition of the Christian faith to be taught to the youth of all parishes. They enjoined preaching, not only to dispel the mists of ignorance, but to illumine the ways of duty, in perfect conformity to the orders of Jesus Christ, whose direction it was to preach the gospel to every creature. (Mark XVI. xv.) They laboured in a peculiar manner to rectify the notion of the Eucharist; and to this purpose they published the sermons of abbot Ælfric (b) from the Saxon into English, in order to shew, that the doctrine of the reformers on that point was the same as had been taught by the English church, three hundred years before transubstantiation had its rise or was thought of; and that the church of that time taught as the reformers did, that the Eucharist was a memorial only of the great sacrifice for sin made by Christ, and of the spiritual benefits derived from that act of the Saviour.

A national church is the civil institution for teaching true religion; and, whenever writers have spoken of the alliance between church and state, that expression is suitable only to those times, when the church and the state formed two distinct, separate, independent, bodies, united by some foederal bond: whereas, at the Reformation, when by a masterly policy the independence of the church was destroyed, and the same was made subordinate to the state, no longer to act as 'lord of the heritage,' but as teachers of the faith, the church was, by new settlements, so interwoven with the state, that instead of being, as before, its rival, or its engine and tool, it became now the first and chief establishment, calculated to support good and just government, and to co-operate with the magistracy in promoting obedience to all lawful

(a) Raymund Lully, and others.

(b) Printed by Day, 1565. See p. 24 of this History.

authority, as one of the duties that belongeth to the character of a Christian. The church was then made a principal branch of the civil establishment; its province and duty was, in the first place, to preach the faith in Christ, and inculcate the moral precepts of the gospel, and then to press the observance of those great duties, of justice, charity, sobriety, and chastity, which tend to bind and unite men together in society. The church was then made the public instructor, to restrain the beginnings of vice, and to plant the seeds of virtue and truth; just as the laws of the state were meant to coerce and to punish the crimes of the hand. The church acts by the principles of religion, the state by the force of law and authority. The church acts as the soul of the state, to give every member its proper motion and due direction. If modern writers speak of alliance, they can mean by it no other conjunction than something analagous to soul and body.

But it is not in the duties of each wherein this union consists; let its revenues be considered and its patronage. Where, in the first, more than a moiety, or one half, of the church revenues, as once enjoyed, is at present in the hands of the laity; and, of the last, more than seven parts in eight are vested in the gentry (a) of this kingdom. An effectual bar this against the return of Popery; but constituting a sacred trust in the present patrons; and such as not only brings them nigher to the altar of God, but makes them responsible for the due performance of the duties belonging to that trust.

The first foundations of the Church of England were laid in the sincere faith, and unshaken principles, of the bishops who submitted to martyrdom; but it received its stability, and temporal strength, from the wisdom and sagacity, as well as piety, of Elizabeth and her ministers. We have seen this church, though reduced to a few men in the ministerial office, struggling and contending, for 250 years, against the malice of Rome, and the efforts of a superstitious zeal. But, though it hath stood safe in time past against all the assaults of superstition, and the dangers of too much religion; yet future dangers seem to threaten it from opinions that have too little religion. The dangers and terrors of superstition are giving way to those from a contrary and opposite quarter; infidelity now threatens; and the self-conceit of human vanity, and pretended self-sufficiency, almost exclude revealed religion, or any help or dependance on Heaven.

(a) That is, all livings, except those in the gift of the king and his chancellor, the bishops, colleges, and other public bodies.

But,

But, if any men can love the darkness of infidelity rather than the light of faith, let them cast their eyes towards that ruined kingdom, where all those principles have had full scope; where may be seen not only the full-blown blossoms, but the matured fruits, of infidelity: where men, having cast aside all belief in God, and all sense of duty, are indulging, without remorse or shame, all the worst passions of a corrupt and depraved nature.

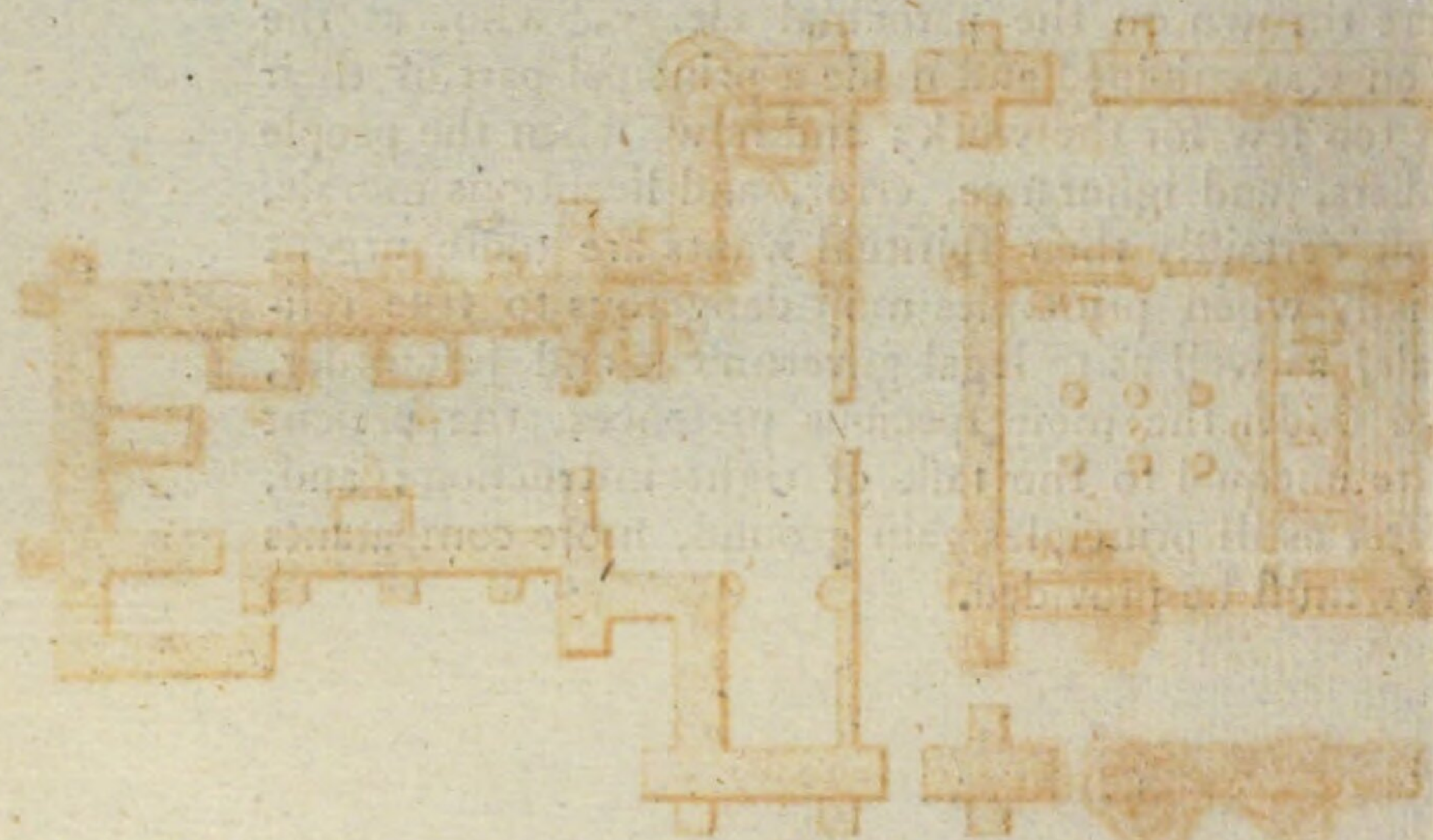
When we contemplate the reduced number of clergy, and the more reduced state of their revenues, as settled at the Reformation, it strikes our observation also, that their labour, and the duties enjoined on them, are threefold more than they were prior to that event. And, though their number is not above 8 or 9000, yet is there no other order, or rank of men, in the kingdom, so ill paid or requited for their labours and services. But they are men who derive consolation from the certainty of future retribution; and that from the hand of a just Master. They are men with whom poverty is honour and content is riches.

The Church of England, which is the civil establishment for the teaching of religion and instruction of the people, is formed on the best plan that was ever devised for that purpose; but it is not so extensive in its influence as the wants of the people require. There are numbers of populous villages and new towns arising, which are not provided with any religious helps from the ecclesiastical establishment. The spiritual wants of the people point out that new churches should be built, large parishes be divided, and new parishes made; that chapels of ease be made parochial, and more clergy be fixed in the new churches. It might be contrived, that all places of worship set up and opened by the Dissenters might yet be served by the clergy of the church. The civil power in this country could make no objection to the building new churches; and creating new parishes; but approve it, for this reason, because parochial government, and all the duties of parish-officers, is much easier conducted, and with more certain effect, within small limits, than in large.

This plan of improvement might receive great helps from the governors of queen Anne's bounty; with some new powers of extending the uses of that charity, and of quickening its beneficial intentions. The approbation of Parliament would adjust all jarring interests; and enable the people, who live now in gross ignorance and neglect, to receive instruction in religion, and, along with it, many civil improvements; for, this is a certain consequence, that civilization and useful
arts

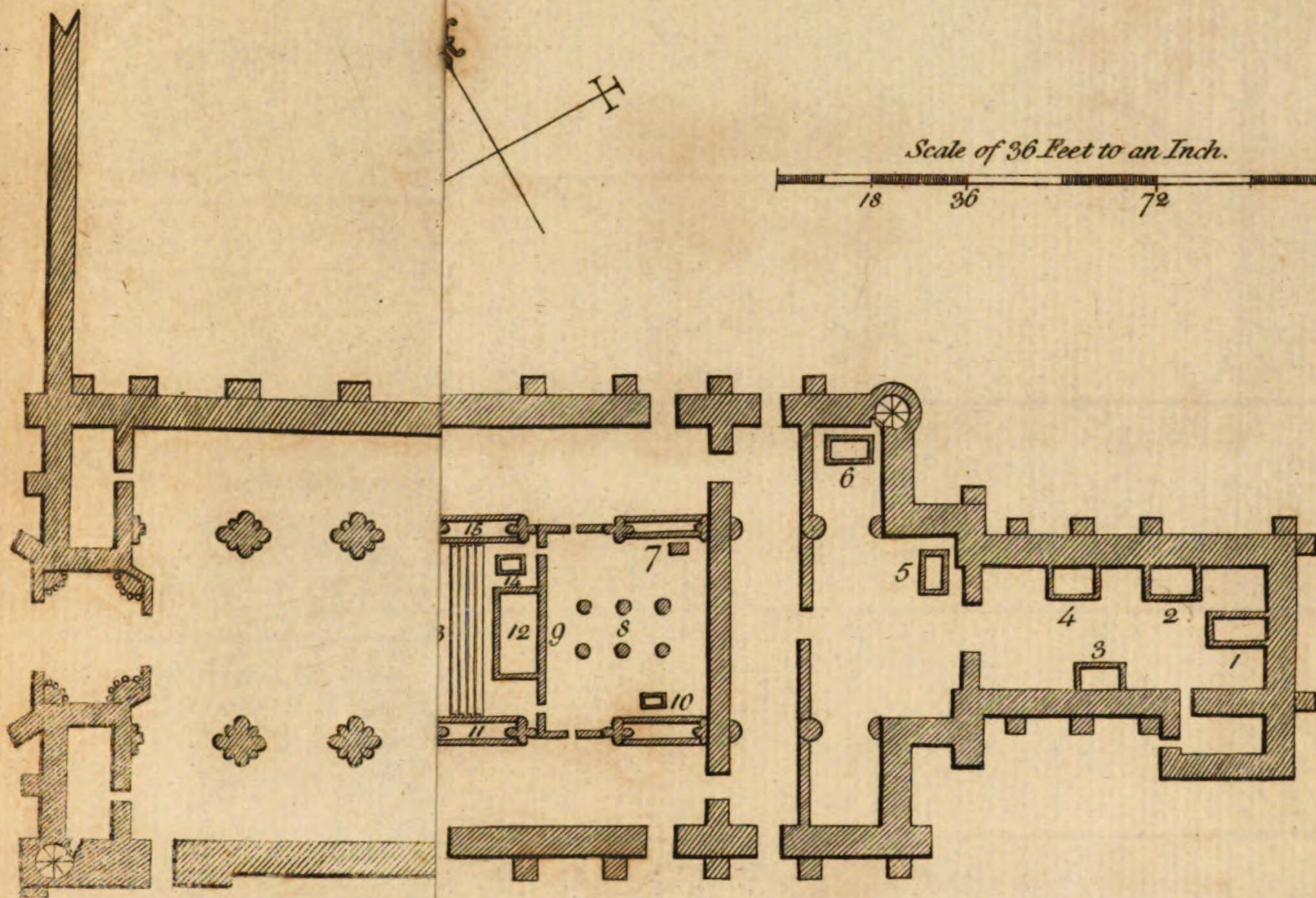
arts follow the abode of a regular minister and a fixed church. This increase of the clergy in number is seen to be necessary in all increasing towns and villages; large parishes in the country require it, the wants of the people demand it, all good and pious men would promote it; and, whenever the several interested parties would consent and unite in the work, Parliament would readily give it authority and confirmation.

The people of England have, by common right, a just and legal claim to the worship of God as established by law; and, in order to communicate that right, and enable them to enjoy it, more churches must be built, and more clergy ordained to serve them. When the monastic branch of the church was lopped off, several of their best duties and cares were thrown on the parochial clergy, who, at the time when instruction was enjoined and made a principal part of their duty, were thought too few for the work; and now, when the people are doubled in numbers, and ignorance, error, and licentious morals, more prevalent, most certainly their spiritual wants are more urgent and pressing; especially when principles most dangerous to true religion and good morals, as well as to legal government and just order, are spreading abroad under the most specious pretences, the present number of clergy are unequal to the task of right instruction; and, as the danger is greater as ill principles gain ground, more combatants to oppose that danger must be provided.



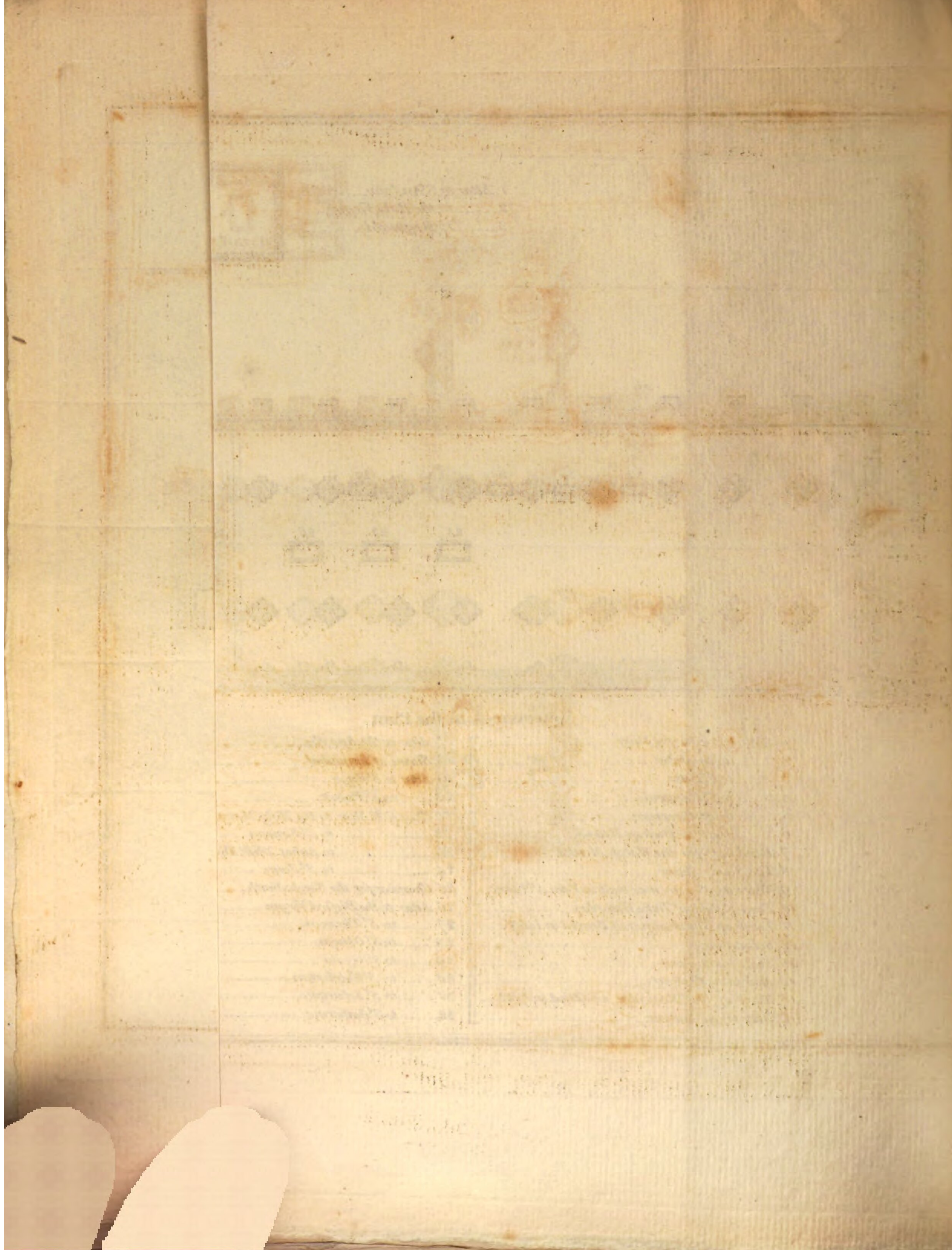
HENRY 6th
 as he was in the town of
 with the Stairs and Chapels
 ARMY CHURCH OF ST. ALBAN
 of the
 GROVE VALLEY

1. The Church
2. The Tower
3. The Transept
4. The Nave
5. The Aisle
6. The Chapel
7. The Vestry
8. The Sacristy
9. The Kitchen
10. The Parsonage
11. The School
12. The Rectory
13. The Manse
14. The Farm
15. The Mill
16. The Barn
17. The Stables
18. The Coach House
19. The Gate
20. The Wall



1. Altar to the V
2.to Amp
3.to S^tPe
4.to S^tFe
5.Quat. C
6.Ded. t
7. Rood Loft fo
8. The Saints Sh
9. Where the Sc
10. Tomb & Vault
11. Tomb of Whe
12. Great Altar...
13. Steps leading
14. Altar in the Pre
15. Tomb of Tho
16. Altar to our S

GROUND PLAN
of the
ABBHEY CHRCH of S^TALBAN,
with the Altars and Chapels
as it was in the time of
HENRY 6th



APPENDIX N° I.

See Page 132.

EGO Offa Rex, huic donationi meæ, Signum Crucis impono.

Ego Egfridus, paternæ munificentiae consentiens, subscripsi.

Ego Higbertus, Archiepiscopus, consensi & subscripsi.

Ego Ceolphwus, Episcopus, consensi & subscripsi.

Signum Manus Alhmundi Abbatis.

Signum Beonnani Abbatis.

Signum Brordani Patricii.

Signum Binnani Principis.

Signum Eadgari Ducis.

Signum Cuthberti Ducis.

Another of king Ethelred in 996.

Ego Ethelredus, Anglorum Basileus, hanc Chartam scripsi.

Ego Ælfricus, Dorovern. Arch. Ep. Signum Crucis imposui.

Ego Ældulfus Ebor. Arch. Ep. consentaneus extiti.

Ego Ælfeah Winton. Episcop. similiter Assensum præbui.

Ego Wulstan Epif. consensi.

Ego Elfeah Epif. corroboraui.

Ego Athulph Epif. consignavi.

Ego Wulfige Epif. consolidavi.

Ego Ordbright Epif. configillavi.

Ego Godwinus Epif. confirmavi.

Ego Ealdred Epif. conclusi.

Ego Elsthyrth, Regina.

Ego Elfwearð Abbas, & cæteri plurimi.

Z z z

APPENDIX

A P P E N D I X N° II.

See Pages 134. 144.

STATUTES, on reforming the Monks of the *Black Order*, by Greg. IXth, then Pontiff, in the Year 1238, and to be observed by the said Monks.

That no one be admitted a Monk till he is twenty years of age. That, on hearing the bell, they shall repair, without delay, into the abbey, leaving and setting aside any business then in hand; that, in the several monasteries, there shall be a general confession every month; that, on the first Sunday of the month, they shall communicate in the body and blood of Christ: and, if any one shall think proper to abstain, that he do signify the cause to the abbot, and approach or abstain as he shall direct. That the rigid discipline of the order be observed, and silence kept in the church, in the hall, in the cloister, and in the dormitory; any transgression to be punished according to the rules. That all candidates be often instructed in the three chief vows, of obedience, of continence, and of poverty: and that, if they are not willing to comply, they may leave at the end of the year; or, if they conform, that they be admitted and receive the benediction. That the office of prior, or dean, or other ruler, be conferred gratis, without gift or compact; if any one shall accept, on such terms, or at the recommendation of any layman, let him be deemed simoniacal. That no prior be set aside without a just cause, as being a dilapidator of the houses, or disobedient, or rebellious. That no monk be possessed of more offices or priories than one, nor be a monk in more abbeys than one. That no monk should dwell in any priory or in any grange alone, but another should be joined with him; and, if there is not maintenance for two, then let the first be recalled to the cloister. That no abbot, when he giveth a charge or superintendence, or the receipt of any rents, to any monk, do make a bargain with him, or take sureties of him. That when any prior, officer, or monk, having temporal charge, or when any bailiff be sick, and through infirmity prevented, that such an one do make up his accounts, and give a clear confession of all matters under his care, and resign the same to the abbot. With regard to the diet and cloathing, we direct and enjoin that all the monks be cloathed in one sort of cloth, or garment; and all the private eating in the chambers be utterly forbidden. But let them be regularly dieted in the same refectory, with

the same food cooked for all, with the same sort of bread, and the same drink ; unless they are confined in the infirmary, or dine at the abbot's table. And that the hour of refreshment, according to the strict rule, be at twelve o'clock during winter ; at other times let the rule be observed as therein directed, and with such moderate diet as is prescribed ; and let no one cause delicacies to be prepared for him, or accept of any thing that is presented : and, if any present of that sort is made, let it be carried to the superior, who will provide that it be used by such as, having a weak stomach, cannot eat the common fare. In the infirmary, or the refectory, let there be used no cup of gold or silver, or with a foot or a rim of gold or silver ; nor let any monk be possessed of a belt or a knife that hath the least ornament of gold or silver. In the infirmary let no person eat flesh-meat, unless it be a monk, or convert who shall be sick, or some person who for bodily weakness shall have been sent to the infirmary ; and let no monk, whether in the house or out and abroad, eat any flesh, but according to the rule, *viz.* in sickness. Such refreshments of a flesh diet, as have been accustomed to be used in some monasteries, we do utterly forbid ; and much more any pudding, sausage, or composition, made of stale meat. And if any abbot or monk on a journey shall be compelled, through necessity, to eat flesh, let him turn aside to some religious house, if near ; otherwise, let him take such consultation for his infirmity, that he give no offence to any other person. But, if any one shall presume to eat flesh contrary to the above, for the first and second offence let him be subject to the stated discipline ; if he offend a third time, let him, on the fourth and sixth following holy days, fast on bread and water. If an abbot himself shall offend, in this case, let him, on the second, fourth, and sixth holy days, be content with bread and water ; and, if he persist in his practice, and refuseth the monitions of his diocesan or visitors, let him be deprived. Let the sick and infirm brethren be provided with what is suitable, according to the rule ; and, if the master of the infirmary be found deficient in his care, let him be reprov'd by his abbot or prior ; and an abbot or prior, when the visitors shall come, let him receive, for his offence, condign punishment. We farther direct, that shoes, and proper clothing, be provided, and that no money be allowed the monks instead thereof. Let the monks appear in their common and religious habits, and carry themselves in a handsome manner in the cloister, and when they go abroad ; nor let them return without their cowl and regular habit. Let them not have any great coat or upper garment, coloured ; nor let any monk presume to ride with a saddle of less cost than is allowed ; nor more adorned with a superfluous ornament of nails. Let them have no spurs, either gilded or silvered ; nor the least ornament of iron on the bridles ; nor let them use gloves with fingers distinct, nor boots of a peaked form, or sharp pointed at the toe.

Let no one use any coat of burnet, or of wild skins, or any linen shirt, or other covering of linen ; but let them sleep in their clothes, and girded, as the rule directs, and have no rents in their clothes. Let no prior, or supe-

rior of the cloister, or any monk, appropriate to himself any chamber, or horse, or domestic, or furniture for a horse, or make any contention for the use of the same; but, if it be necessary that he go abroad, let him be provided by his superior. We do enjoin that all abbots and priors, when they lend or change the security, or borrow, they do, in the presence of the majority present, signify the sum, who are the creditors, and when the money is due and payable; and that the state of the houses may be the better known, we ordain that every three months, in the presence of the abbot or prior, their officials do exhibit an account of all their receipts and payments with exactness and fidelity. The abbots and priors, twice in a year, *viz.* on the first of October and first of April, having collected all the rents, shall lay before the senior monks, or the visitors, a full account of the state of the house. But, if any abbot or prior shall, with intention of fraud, suppress any great debts, let him be removed from his employ. But, if the abbot or prior shall contract a debt, the monastery shall not be bound, only so far as it shall be proved to have been useful or beneficial to the monastery.

Let no abbot or prior dare to give to secular persons any priory, or grange, or pension, or a monk's allowance. Let no one sell, or exchange, or alienate, any pension, nor give it, except in the manner directed by the rule; but let him know that all alienation is utterly forbidden. Let monks that acquire property be excommunicated by their abbots; and if, at their death, they be found to have property, let them be deprived of church-burial, or be interred as one of the vulgar. Let no one, except for the purposes of an office committed to his trust, be possessed of a chest, or box, with a key, without permission; and, as often as the abbot shall require, let the key be given up to him; and, if he keeps one without permission, let him be deemed a person having property; and sentence of excommunication shall be solemnly proclaimed once a year in the chapter-house against proprietors. The abbot, who knowingly shall consent to any monks having property, shall be suspended for a time; and what is understood to be property by the rule of St. Benedict, is, whatever any one receives in his own name, or that of the monastery, that is not lent, nor let to hire, nor deposited in trust. We also farther enjoin, that no abbot do grant to any kinsman, whether in want or not, any of the immovables of the church; nor present him with the movables. Whenever any office is sung, let certain persons be charged with the care of the cloister, the refectory, the dormitory, and the choir; and let no woman enter any of the said places, nor the choir, while singing is performing, unless by chance it may happen that some women are passing through the cloister or the choir at the time of a dedication or grant made to any church, or on the principal festival of the church, or at the funeral obsequies of some deceased person, except women of high rank, and who patronize the abbey, and to them leave shall be granted, only at certain times, by the abbot; and with exception also to such persons as shall have procured leave of entrance from the apostolic see. And if any abbot or prior shall di-

rect his official to admit a woman, the abbot or prior shall fast one day on bread and water. Moreover, abbots and priors, if they shall have to ride with them any secular servants, either of their own family or of the convent, let them be of mature age, and habited in a decent, not a wanton, manner. We also will and command, that, in every abbey or priory, the abbot or prior do take order for hospitality and almsgiving, in proportion to the ability of the house; a certain quantity for the constant poor, and more for the stranger. And we forbid, on pain of eternal damnation, any possession or rents, given for alms, to be perverted to other uses. And, because no fraud is to be committed in the almsgiving, no person shall conceal any part of his victuals left at table, or his old clothes, or old shoes, with intent to defraud; but shall give up all these to the almoner, for him to bestow on the poor: nor shall any thing new be given to any monk who shall not yield up the old. We also strictly forbid, that leave be given to any monk to go abroad, or out of his house, to see secular matters, except very rarely, and then for a reasonable cause, and with suitable company; and they shall say their *hours* (a) by the way, and be provided with books for the purpose; and no monk shall speak to any woman, but before two or three reputable witnesses; nor shall any monk be served or attended on by any woman, in any place whatever. And, in fine, since abbots and priors ought not to run about and wander abroad, our will is, that they do sit in the cloister in company with the brethren, and be present at divine service; especially in the vigils, in the chapter-house, and at saying grace. And we enjoin that no abbot or monk, who shall be within three miles of his abbey or his cell, shall eat or pass the night in the house of any secular. And farther, since the rule when read is often not understood by the juniors, we command that the same be explained to them in the vulgar tongue in the chapter-house. Concerning the riding and airings of the abbots, we wish them to observe this moderation; that no abbot do take more, out of his standing family, than ten attendants, and among them let a monk be the bearer of his cloak; and let inferior abbots be content with fewer attendants, according to the ability of their house. Let the rents, both of the abbey and of the members, be reduced to writing, and an estimate taken of the obventions, though they are uncertain; and let the abbot have one copy, and the prior and convent another, each for private use. If any abbey be unable to maintain its monks, let them be sent and received, by some more able house. And we ordain this rule to be read thrice in the year. We also command, that such abbots as shall preside in the provincial chapter do then appoint certain discreet men to be visitors, with power to visit and inspect all abbeyes then having no abbot, and correct such abuses as they find, and make report to the chapter the following year; and these visitors shall every five years write their proceeding unto us.

* Certain prayers to be said every hour.

APPENDIX N° III.

See Pages 134 and 144.

ET cum quidam, post prandium, proniores sunt ad loquendum quod non prodest quàm quod ædificat audientes; ad ampliandum cultum justitiæ qui in silentio reperitur, est Statutum; quòd Parliamentum, quod post prandium in quibusdam Claustris fieri consuevit, penitùs interdicatur: et loco ipsius, vacetur uberius meditationibus et lectionibus repetendis.

In Capitulo tres sunt voces, scilicet Clamantis, Respondentis, et Judicantis. Perturbatores Capituli et inobedientes, et cum Prælati suis proterve contententes, acriter corrigantur; et qui contumaces, a Monasterio expellantur.

Ecclesia munda fiat, et Ornamenta Ecclesiæ.

Negotiationes in Ecclesiis non exerceantur, nisi temporibus Nundinarum.

Quando Capitulum celebrabitur, primo die celebratur una Missa de Spir. Sancto, pro Romano Pontifice; pro Rege Angliæ et Reginâ, et suis Hæredibus; et pro familiabus nostri ordinis. Secundo die Capituli, celebretur una Missa pro fidelibus defunctis, pro animabus Regum Angliæ; et nostri Ordinis benefactoribus.

APPENDIX N° IV.

See Page 141.

HENRICUS, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ, &c. Vicecomiti Hertfertiensi Salut. Si Abbas de Sancto Albano fecerit te securum de clamio suo prosequendo, tunc sumhone, per bonos summonitores, Galfridum de Chilwic; Galfridum, Wilhelmum, Joannem, & Richardum, filios ejus; Wilhelmum de Gorham; Thomam de Waux; Walterum et Henricum, filios ejus; Adam de Sumery; David de Carpenville, quod sint coram Justiciariis ad primam Assisam cum in partes illas venerint; ostensuri quare fugaverunt, & lepores ceperunt in liberâ Warrenâ suâ de Sancto Albano sine licentiâ suâ; et habens hoc Breve et Submonitores. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium, 26 die Junii, anno Reg. nost. 24. Acta apud Hertfordiam à die Nativ. beati Joannis Baptistæ in unum mensem, coram Wilhelmo de Eboraco Præposito de Beverley, Henrico de Bathoniâ, Rogero de Turkebyâ, Gilberto de Prestunâ, Justiciariis ibidem itinerantibus.

They are hereby summoned, and the charge declared against them is, Quod venati sunt in campis suis omnibus in Warrenâ subscriptis, scilicet in campis St. Albani, Kyngesburiâ, Parco, Langelia, Rikemansworthe, Cudicote, Waldene, Sandruge, Tidenhangre, Barnate, & Redburne, & in terris sui Dominii, contra libertatem suam: quâ usus est à tempore Henrici Regis Senis: unde damnificatus ad valentiam Quadraginta Marcarum.

M. Par. ad an. 1240.

APPENDIX N° V.

See Page 166.

HENRICUS, Dei gratiâ, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hybernæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, et Comes Andegaviæ, omnibus ad quos præsentēs Litteræ pervenerint, Salutem. *Quia nobis constat, per inspectionem Chartarum quas Abbas S. Albani habet, quod homines ipsius Abbatis non debent venire extra suam Libertatem pro aliqua summonitione vel occasione coram aliquibus Justiciariis vel Inquisitoribus;* Remisimus eidem Abbati centum Libras, ad quas Villata et Libertas Sancti Albani amerciatae fuerunt: Eò quod homines ejusdem Libertatis non venerunt coram dilectis et fidelibus nostris Henr. de Mara et Wilhelmo de Wilton apud Cesterhunche, quæ est extra Libertatem prædictam; ad Inquisitiones faciendas de transgressione Cambii, et ad amerciandum transgressiones ejusdem Cambii. Remisimus etiam eidem Abbati duas marcas et dimidium, ad quas N. L. A. S. W. S. et Reginaldus Aurifaber, homines ipsius Abbatis de Libertate prædictâ, amerciati fuerunt coram prædictis Hen. et Wilhelmo pro transgressione prædictâ. In cujus rei testimonium has Litteras fieri fecimus Abbati eidem patentes. Teste Rich. Com. Cornubiæ apud Westmon. Die Octobris 13°, Anno Regni 38°.—1254.

A P P E N D I X N° VI.

See Page 171 and Page 450.

PROTECTION granted by Henry III. to the abbot and monks of Kirkfall, in the county of York.

Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that we have taken into our protection and defence, our beloved in Christ the abbot and convent of Kirkfall of the Cistercian order, and all their men, lands, things, revenues, and all possessions, not doing to them, or suffering to be done, any wrong, offence, damage, or grievance; and, if any injury be done to them, that you cause the same to be, without delay, made good to them. In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters to be passed to them; and to be in force for two years. Witness myself at St. Paul's, London, the 12th of May, in the forty-fifth year of our reign.

* * * This was renewed by Edward I. in the 4th year of his reign, and was that year extended to a great many more abbeys; the list of which may be seen in the *Monasticon*.

A P P E N D I X N^o VII.

See Page 321.

INVENTORY (inventarium) of all the goods belonging to the altar of St. Lawrence, situate in the North wing, and near the belfry, *anno Domini* 1429, in its original (a).

Sunt ibidem tria Lyntea; unum de panno lineo, duo alia de opere Diaperto; cum eorum frontellis; unum de aureo veteri panno, et aliud de panno lineo cum rosario nominatò Staynnato.

Item duo apparatus altaris; unus cum panno stannato cum *Maria* in eodem inscriptâ; cum panno superiori et inferiori. Et alius cum panno inferiori tantum modo de bladio veteri rubro.

Sunt duo vestimenta sacerdotalia: unum de serico panno subrubeo; et aliud de Bustyan albo, cum *Deo gratias* Staynnato.

Item unum missale antiquum; quod quondam desinebat in capellâ Sti. Stephani; novis sumptibus William Abbatis, paratum. Item duæ fialæ de stanno cum uno pyxide ligneo; pro vino aquâ et oblatis panibus imponendis. Item unum analogium ligneum pro missali. Item unum pakysbred ex paratione Dom. Rob. Waræ tunc coquinarîi confectum. Et est aliud (Analogium) stanneum cum imagin. inscriptis et insculptis. Item unum candelabrum de auricalco, cum uno sykeet duobus nosell. pro lumine temp. hiemali. Item duo pannioli pro manibus celebrantium detergendis. Omnia ex præemptione Williemi Wynyshall prænotati. Item est ibidem una cistula lignea satis honesta, pro omnibus præscriptis impon. et conservandis. Item duo pannioli albi cum 5 plagiis et desuper Staynnati, pro coopturâ imaginum sanctorum Laurentii et Grimbaldi temp. quadragesimali ex præemptione ejusdem. Item unum tintinabulum et duo candelabra ferrea, fixa ex utrâque parte altaris. Et unum Wyker, (or matt), in longit. altaris per Dom. Rob. Ware collata, pedibus celebrantium supponenda.

(a) Ex. Harl. MSS. 3775.

A P P E N D I X N^o VIII.

See Page 327.

THIS indenture made between John Wheathamstede, abbot of the monastery of St. Alban, and the convent of the same place, on the one part; and Thomas Knollys, the elder, citizen and grocer of London; Nicholas Wotton, citizen and clothier(a) of London; John Snell, clerk; Thomas Belowe, citizen and grocer of London; Thomas Knollys, the younger; Robert Shilley, Esq. and Thomas Oxney, citizen and grocer of London, on the other part; and Richard Hardy, citizen and grocer of London; witnesseth that the aforesaid Thomas, Nicholas, John, Thomas, Thomas, Robert, Thomas, and Richard, have granted for themselves and their heirs, to the aforesaid abbot and convent, and their successors, as far as they can give assurance, concerning thirty acres of land and pasture belonging to the said abbot and convent, and their successors, situate in a certain moor, otherwise pasture, called Colneyheth, otherwise called Tydenhangre heth, lying near a certain farm belonging to the said abbot and convent called Conynges, and contiguous to the said farm, and the said thirty acres of land at their pleasure, to inclose and hold in severalty, at all times of the year, against the said Thomas, Nicholas, John, Thomas, Thomas, Robert, Thomas, and Richard, their heirs, assigns, and tenants, for ever. And farther, the said Thomas, &c. for themselves and their heirs, have given up, remitted, and by these presents have quitted claim, and all manner of right and claim, which they have, or might any ways have, in the aforesaid thirty acres of pasture, to the aforesaid abbot and convent, and their successors for ever. And in like manner the aforesaid abbot and convent have granted for themselves and their successors for ever, to Thomas Knollys the elder, Nicholas Wotton, John Snell, Thomas Belowe, Thomas Knollys the younger, Robert Shilley, Thomas Oxney, and Richard Hardy, their heirs and assigns, as far as they (b) can give assurance concerning ten acres of wood and pasture, belonging to the said Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. called the Hoke, lying near the said moor or pasture called Colneyheth, otherwise called Tydenhangreheth, and to the same moor contiguous, and at

(a) Pannarium.

(b) Quoad ipsi approbare se possint.

their pleasure to inclose the same, and hold the same in severalty, at all times of the year, against the said abbot and convent and their successors, and all their tenants for ever. And moreover, the aforesaid abbot and convent, for themselves and their successors, have given up and remitted, and by these presents have quitted claim, and all manner of right and claim which they have or might any ways have in the aforesaid ten acres, unto the aforesaid Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. their heirs and assigns for ever.

And also the said abbot and convent, for themselves and their successors have given up, remitted, and quitted claim, to the aforesaid Thomas, &c. their heirs and assigns for ever, all right, title, and claim, which the said abbot and convent have, or they and their successors shall have, to enjoy any way beyond the lands, or in the lands, of the said Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. their heirs and assigns in North Mymmes, besides the King's highways, and a certain common way in the field called Church-field there. And also the said abbot and convent have granted for themselves and their heirs for ever, to the aforesaid Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. their heirs and assigns for ever, a parcel of the aforesaid moor, called Colneymersh, containing thirty-six acres of pasture. Nor will they inclose or hold in severalty any parcel of the same without the consent of the said Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. besides the thirty acres contiguous to the farm, called Conynges, as hath been above related.

And in like manner it is agreed between the said parties, and with their common consent, that the said abbot and convent shall have, next year, and for one turn, the escape of animals or cattle, called the Indrove, and impark at their pleasure, or confine any animals or cattle which they shall find in the said moor, with power to demand satisfaction for all cattle whose owners have no right of common in the said moor. And that, in the next year after, the said Thomas, &c. shall have the Indrove, and with like liberty to impark and confine all cattle whose owners have in like manner no right of common. And this practice shall go on alternately for ever. In testimony whereof, unto one part of this indenture, and to be reserved in the hands of Thomas Knollys, his heirs, &c. the said abbot and convent have affixed their common seal; and unto the other part of the said indenture, to be reserved in the custody of the abbot and convent, the above named Thomas Knollys, the elder, &c. have affixed their seals. Dated April 1, 8 Henry VI.

APPENDIX N° IX.

See Pages 379.

FROM the Patents of the 9th Year of the Reign of King James over England, &c.

THE King, to all to whom, &c. greeting. Know ye, that we, for divers good causes and considerations, us hereunto especially moving, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant, to our beloved subjects, George Whitmore, and Thomas Whitmore, of London, Esqs. their heirs and assigns for ever, all that our borough of Cranborne, in our county of Dorset, with all and singular its members, rights, &c. and also all that burgage, with the curtilages, commonly called or known by the name of Packnetts, situate in Salisbury-street, in Cranborne aforesaid. And all that our hundred of Pymperne, in our county of Dorset, with all its rights, members, liberties, &c. and also the office of bailiff and bailiwick, of the same hundred, and also executions and returns of all and singular warrants, writs, precepts, and mandates of us within the hundred aforesaid. And also all manner of courts leet, view of Frankpledge, and other Courts whatsoever, and perquisites, and profits of the same courts; all which are worth, as by particular of the same, 66s. 8d. and to have been formerly parcel of the lands and possessions of lady Catharine, late queen of England. And also all that our hundred of Horthorne, in our county of Somerset, with all rights, &c. of the worth of 6l. 2s. 2d. and to have been formerly parcel of the lands called Richmond's lands. And also all that one hundred of Norton Ferris, in our county of Somerset and Wilts, with all and singular its rights, &c. mentioned to be of the yearly rent or value of 33s. 4d. and to have been parcel of the lands of the late lord Stourtone. And also all that our hundred of Rempstone, in our said county of Somerset, with all rights, &c. by a particular, worth 8l. and to have been parcel of the lands and possessions, of Edward, late duke of Somerset. And all that our hundred of Caishe, with all and singular its rights, members, liberties, arising within our liberty of St. Alban; and office of hundredor there, with the appurtenants; and also all those our rents and farms, within the liberties of St. Alban aforesaid, to the said

said late office of hundredor belonging, amounting to 78s. 8d. a year. And also all aid of sheriffs to the said hundred of Caishow belonging, amounting to 23s. 3d. and all those our ancient rents and farms to the said hundred belonging, amounting to 8s. a year, and all suits of hundredors at the Tourn respited to the said hundred belonging amounting to 21s. yearly; and all issues of hundred and tourn to the said hundred belonging, amounting to 6s. 8d. a year; which said hundred of Caishow, and said office of hundredor, and other the said premisses to the said hundred belonging, by a particular thereof, mentioned to be of the yearly value of 6l. 17s. 7½d. and to have been lately parcel of the land and possessions of the late abbey of St. Alban. And all that our liberty to the late abbey of St. Alban belonging, appertaining, happening, or arising, in our county of Hertford, Bedford, and Bucks, with all and singular its rights, members, and appurtenances, whatsoever; and also all manner of fines, amercements, issues, and profits, whatsoever, coming, growing, renewing, happening, or arising, in or within the liberty of the said late abbey of St. Alban, amounting to 46s. 1½d. a year, *besides* 15l. 19s. 8d. for the fee of hundredor, steward, clerk of the market, bailiff of the said liberty heretofore yearly payable; and *besides* 13l. 6s. 8d. for the diet of the justices of the peace and gaol delivery, heretofore likewise yearly payable. Which said liberties, fines, amercements, issues, and other the premisses, were formerly parcel of the lands and possessions of the late abbey of St. Alban.

APPENDIX N^o X.

See Page 406.

RENTAL of Lands and Tenements newly purchased by the Rev. Father
Thomas Ramryge, Abbot, in the 22d of Henry VII.

In Barnet and Ryge.

	s.	d.
OF Robert Nycols, for a tenement and shop in the flesh-market, or shambles there, - - - - -	13	4
Of the same, for four crofts called Dryffelds, late the lands of Tho- mas Dryffeldys, - - - - -	43	0
Of the same, for meadows, and lands, and pastures, called Boryf- lond, late Thomas Deyers, - - - - -	48	0
Of the same for the two acres of meadow called Botlands.		
Of the same, for five crofts of land called Priors, and for two crofts called Gylitrone, and for two tofts of land called Pagys, in Ryge, with all the woods and underwoods, the trees and hegerows ex- cepted, - - - - -	16	8
Of master Thornberry, for lands called Burbages, - - - - -	34	0
Of Thomas Dudman, for rent of lands called Mendhymys, - - - - -	46	8
Of Thomas Benks, for parcel of wood called the Narrow, - - - - -	2	0
Of Thomas Dudman, for a tenement and close, - - - - -	16	0
Of John Rolfe, for a tenement and lands, - - - - -	24	0
Of Elinor Elborow, for land in Barnet, - - - - -	6	8
For lands in the tenure of master Moorton and wife, - - - - -	40	0
Rent of lands there, called Terrys, - - - - -	15	0
Divers rents in Barnet, late John Curtys's, - - - - -	15	0
Rent of a tenement let to a wheelwright, - - - - -	6	0
Rent of lands in Ryge, late John Ashley's, - - - - -	21	0

APPENDIX

APPENDIX N° XI.

See Page 446.

Letter from Katharine Bulkeley, Abbess of Godstow, to the Lord Cromwell;
complaining of Dr. London.

PLEASITH hit your honor, with my moste humble dowtye, to be advertised, that when it hath pleasyd your lordship to be the very meane to the king's majestie for my preferment, most unworthy to be abbess of this the king's monasterie of Godystowe: in the which office I trust I have done the best in my power to the mayntenance of God's trewe honour, with all treuth and obedience to the king's majestie; and was never moved nor desired by any creature in the king's behalfe, or in your lordship's name, to surrender and give up the house; nor mynded nor intended so to do, otherwise than at the king's gracious commandment or yours; to the which I do and have ever done, and will submit myself most humblie and obedientlie. And I trust to God that I have never offendyd God's laws, neither the king's, wherebie this poor monasterie ought to be suppressed. And this notwithstanding, so it is, my good lord, that Dr. London, whiche (as your lordship doth well know) was against my promotion, and hath ever since borne me great malys and grudge*, like my mortal enemye, is sodenlie cummyd unto me with a great rowte with him, and here doth threaten me and my sisters, saying, that he hath the king's commission to suppress this house, spyte of my tethe. And when he saw that I was contente that he should do all things according to his commission, and shewyd him playne that I never would surrender to his hand being my awncyent enemye; now he begins to intreat me, and to invegle my sisters, one by one, otherwise than ever I herde tell that the king's subjects hath been so handelyd; and here tarrieth and continueth to my great coste and charges, and will not take my answere that I will not surrender till I know the king's gracious commandment, or your good lordship's. Therefore, I do most humblie beseeche you to contynue my good lord, as you have ever been, and to direct your honorable letters to remove him hence. And, whensoever the king's gracious commandment or yours shall come unto me, you shall find me most reddie and obeyant to folloe the

* She was appointed in 1533.

same.

fame. And notwithstanding that Dr. London, like an untrew man, hath informed your lordship that I am a spoiler and a waster, your good lordship shall know that the contrary is trewe; for I have not alienatyd one halporthe of goods of this monasterie, movable or unmovable, but have rather increased the same; nor never made lease of my farme, or piece of grownde, belongyng to this house; or than hath been in times paste alwaies set under convent seal for the wealth of the house. And therefore my very trust is, that I shall find the kynge as gracious lord unto me as he is to all other his subjects, seyng I have not offendyd; and am and will be moſte obedyent to his moſt gracious commandment at all tymes with the grace of Almighty Jeſus: who ever preſerve you in honour longe to endure to his pleaſure. Amen.

Your moſt bounden

Godſtow the 6 day of
November.

Bedſwoman,

KATHARINE BULKELEY.
Abbeſs there.

This letter is to be found in the Cotton MSS, Cleop. E. 4. thence copied by Burnet in his Hiſt. Reform.

THE END.



And notwithstanding that Dr. Landon, like an untutored man, hath in-
ferred from friendship that I am a Quaker and a writer, your good judgment
shall know that the contrary is true; for I have not attended one halcyon
of guests of this monstrous, monstrous or monstrous, but have rather incited
the same; nor have made less of my name, or piece of ground, belonging
to this house; or that hath been in times past always under constant seal
for the want of the house. And the contrary very true is, that I shall find
the large as gracious lord unto me as he is to all other his subjects, being I
have not offended; and am and will be most obedient to his most gracious
commandment at all times with the grace of Almighty Jesus: who ever
preserve you in honour long to endure to his pleasure. Amen.

Your most bounden

Bedwoman,

KATHARINE BURLEY,

Abbot there.

Godnow the 8 day of

November.

This letter is to be found in the Canon MSS, Chap. I. & these copied
by Sumner in his Hist. Reform.

THE END.

E R R A T A.

Page 4.	line 13.	for possibly may, read possibly this.
7.	11.	for Sullonomacæ, read Sulloniacæ.
ib.	12.	for Blockley, read Blockley.
8.	12.	for verterans, read veterans.
19.	6.	note, for Petroe, read Petroe.
24.	16.	for Sufragrans, read Suffragans.
30.	2.	for Cassinam, read Cassinum.
44.	8.	for Walstan, read Wulstan.
55.	17.	for Stanekfield, read Stankfield.
61.	39.	for and and, read and.
106.	2.	note, for contended, read contested.
136.		for booking, read Bocking.
162.	18.	for Teddington, read Tuddington in Bedfordshire.
173.	9.	for Reliquis, read Reliquit.
186.	17.	for Peecham, read Peckham.
ib.	24.	for unto, read under.
189.	27.	for counterprixe, read counterpoise.
204.	11.	for Antichapel, read Ante Chapel.
217.	19.	for Coadjntor, read Coadjutor.
227.	2.	from bottom, for Laton, read Luron.

P A R T II.

In the plate,

for Ent. length 550, read 539 feet.
for Ent. width 217, read 174.

236. 9. for Conquinas, read Coquinar.
ib. 20. for Archbishop, read Abbot.
238. 6. from bottom, for Rysh. read Byshmead.
245. 13. for Wymondam, read Wymondham.
266. 23. for Sacra, read Sacra.
274. 25. for Ely. read Ebor.
282. 15. for tombes, read Combes.
332. 9. for pay, read pray.
333. 4. from bottom, for Betterwyck, read Butterwyck.
334. 4. from bottom of note, for William, read Willian.
346. 20. for Robetr, read Robert.
359. 27. for there, read their manor.
368. 10. for Kydale, read Rydale.
377. 7. for Chancel, read Charnel house.
386. 7. for to Sand, read of Sandridge.
394. 1. note, for Reding, read Roding.
400. 6. from bottom, for Artithrenion, read Archithrenium, and again p. 401.
413. 16. for Wult, read Wulph.
441. 9. for commended, read commanded.
449. 2. for post, read port.
460. 10. from bottom, for that the lands, read that if the lands.
471. 4. for Hendon, read Standon.
471. note, for, in the Latin Inquis. read in the Latin Inquisition (in Roman Char.) in Domesday, i. e. Hakenorton.
476. 10. for Gassington. read Garfington.
479. 6. for Abbeyes Aston, read Abbots Aston.
ib. for its chapel, read its chapels of Harewood.
482. 2. for Hole, read Hale.
490. 2. from bottom, for in, read on.
503. 21. for Oxford Hall, read Orford Hall.
504. 16. for the cause that, read the cause: that.
508. 4. in the note, for Hampstead, read Hempstead.
522. 8. for Winchester, read Winchelsea.

to

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45	45. The forty-fifth chapter
46	46. The forty-sixth chapter
47	47. The forty-seventh chapter
48	48. The forty-eighth chapter
49	49. The forty-ninth chapter
50	50. The fiftieth chapter

XXXX III 89

Newcome, Peter

The history of the ancient et royal Fondation, called the Abbey of St.
Alban in the county of Hertford 793 - 1539

London 1795

4 H.mon. 478

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